
9 999999 084218

THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c. &c.,

EDITED BY

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET, C.I.E.,
BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE,

AND

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE,
CAPTAIN, BENGAL STAFF CORPS.



VOL. XVIII.—1889.

Swati Publications
Delhi
1984

Published by Swati Publications, 34 Central Market, Ashok Vihar, Delhi-110052 Ph. 7113395

and Printed by S.K. Mehra at Mehra Offset Press, Delhi.

CONTENTS.

The names of Contributors are arranged alphabetically.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

ERRATA IN VOL. XVII.

p. 3, Table II., opposite Chitrâ, in the last column, *for* 183 28 10, *read* 184 28 10.

p. 120, Text line 1, *for* Hiranya *read* Hiraṁya- .

" " line 16, *for* bhuvanâmta ǀ , *read* bhuvanâmta-.

p. 146 *a*, last line, *for* preceding, *read* following.

p. 157 *b*, lines 24, 25, *read* 10000 — (1800 + 200 + 9939) = 10000 — 1939 = 8061.

p. 160 *a*, line 29, *for* 66277 5055, *read* 66277·5002. *And, as the result of this, in lines* 31 *to* 41 *read*, Hence the increase in 1000 years is 13255·5000; in 100 years, 1325 5500; and in 59 75 days, 2 1684. And *b* for 5000 years is 499·8; for 1000 years, 500 0; and for 100 years, 450·0. Therefore, as above —

	b.
A. D. 1899	581 8
5000 years	499·8
59·79 days	168·4
Kaliyuga 0 ...	250 0

Accordingly *b.* for A D., 1899 is 581 8; or, the fraction being larger than ½, in round numbers 582

" *b*, line 11, *for* 1204, *read* 120·4.

" *b*, note 17; *cancel this note.*

p 163, Table 5, and p. 164, Table 6. As we have seen under the correction notified above for p. 160 *a*, line 29 *b*. for A. D. 1899 is in round numbers 582; whereas in Table 5 it is given as 587. Following the same process, all the figures in Table 5, col. b, should, strictly speaking, be decreased by 5, when they would be in accordance with the revolutions of the moon's apsis as given in the text of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. Three or four hundred years ago, however, the Hindu astronomers applied to the elements of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* a correction, technically called *bîja*, which from that time has been generally adopted in calculations. In Table 5, col. b, the figures, all through, as they stand, are correct for the elements of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* as modified by this *bîja* And, as the Table is for the nineteenth century A. D., when the *bîja* has to be applied, the inclusion of the *bîja* in it is proper and correct. The *bîja*, however, has to be rejected for the centuries anterior to the time of its introduction; and this is to be effected by a modification of Table 6. Here again (Table 6), in col. b. the figures, all through, as they stand, include the *bîja*. In the case of the centuries marked 15 to J. 3, in which the *bîja* is not to be applied, in col. b. correct the numbers from 185 to 785, inclusive, by substituting 0 for the last figure; thus, for 185, read 180; for 484, read 480; and for 785, read 780. Then, with Table 5 as it stands, and with Table 6 thus corrected, the final results will be in accordance with the text of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* without the *bîja*. For the centuries marked G. 1 and G. 2, the application of the *bîja* is proper and necessary; and the figures 972 and 486 are correct, as they stand.

p. 167, Table 7, opposite 2nd August (common year), *for* b 720, *read* 730 Opposite 13th August *read* b 129 *for* 126, and opposite 14th August *read* b 166 *for* 169.

p. 168, Table 7, opposite 12th October (common year) *for* d 630, *read* 639.

p. 172, Table 10, opposite the argument 950, *for equation* 76, *read* 80.

" Table 11, opposite the argument 200, *for equation* 4 10, *read* 14·10

p. 219, note 16, line 5, for *Ârdrâ*, read *Ârdrâ-*; and line 11, *omit the word* March.

p. 239 *b*, line 46, *for* trayô, *read* trayô-.

p. 240 *b*, last line, *omit the comma at the end of the line.*

p. 248 *b*, line 7, *for* Which, *read* which

p. 250 *a*, line 20, *for* ithau, *read* tithau.

" *b*, line 11, *for* punar vasu-, *read* punarvasu-.

p 251 *b*, last line, *read* (No. 17 instead of No. 9).

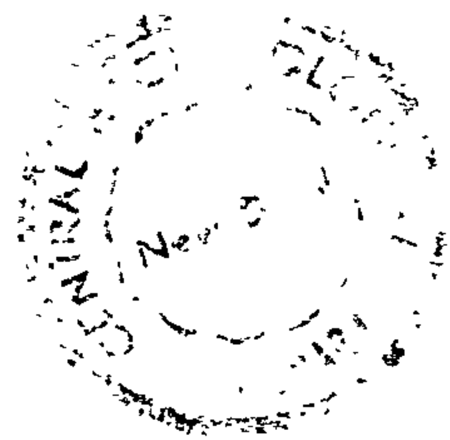
p 252 *a*, line 6, omit the comma after *tithi*

p. 270, in the column for the Tithi-śuddhi, *opposite* 720, *for* 1 9, *read* 1 9·0; *and opposite* 740, *for* 1 6, *read* 1 6·0.

p. 271, in the column for the Tithi-Kêndra, *opposite* 1040, *for* 1 45, *read* 1 48.

p 315 *b*, last line, *for* Varâhi-, *read* Varâha-

p. 336 *b*, line 7 from the bottom, *for* mâna — vijaya-râjyê, *read* mâna-vijaya-râjyê.



THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME XVIII.—1889.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY É. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from Vol.* XVII., *p.* 307.)

THIRD EDICT.

Prinsep, *l.c.* p. 584; Burnouf, *l.c.*, pp. 669 and ff.

TEXT.

17 Dêvânampiyê Piyadasi lâja hêvaṁ ahâ [.] kayânaṁm êva dêkhati[1] iyaṁ mê
18 kayânê kaṭêti nô mina[2] pâpaṁ dêkhati iyaṁ mê pâpê kaṭêti. iyaṁ vâ âsinavê
19 nâmâti [.] dupaṭivêkhê[3] chu khô êsâ hêvaṁ chu khô êsa dêkhiyê imâni
20 âsinavagâmîni[4] nâma atha chaṁḍiyê niṭhûliyê kôdhê mânê [.] isyâ
21 kâlanêna va hakaṁ mâ palibhasayisaṁ êsa bâḍha dêkhiyê[5] iyaṁ mê
22 hidatikâyê iyaṁ ma namê pâlatikâyê [.]

NOTES.

1. It matters little whether we should read here, and lower down, *dêkhati* or *dêkhaṁti.* The subject is indefinite: 'one sees,' 'they see.' And we must consider the form *dakhati* or *dêkhati* as certainly the present and not the future (*cf.* Kern, *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., xii. 389, *note*). See lower down the future participle *dêkhiya.* It is unnecessary to remark that the regular orthography would be *kayânaṁ* (or °*nam*) *êva.*

2. The syllables *nô mina* are embarrassing, and the more so because the agreement of all the versions compels the greatest caution in making conjectures. Burnouf analyzed it into *nô iminâ*, 'not by this,' but I confess that I do not see clearly the sense which he proposes to draw from it, and perceive still less any meaning which would be usefully drawn from such an analysis. One thing is certain, that a negative is wanting. It may be contained in the first syllable, *nô*; but it may also be in the last syllable, *na*. Dr. Kern apparently, so far agreeing with Burnouf, adopts the first explanation when he incidentally quotes this member of the sentence (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., xii. 389, *note*), and transcribes it as *na punaḥ*: *mina* would therefore represent *punaḥ*. Perhaps the same could be found again in the form *mana* at the end of this edict: *iyaṁ mana mê*. However, as will be seen in a subsequent note, *punah*, in this latter sentence, is not needed by the necessities of the sense,—quite the contrary. This analogy would

not therefore be decisive in favour of an identification which presents so many difficulties. We have met this adverb on several occasions in our inscriptions, but always under the form *puna* or *pana* (*panê*). The change of an initial *p* into *m* is anything but frequent; when, in Prâkṛit, we meet with *mia, miva*, for *pi va* (*api iva*), it is only after a nasal (*cf.* Weber, *Hâla*, index, *s.v.*). Besides this we should have to explain the change of *u* into *i*, a change peculiarly unexpected after a labial. This transcription, therefore, ingenious as it may be, appears to me to be extremely hypothetical. I think it preferable to take refuge in a conjecture, and to read *nâmâ* (for *nâma*) *na*. *Nâma* would be placed exactly as it occurs at the end of the sentence, after *âsinavê*; nothing could be more natural, for the two phrases are in antithesis. I may add that, at the end of the edict, I can see no more plausible expedient than to correct *manamê* into *mê nâma*. Burnouf supposed an accidental repetition of the syllable *mê* (*ma*), but we cannot adhere to this explanation; we shall, indeed, see that there is no reason for admitting the presence of the negative for which Burnouf sought. Nor can I follow him further in his translation of the latter portion of this sentence. He commences a new proposition at *iyaṁ vâ âsinavê*, which he translates, 'Et c'est là ce qu'on appelle la corruption du mal.' I scarcely see, in what precedes, to what this observation can refer; *âsinava* is, on the contrary, defined a little lower down. Besides, the *vâ* and the final *ti* necessarily range this proposition in order with that which precedes it. We shall establish a perfectly natural and connected sense if we translate: "One does not say 'I have committed such and such a fault, or such and such an action is a sin.'" There is here no tautology. The first proposition deals with the material fact of the bad action which one does not feel bound to confess, the second deals with the exact appreciation of the value of those actions which one abstains from dwelling upon. Indeed, the remainder of the edict has for its object: 1st, to inculcate the necessity of self-examination; 2nd, to enlighten the conscience by definition, such as it is, of sin. With regard to *âsinava*, see the preceding edict.

3. The irregular orthography of °*paṭivêkhê* for °*paṭiyavêkhê* will be remarked. This anomaly occurs again, *e.g.* in *paṭivêkhâmi*, vi. 4, and also in *anuvêkhamâna*, viii. 2. The root *prati-ava-îksh* is consecrated in Buddhist terminology to the sense of 'examination of the conscience,' 'self-examination.' See, for example, a passage of the *Visuddhimagga*, quoted by Childers (*s.v. pachchavêkkhanaṁ*), which, among five subjects of self-examination, distinguishes those regarding the passions which have been destroyed and those regarding the passions which are yet to be destroyed. These are exactly the two classes of self-examination of which the king speaks here. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the two words *chu khô* mark a double reservation. The first depends on the preceding phrase: One does not render an account of the evil which one commits; *it is true* that this self-examination is difficult. The second depends on this phrase itself: this self-examination is difficult, *yet still* it is necessary to examine oneself. Then follows the tenour of this examination.

4. *Âsinavagâmini* does not mean 'the vices which come from *âsrava*, but 'the actions which come under the category of *âsrava* or of sin.' This is the only translation which agrees at once with the customary use of *gâmin* and with the general sense of the passage. The *hêvaṁ* of the preceding phrase gives us notice that we are about to have an explanation of the self-examination which the king demands. As a matter of fact, the sentence commences with *imâni*, which is in exact parallelism with the *iyaṁ* of the preceding propositions. Moreover, and this is altogether decisive in the matter, the versions of Radhiah and of Mathiah mark off this beginning of the sentence with an *iti*, which emphasises its real purport. The continuation, *yatha*, &c., is an explanatory development, a kind of summary definition intended to explain the nature of *âsrava*, and in what sin consists. *Châṇḍya*, the equivalent of the abstract noun *chaṁḍiya*, does not appear to have been used in the classical language.

5. Hitherto this last sentence of the edict has not been understood. Neither the phrases nor even the words have been properly separated. The new copies, which supply us clearly with the reading *kâlanêna*, can leave no doubt as to the construction. On the other hand, as most of the versions give *palibhasayisaṁ* (*i.e.* *palibhâsayisaṁ*) *êsa*, it is clear that the *ti*

inserted between the two words by two of the versions represents *iti*. It hence follows that this phrase is put in the mouth of a third person, *i.e.* of the sinner, and that it defines that which it is necessary to watch carefully, with energy (*bâḍhaṁ dêkhiyê*). Numerous passages (*e.g.* K. viii., 2; Kh. xii., 32; Sahasarâm, I.; *infra*, viii., 1, &c.) leave no doubt as to the force of *bâḍhaṁ*, which is that of a kind of superlative. The phrase *isyâkâlanêna*, &c., by itself offers no serious difficulty. *Palibhâsati* in Pâli means to decry,' 'to calumniate,' 'to defame.' This is the meaning which we have here, whether the causal should have its full force, 'to cause to calumniate,' or whether, as appears to me more likely, it only conveys the meaning of the simple root. We have already met the form *hakaṁ* as equivalent to *ahaṁ*, and we shall subsequently meet it still oftener. That, therefore, which it is necessary to watch against with care, is the tendency to spread calumnies by reason of, *i.e.* under the inspiration of, envy. The versions of Radhiah and of Mathiah complete the sentence with a final *iti*, thus clearly shewing that the last phrase, *iyaṁ mê*, &c., is also comprised amongst the things which are to be made a subject of consideration. We thus arrive at this perfectly natural interpretation: 'it is necessary to say to oneself, "that (this watchfulness in avoiding calumny and envy) will be to my benefit in this world, that will be to my benefit in the other life."' It is plain that we cannot admit the negative for which Burnouf sought in *manamê*. The king never separates, and above all, never opposes present advantage and future (or, more properly, religious) advantage; and, in any case, if he ever did, the opposition would here be unintelligible. It cannot be supposed that the king should consider watchfulness in avoiding calumny as without effect on one's future destiny. Regarding my conjecture expressed above, according to which I read *iyaṁ mê nâma*, I would point out that the correction of ⊥8 to Γ8 is particularly easy. As for *punaḥ*, supposing for a moment that it can be represented by a form *mana*, it cannot easily be explained here, where nothing calls for an antithesis.

I therefore translate this edict in the following manner:—

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas:—A man only seeth his good deeds; he saith unto himself, "I have done such and such a good deed." But, on the other hand, he seeth not the evil which he doth commit. He saith not unto himself, "I have done such and such an evil deed; such and such a deed is a sin."

True it is that this self-examination is painful; yet still should a man watch over himself, and say unto himself, "such and such deeds, such as rage, cruelty, anger and pride, constitute sins." A man must watch himself with care, and say, "I will not yield to envy, nor will I speak evil of anyone; that will be for my great good here below, and that verily will be for my great good in the world to come."

FOURTH EDICT.

Prinsep, p. 585 and ff.; Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* II. p. 258, n. 2; p. 272, n. 1; p. 274, n. 1; Burnouf, p. 740 and ff.; Kern, *Iaartelling der zuydelijke Buddhisten*, p. 94 and ff.

TEXT.

1 Dêvânaṁpiyê Piyadasi lâja hêvaṁ âhâ [.] saḍvîsativasa
2 abhisitêna mê iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi likhâpitâ [.] lajûkâ mê
3 bahûsu pânasatasahasêsu janasi âyatâ[1] têsaṁ yê ´ abhihâlê va
4 daṁḍê vâ atapatiyê mê kaṭê[2] kiṁti lajûkâ asvatha abhîtâ
5 kaṁmâni pavatayêvû janasa jânapadasâ hitasukhaṁ upadahêvû
6 anugahinêvu châ[3] [.] sukhîyanadukhîyanaṁ jânisaṁti dhaṁmayutêna cha
7 viyôvadisaṁti[4] janaṁ jênapadaṁ kiṁti hidataṁ cha pâlataṁ cha
8 âlâdhayêvû ti [.] lajûkâ pi laghaṁti[5] paṭichalitavê maṁ pulisâni pi mê
9 chhadaṁnâni paṭichalisaṁti têpi cha kâni viyôvadisaṁti yêna maṁ lajûkâ

10 chaghaṁti âlâdhayitavê [.] athâ hi pajaṁ viyatâyê dhâtiyê nisijitu
11 asvathê hôti viyatadhâti chaghati mê pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭavê[6]
12 hêvaṁ mamâ lajûkâ kaṭâ jânapadasa hitasukhâyê [.] yêna êtê abhîtâ
13 asvatha saṁtaṁ[7] avimanâ kaṁmâni pavatayêvûti êtêna mê lajûkânaṁ
14 abhihâlê va daṁḍê vâ atapatiyê kaṭê [.] ichhitaviyê hi êsâ kiṁti[8]
15 viyôhâlasamatâ cha siya daṁḍasamatâ châ [.] ava itê pi cha mê âvuti[9]
16 baṁdhanabadhânaṁ munisânaṁ tîlitadaṁḍânaṁ[10] patavadhânaṁ tiṁni divasâni mê
17 yôtê diṁnê nâtikâvakâni nijhapayisaṁti jîvitâyê tânaṁ [.]
18 nâsaṁtaṁ vâ nijhapayitâ dânaṁ dâhaṁti pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ va kachhaṁti [.]
19 ichhâ hi mê hêvaṁ niludhasi pi kâlasi[11] pâlataṁ âlâdhayêvûti janasa cha
20 vaḍhati[12] vividhê dhaṁmachalanê saṁyamê dânasavibhâgê ti [.]

NOTES.

1. If there is no doubt as to the meaning there is at least some regarding the original form of the word which is here written *âyatâ*. Dr. Kern corrects to *âyutâ*, Sanskṛit *âyuktâḥ*) both the form and meaning of which are satisfactory. It is nevertheless remarkable that lower down (D. viii, 1), in an expression exactly agreeing with that of the present sentence, we again find the same reading, *âyatâ*, in which here all the versions are unanimous. It is the same in the third passage in which the word appears (Dhauli, 1st detached Edict, l. 4). On the other hand, when we have certainly before us the substantive *âyukti* (Dh., detached Edict I. 11; II. 8; and also in line 15 of the present edict) the *u*, so far from being omitted, has acted on the *y* which precedes it, and has changed it into *v*,—*âvuti*. I doubt, however, whether we should go back to the analysis proposed by Lassen and adopted by Burnouf (*âyattâḥ*). Even if we call in the aid of the analogy of *samâyatta*, the meaning does not exactly suit. I only see in the orthography here used the trace of some confusion which may have arisen in popular usage between the two participles, in themselves quite distinct, *âyutta*, and *âyatta*.

Lajûka is the ordinary spelling, beside which we have also *lâjuka* with the *â* lengthened in compensation. This confirms the opinion of Dr. Jacobi (*Kalpasûtra*, p. 113, and *Gloss.*, *s. v.* that the etymological form is *rajjûka*. He justly compares the word *rajjû* of the Jaina text which is explained as equivalent to *lêkhaka*, 'scribe.' I shall elsewhere deal with these officers, Suffice it to say, at present, that they appear to me to have been men specially invested with a religious character and constituted into colleges of some kind of sacerdotal description.

2. The meaning of *abhihâla* is not defined exactly by the ordinary use of the word. The meaning 'offering,' which is that commonly met with in Pâli, does not suit the present passage, 'Confiscation,' adopted by Burnouf, and doubtless derived by him from the signification of 'taking,' 'theft,' attested by classical Sanskṛit. is very arbitrary. Further on (l. 14-15) we shall see a direct parallelism between *abhihâla* and *daṁda* on the one side, and *viyôhâlasamatâ* and *daṁḍasamatâ* on the other. It follows that here *abhihâla* should have a value very nearly akin to that of *viyôhâla*. *Vyavahâra* points to a judicial action. I think, therefore, that we cannot do better than agree with Dr. Kern in deducing, for *abhihâra*, after the analogy of *abhiyôga*, the meaning of 'pursuit,' 'prosecution' in general, derived from the signification *attack*, of which evidence exists.

Similarly, with regard to *atapatiyê*, I agree with Dr. Kern in analyzing it as *âtma-pati*, but I am compelled, by the general sense of the edict to give an altogether different meaning to the word. The sentence is repeated a little lower down, and we cannot separate the explanations of the two passages. In both instances we see that the measures taken by the king have for their end the giving to the *rajjûkas* a feeling of complete security, and the enabling them to attend without fear to the duties of their mission. But the second passage specifies another aim also of the king. The measures taken have their origin in a desire of securing 'uniformity (or equality) in the prosecutions, and uniformity in the punishments.' How could the king secure such a result while abandoning to his officials the arbitrary and uncontrolled right of deciding as to whether prosecutions were to be instituted or not, and as to the nature or

extent of the punishments to be inflicted? This, it must be observed, is the meaning to which the translation of the learned Leyden professor leads. All is explained if we take *âtman* as referring to the king himself, and, in this agreeing with Burnouf, the prosecutions and the punishments as concerning, not the persons committed to the charge of the *rajjûkas*, but these functionaries themselves. 'I reserve to myself, personally,' says the king, 'the institution of prosecutions against, and the awarding of punishments upon, them.' It is manifest that this is an excellent method for establishing a perfect uniformity in the legal responsibilities of these officers; and it is at the same time a weighty guarantee on behalf of those most interested. They could fulfil their duties without inquietude, knowing that they were responsible to the king alone, and that therefore they escaped the possible intrigues and enmities of any official superiors. I deem it useless to insist on the reasons which render inadmissible the interpretation which Burnouf, misled by a false analysis of *atapatiyê*, proposed for this sentence.

3. There can, I think, be no doubt as to these last words, regarding which the reading °*vachâ*, instead of °*vu châ*, has hitherto misled interpreters. *Anugahinêvu* is nothing but the optative of *anugrihṇâti*, derived and spelled according to all the analogies of Prâkrit, and in particular of the dialect of our inscriptions. The *vu* is for *yu*, as in *upadahêvu*, and in many other instances to which attention either has been or will be drawn. The translation is quite simple. The aim of the king is that the *rajjûkas* "should provide for, and *favour* the welfare and the happiness of, the populations." We have previously shown how familiar the word *anugraha* is to the language of the king. It has almost the appearance of a technical term.

4. In order to understand this member of the sentence, it is indispensable to compare with it the expression of the viiith Col. Ed., l. 2, which refers to it and sums it up. There the king expresses the mission given to *rajjûkas* as follows: *hêvaṁ cha hêvaṁ cha paliyâvadâtha janaṁ dhaṁmayutaṁ*. This comparison appears to me to condemn the translation proposed by Dr. Kern (*cf.* again J. R. A. S., N. S., xii. pp. 392 and 393, *note*). *Ôvadati* has in Buddhist language the exact and ascertained meaning of 'to exhort,' 'to preach.' We have already explained this in discussing the VIth edict. *Viyôvadati* has the same signification, except for the shade of diffusion which, marked here by the prefix *vi*, is in the circular edict given by the prefix *pari*. We have a direct proof of this in Dhauli, vi. ii; *viyôvaditâ[vê]* corresponding to *ôvaditaviyaṁ* of the other versions. This meaning is also the only one which suits the following sentence.

On the other hand, the same comparison prevents our taking *yuta* in *dhaṁmayutêna* as a neuter, and translating, with Burnouf, 'conformably to law.' I have on a former occasion (I. 78) had occasion to remark that throughout our inscriptions *dhaṁmayuta*, or its equivalent, *yuta*, whether in the singular or in the plural, has always the same meaning, and designates the faithful people, the co-religionists of the king. So it is in the xiiith edict, in which the king enjoins his officials to confirm them by their exhortations in their good sentiments: so it is also here. We have, in fact, a very simple means of putting the present passage in complete agreement with the former one: it is to take the instrumental in its meaning, so common and well known, of association. We accordingly translate, 'and with the faithful (at the same time as the faithful) they will exhort all the people.'

We are now in a position to restore all its regularity to the rest of the sentence. We can only, if we follow the usual style of these edicts, refer *âlâdhayêvu* to the people, to those who are set under authority, as the subject. *Kiṁti*, in short, always announces the intention attributed to the subject of the proposition; here, to the subject of *viyôvadisaṁti*, *i.e.* to the *rajjûkas*. As we enter, with *kiṁti* and *ti*, into the direct style, it would be necessary, if the verb applied to these officials, that it should be in the first person and not in the third. The idea of the king is therefore incontestably this:—'the *rajjûkas* shall preach the gospel to my subjects, in order to provide for their welfare in this world and in the world to come.'

5. There can be little doubt here about the restoration of *laghaṁti* to *chaghaṁti*. The difference between J and d is very slight, and the evidence of the other versions seems to be decisive. As to this form, no one has as yet noted its parallel use in Prâkrit, or has determined

its prototype in Sanskṛit. Dr. Kern compares the Hindustânî *cháhná*, the meaning of which, 'to desire,' 'to wish,' would be sufficiently suitable. But to explain directly, and without any intermediate form, an expression of the time of Aśôka by Hindustânî, is in itself so desperate an expedient, that it appears to me necessary to search once more in a less distant region. I have only a conjecture to offer. I should propose to take *chagghati* as an alteration of *jagrati* like *paṭi-jaggati*, which is so continually employed in the Buddhist language in the meaning of 'to take care,' 'to watch.' Pâli presents more than one example of the hardening of a medial into a tenuis (*cf.* E. Kuhn, *Beitrage zur Páli Gramm.*, p. 40; Trenckner, *Páli Miscellany*, 161 and ff.), and the other Prâkṛits have even more instances. There are several in our inscriptions ; I mention only one,—*kubhá* = *guhá*.

Paṭichalati should be taken purely and simply as an equivalent of *paricharati*, only used in the classical language in the meaning, here very suitable, of 'to serve,' 'to obey.' Examples of the substitution of *prati* for *pari* are not wanting in the Prakrit dialects. I cite only the Pâli *paṭipáti* for *paripáti*; and the Buddhist Sanskṛit *parijágrati*, beside the Pâli *paṭijaggati* (*cf.* *Mahávastu*, I. 435 ; *cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 396).

Dr. Kern, as well as Burnouf, corrects *pulisáni* into *pulisánaṁ*, and makes it a genitive dependent on the substantive *chhaṁdaṁnáni*. The unanimity of the versions prohibits our considering a correction which is not so easy as it would seem at first, the regular form being *pulisánaṁ* (ꖾ) and not *pulisánáṁ* (ꖾ). It only remains for us to take *pulisáni* as a nominative plural. So great is the confusion amongst the genders in all our texts, and the analogies in the history of the popular languages (I refer above all to Buddhist Sanskṛit) are so numerous, that the use of a neuter termination with a masculine noun need not stop us for a moment. It is clear that the sense thus obtained is in every way satisfactory. Throughout the entire edict, the first thought of the king is visibly to connect all his officials directly with his personal action,—to cause *his* orders, *his* wishes, to reign everywhere and immediately. So it is here : 'The *rajjúkas* shall apply themselves to serve *me*, and (under their influence) the officials (designated generally under the term " men of the king") will follow *my* wishes and *my* orders.'

The parallel versions establish the true reading beyond a doubt to be *chhaṁdaṁnáṁ*, and not *chhaṁdanáni*. There is therefore no need of thinking of a secondary derivative, equivalent in meaning to *chhanda*. Burnouf had already thought of taking *pulisáni* as the masculine, and of analysing *chhaṁdaṁnáni* into *chhandájña*, but he would have made the two words accusatives and the second an epithet of the former. All this construction is irreconcilable with the meaning of *paṭichalisaṁti*. It is, on the contrary, very simple to recognise *chhaṁdaṁnáṁ* as a Dvandva, compounded of *chhanda* and *ájñá*, 'will and order,' in the accusative case, dependent on *paṭichalati*.

There are, however, three syllables, the analysis of which it is necessary to correct. Hitherto *chakáni* has been considered as one word, the equivalent of the Sanskṛit *chakráṇi*, (or, after correction, *chakráṇáṁ*) and attempts have in turn been made to translate it as 'a body of troops' and as 'a province.' I have already (I. 161) had occasion to indicate that it is necessary to divide it into *cha káni*. I have shown the existence of an adverb *káni* in the language of Piyadasi ; it depends on the evidence of the passages in the vith. (l. 6) and viith. (l. 18) edicts, where *káni* is not as in our other examples, preceded by *cha*. As regards the meaning it remains somewhat undetermined, as indeed might be expected from its origin. The example of the vth. edict (l. 9) might suggest our attributing to it the meaning of 'in general,' 'in a general way'; but it seems to me to be, on the, whole, safer, for the reasons given in the passage above referred to, to consider *káni* as almost equivalent to *khalu*, and the phrase *cha káni* to the phrase *cha khu* so commonly met with in this style.

Yêna, in the twelfth line, means 'in order that,' but this is not the only meaning which the word can have : that of 'because' is not less common. If we adopt this latter meaning here (l. 9), and refer *tê*, as would be natural, to the '*pulisas*,' we get a satisfactory explanation of the whole sentence. 'Let the *rajjúkas* conform to my views, and all my officers carry out my wishes. They also (the officers) will spread my religious teaching far and wide, if

the *rajjûkas* take pains to satisfy me.' In other words, the king entrusts the *rajjûkas* with a mission of superintendence over his officers in general, which, if properly conducted, should ensure their joint action in helping forward his religious intentions.

6. It is unnecessary to discuss again infinitive forms like *parihaṭavê* for *parihartavê*. The meaning of *pariharati* is quite fixed by the custom of Buddhist language, in which it signifies 'to busy oneself,' 'to take care of,' (*cf. e.g. Mahâvastu*, I. 403). All the rest of the sentence has been ingeniously explained by Burnouf. Dr. Kern has improved his analysis with regard to the word *viyata*, which he transcribes, not by *vyâpta*, but by *vyakta*.

7. With Dr. Kern, I consider *saṁtaṁ* as not equivalent to *śântaṁ*, but as representing the nominative plural *santaḥ*. I have already (K. xiii. 11) drawn attention to the nominative *ayô* for *ayaṁ*; and this would be the exact converse, if the final *ô* were not transformed into *ê* in this dialect; but the frequent changes in it of nominatives neuter (*aṁ*) into nominatives masculine (*ê*) would furnish a ready foundation for a confusion of this nature. *Śântaṁ* in this position will not construe. Regarding the rest of this sentence, see note 2. It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the close correlation which the words *yêna, êtêna*, 'in order that,' 'for this purpose,' establish between the two members of the sentence. With a form slightly different, the sense is exactly the same as in lines 3-5.

8. I cannot agree with previous commentators in taking *kiṁti* as = *kîrtiḥ*. It must be the particle *kiṁti*, so common in our inscriptions. The termination of *ichhitaviyê*, which is the same in all versions, and above all a comparison with Bhabra, l. 6, and with Dh., detached edict i, 3, 9-11, &c., appear to me to be absolutely decisive. *Êsâ*, as happens elsewhere (*e.g.* l. 19 of the preceding edict), and *ichhitaviyê*, represent neuters.

I have already stated the meaning in which I take *samatâ*. I know of no authority, either in Sanskṛit or Buddhistic usage, for turning the word from its proper signification, which is not 'impartiality' (Burnouf), or 'equity' (the *æquitas* of Dr. Kern), but 'equality' or 'uniformity.' It is this last meaning, too, which leads us to a correct understanding of the whole idea.

9. The transcription of *âvṛitti* (Burnouf's *âvṛiti* is an obvious misprint) for *âvuti* is admissible; but the meaning 'change of resolution' is unexpected, and entirely arbitrary. I have intimated above (note 1) that I transcribe it as *âyukti*. The change of *y* to *v* under such conditions is so common that it need not cause us to hesitate for a moment. This transcription is moreover the only possible one in the *dêsâvutikê* of the 2nd detached edict of Dhauli (l. 8), as Dr. Kern has already recognised. So also in *anâvutiyâ* (1st detached edict, l. 11), as we shall see later on. The meaning suits exactly, 'from henceforth, this is my injunction, my decision.'

10. I have already (I. 158) had occasion to fix the true signification of *tîlita* (*tîrita*). *Tîrêti* refers especially to the *completion*, to the *judgment* of a case, and *tîlitadaṁḍa* signifies 'those men whose sentence of punishment has been delivered.' *Yôtê* appears to me to have been perfectly explained by Dr. Kern, through its connection with the Sanskṛit *yautaka*, and gives the sense, first suggested by Burnouf, of 'respite.'

The revision of the different versions of the Corpus confirms the original reading *jîvitâyê tânaṁ* throughout. It is on this (and not on *tiṁnam*) that our interpretation must be founded. Dr. Kern's conjecture (*jîvitâyêti nânâsaṁgaṁ*, &c) must be condemned by one fact alone, that in our text *tânaṁ* ends a line; and that hence, to judge from the constant practice of the texts which avoid the division of a word between two lines, the syllable *naṁ* could not be separated from the syllable which precedes it, to be joined to those which follow. *Tânaṁ* suits the sense admirably. It is simply the well-known genitive plural of the pronoun *taa*. It can clearly only apply to the condemned persons who have just been named. It is also certain that these same persons are the subjects of the verbs which follow, *dâhaṁti* and *kachhaṁti*; and from this I draw several conclusions. First, that *tânaṁ* belongs to the sentence of which the verb is *nijhapayisaṁti*. It must, moreover, be the last word of that sentence, for *va* cannot

commence a new one, and *nijhapayitá* requires an object. It further follows that the condemned, under consideration, cannot be the subject of *nijhapayisaṁti.* This is the more important, as this verb has much puzzled interpreters, and no satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered for it. *Jhap* has been derived from *kshap*, the causal of *kshi*, and from a phonetic point of view, no objection can be taken to this. But, putting out of the question the fact that this verb is used nowhere else with the particle *ni*, this analysis leads to most complicated and unsatisfactory constructions. We find in Pâli the verb *nijjhâpêti* (*cf.* Childers, *s. v.*), the regular causal of the Sanskrit *ni-dhyai*, with the perfectly legitimate meaning of 'to cause to know,' 'to turn the attention towards.' We have here, it is true, the shortened form, *nijhapêti*; but this occurs under the same influences as those which have produced *thapêti* from *sthâpayati* and other similar examples. Nothing, therefore, prevents us from identifying this verb as occurring here. The subject of the verb must necessarily either be indefinite, as often happens in our inscriptions (*cf. dêkhaṁti* above in the 1st edict), or, which will come to the same thing, the officials, these *purushas* and *rajjûkas*, of whom mention has just been made.

A very easy explanation now unfolds itself for the phrase which commences with *nâtikâvaḍâni*. I grant, says the king, a respite of three days to those condemned to death before the execution of their punishment; 'they will bring them face to face with neither more nor less,' or in other words, they will explain to them that a space of three days and no more is all the delay accorded to them to live. This translation agrees exactly with the *nijhapayitá* of the following sentence. Hitherto a participle absolute has been sought for in this word; but in that case the use of the form *nisijitu*, a few lines above, would have led us to expect *nijhapayitu*. It is really a plural participle with which we are dealing, °*payitá* being for °*pitá*, just as we find *vêdayitam* in Pâli and in Buddhist Sanskrit, and *sukhayita* below (viii. 3). Burnouf, I may add, took the word as a participle, although he analysed the root in an altogether different manner. The meaning is therefore, 'he who has had his attention drawn to,' 'who is warned of.' The object can only be *nâsaṁtaṁ*, which, as Lassen suggests, can well be referred back to *nâśântaṁ*, 'the term' or 'limit of their execution.'

Vá is *vai*, or rather, as we so often meet it, *êva*.

It is unnecessary to refer again to the adjective *pâlatika*, or to the futures *dâhaṁti* and *kachhaṁti*.

11. The phrase *niludhasi kâlasi* is the last in this inscription which offers any difficulty. Both Burnouf and Dr. Kern suggest a reading *niludhasâpi kâlasi*, 'during the time of their imprisonment.' If this translation is to be retained, the correction is indispensable. It would nevertheless, in the face of the agreement of all the facsimiles and versions, be better to avoid it if possible. To this consideration must be added others which are, I admit, less decisive. In the first place, we should have rather expected *nilôdhasa*, as both Burnouf and Dr. Kern have perceived. In the second, the use of *kâla* to denote the time which elapses, or 'period,' does not appear to me to be in accord with the custom of the language. I propose to avoid these various difficulties by taking *kâlasi* as the locative of *kârâ*, 'prison.' The change of gender need not surprise us after so many analogous examples: at any rate, it is not so astonishing to meet the masculine locative *kârasi* of *kârâ*, as to meet a feminine locative *kâlâyaṁ* of *kâla*, at Rûpnâth (l. 2). *Niludhasi* would then appear in its proper position as a participle, and the locative would mean, 'even in a closed dungeon'; 'even when shut up in a dungeon.' This interpretation appears to me to render more striking, at least in form, the evidently intentional antithesis between this phrase and *pâlataṁ*.

12. This last portion represents, as indicated by the final *iti*, either a wish or an intention of the king. It appears as if a potential were needed. Perhaps we have here, if we take *vadhati* as being for *vadhâti*, one of those traces of the subjunctive to which we have more than once drawn attention both in Pâli and in Buddhist Sanskrit (*cf. Mahâvastu*, I. 499, &c.).

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :—In the twenty-seventh year of my coronation, I have had this edict engraved. Amongst many hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, have I set over the people *rajjûkas*. I have kept in my own hands the ordering of all prosecutions against and of all punishments upon them, in order that these *rajjûkas* may attend to their duties in security and without fear, and that they may establish and develop the happiness and prosperity of the population of my dominions. They will make themselves acquainted with their good and evil plight, and, together with the Faithful, they will exhort the (entire) population of my dominions so as to secure their welfare both in this world and in the world to come. The *rajjûkas* will set themselves to obey me, and so will my *purushas* also obey my wishes and my orders. They will exhort far and wide, if the *rajjûkas* set themselves to satisfy me. Just as, after confiding a child to a skilful nurse, a man feels secure, saying to himself, "a skilful nurse sets herself to take care of my child," so have I appointed these *rajjûkas* for the happiness and prosperity of my subjects. In order that they may attend to their duties in security and free from disturbing thoughts, I have kept in my own hands the ordering of prosecutions against, and of all punishments upon, them. For it is desirable that uniformity should exist, both in the prosecutions and in the punishments. From this day (I pass the following) rule :—To prisoners who have been judged and have been condemned to death, I grant a respite of three days (before execution). (My officers) will warn them that they have neither more nor less to live. Warned thus as to the limit of their existence, they may give alms in view of their future life, or may give themselves up to fasting. I desire that even those who are shut in the prisonhouse may secure (their happiness in) the world to come, and I wish to see developing the various practices of the Religion, the bringing of the senses under subjection, and the distribution of alms.

COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE KINGS OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit the first two of these inscriptions, at Mr. Fleet's request, from excellent ink-impressions made and supplied to me by him. My notice of the third is also from his ink-impression; but in this instance, owing to the condition of the original plate, the impression is not suitable for editing in full. And my account of the fourth inscription is from imperfect rubbings which were received through Sir A. Cunningham.

A.—Copper-Plate Grant of Chandradêva and Madanapâladêva. The (Vikrama) year 1154.

This inscription has been previously edited, with a translation, by Dr. F. E. Hall, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXVII. pp. 220-241. It is on a **copper-plate** which belongs to the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta. No information is available as to where the plate was discovered.

The **plate**, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1′ 9″ by 1′ 2″. The edges of it were both fashioned thicker and raised into rims, to protect the writing. Portions of the plate are somewhat worn, especially on the proper right side, from line 8 to about line 15; but there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription, with the exception of the first three *aksharas* of line 13, which are almost completely obliterated by the incrustation of rust, so that only very faint traces of them are visible in the impression. The plate is thick and substantial; so that the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is bold and excellent; but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the tool.—In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole, through which there passes a **ring** about $\frac{9}{16}$″ thick and $3\frac{3}{4}$″ in

diameter. This ring had been cut before the time when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice; but there is no reason for supposing that the present ring and seal are not the ones properly belonging to this plate. On the ring there slides a bell-shaped **seal**, about 2¾" high from top to bottom; it fits on to the ring by a circular opening, about ¾" in diameter, in the lower end of it. The surface of the seal is circular, about $2\frac{1}{10}$" in diameter. In relief on a slightly countersunk surface, it has, at the top, a representation of Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling half front and half to the proper right, but with the face turned quite round in profile to the proper right; across the centre, the **legend** *śrî-Madanapâladêvaḥ* ı; and at the bottom, a *śaṅkha* or conch-shell.—The average **size of the letters** is about ⅜". The **characters** are Nâgarî.—The **language** is Sanskṛit, with nothing remarkable about it, except that in lines 15 and 16 there occurs the unusual phrase *â padma-sadmanô kûhûkântaṁ yâvat*, in place of the ordinary *â-chandrârkam.*[1]—As regards **orthography**, *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is 39 times employed for the palatal sibilant (*e.g.* in *asîtadyuti*, line 1, *Yasôvigraha* and *yasaḥ*, line 2, *samit-âśêsha*, line 3, &c.), and the palatal sibilant for the dental sibilant in *śva-dattâṁ*, line 20, and *sahaśrâṇi*, line 21; and the dental *n* is used instead of the *anusvâra* in *vanśa*, line 1. A few other mistakes will be pointed out and corrected in the transcript of the text.

The **inscription** is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, **Madanapâladêva** (or, as he calls himself in line 23, **Madanadêva**,) of **Kanyakubja** (or Kanauj), who records that his father, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, **Chandradêva**, when at Benares, granted the village of **Ahuâma**, in the **Dhaṇêsaramaua** *paṭṭalâ*, to the Brâhmaṇ Vâmanasvâmiśarman, a student of the Sâmavêda. And the **date** on which this grant was made by **Chandradêva**,[2] is stated (in lines 11 and 12), both in words and in figures, to have been **Monday**, the third lunar day of the bright half of the month Mâgha of the year 1154, **uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântau**.

That there is **something remarkable about this date**, or that, at any rate, the term *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântau* cannot have here its ordinary and well-known meaning "on the sun's entrance upon its northern course," is evident from the date itself. For the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti*, which introduces the solar month Mâgha, must necessarily precede the new-moon which introduces the bright half of the lunar Mâgha, and it therefore cannot possibly take place on the third day of the bright half of the lunar Mâgha. It is, of course, possible that the grant may have been actually made on the occasion of the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti*, and recorded on a subsequent date; but there is nothing to show that such was really the case. And I would rather confess that there is something here which, at present, I do not understand; and I can only draw attention to the date given *ante*, Vol. X. p. 188, in which the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti* apparently is similarly coupled with the fifth of the bright half of Mâgha; and to two other dates, quoted *ante*, Vol. VIII. pp. 191 and 192, in which it has been coupled with certain days of the months Phâlguna and Chaitra, when the sun can never *enter* upon its northern course.[3]—Omitting the reference to the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti*, I find that the third day of the bright half of Mâgha of the northern or southern Vikrama year 1154, current, corresponds to **19 January, A.D. 1097**, which was a **Monday**, as required (and was the 27th day of the solar Mâgha); for, on that day, the third *tithi* of the bright half ended about 10 hours after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). And the third day of the bright half of Mâgha of the

[1] See below, note 40.

[2] Dr Hall took the date to refer to the time when the deed was ordered to be drawn up by Chandradêva's son Madanapâladêva, solely because, in Dr. Hall's opinion, one would expect to read, in line 12, *snâtêna* instead of *snâtvâ*, if the date were meant to refer to Chandradêva's original grant But *snâtvâ* has undoubtedly to be referred to Chandradêva's original grant, and its use is perfectly correct, because the agent of *snâtvâ* must be the same as the agent of *pradattaḥ* (in *śâsanî-kṛitya pradatta iti*) in line 16.

[3] In the numerous dates before me which mention an *uttarâyana*-or *makara-saṁkrânti*, that Saṁkrânti is generally coupled with a day of the bright or dark half of Pausha; and I can at present recall only two dates where, in a northern year, the same Saṁkrânti is (rightly) coupled with a day of the *dark* half of Mâgha. The whole subject apparently is too intricate to be treated here incidentally.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Chandradeva and Madanapaladeva.—The Year 1154.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE ·42

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

northern or southern year 1154, expired, corresponds to Friday, 8 January, A.D. 1098; while the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti* had taken place on Thursday, 24 December, A.D. 1097, which was the third day of the *dark* half of Mâgha, by the *pûrṇimânta*, or of Pausha, by the *amânta* reckoning.

The village granted, and the *pattalâ* in which it was situated, I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

TEXT.[4]

1 Ôṁ[5] svasti ‖ Akuṇṭhôtkaṇṭha[6]-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭhapîṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ । saṁrambhaḥ surat-ârambhê sa Śriyaḥ śrêyasê=stu vaḥ ‖ Âsîd[7]=Asi(śi)tadyuti-vanśa(ṁśa)-jâta-kshmâpâla-mâlâsu divaṁ=gatâsu । sâkshâd=Vi-

2 vasvân=iva bhûri-dhâmnâ nâmnâ **Yasô(śô)vigraha** ity=udâraḥ ‖ Tat[8]-sutô=bhûn=**Mahîchandraś**=chandra-dhâma-nibhaṁ nijam । yên=âpâram=akûpâra-pârê vyâpâritaṁ yasa(śa)ḥ ‖ Tasy[9]=âbhût=tanayô nay-aika-rasikaḥ krânta-dvi-

3 shan-maṇḍalô vidhvast-ôddhata-dhîra[10]-yôdha-timiraḥ śrî-**Chandradêvô** nṛipaḥ । yên=ôdâratara-pratâpa-sa(śa)mit-âsê(śê)sha-praj-ôpadravaṁ śrîmad-**Gâdhipur**-âdhirâjyam=asamaṁ dôr-vvikramêṇ=ârjjitaṁ ‖ Tîrthâni[11] **Kâsi(śi)-Ku-**

4 **si(śi)k-Ôttarakôsa(śa)l-Êndrasthânîyakâni** paripâlayat=âbhi[12]gamya । hêm=âtma-tulyam=anisa(śa)ṁ dadatâ dvijêbhyô yên=âṅkitâ vasumatî sa(śa)tasa(śa)s=tulâbhiḥ ‖ Tasy=âtmajô **Madanapâla** iti kshitîndra-chû-

5 ḍâmaṇir=vvijayatê nija-gôtra-chandraḥ । yasy=âbhishêka-kalas-ôllasitaiḥ payôbhiḥ prakshâlitaṁ kali-rajaḥ sakalaṁ dharitryâḥ ‖ Yasy[13]=âsîd=vijaya-prayâṇa-samayê tuṅgâchal-ôchchaiś-chala-

6 n-mâdyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-âsama-bhara-bhrasyan-mahî-maṇḍalê । chûḍâratna-vibhinna-tâlu-galita-styân-âsṛig-udbhâsitaḥ Sê(śê)shaḥ[14] pêsha-vasâ(śâ)d=iva kshaṇam=asau krôḍê nilîn-ânanaḥ ‖ Sô=yaṁ samasta-râ-

7 ja-chakra-saṁsêvita-charaṇaḥ ‖[15] paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsva(śva)ra-paramamâhêsva(śva)ra-nijabhujôpârjjita-śrî**Kanyakuvjâ(bjâ)**dhipatya-śrî**Chandra-dêva**-pâdânudhyâta-pa-

8 ramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsva(śva)ra-paramamâhêsva(śva)ra-śrîman-**Madanapâladêvô** vijayî ‖[16] chha ‖[16] **Dha**[17]**ṇêsaramaua**-pattalâyâm=**Ahuâma**-grâma-nivâsinô

9 nikhila-janapadân=upagatân=api cha râja-râjñî-yuvarâja-mantri-purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhâṇḍâgârik-âkshapaṭalika-bhishak(g)-naimittik-ântaḥpurika-dûta-karituragapa-

10 ttanâkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân samâjñâpayati vô(bô)dhayaty=âdisa(śa)ti cha । Viditam=astu bhavatâṁ ।[18] yath=ôparilikhita-grâmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-

11 madhûka-chûta-vana-vâṭikâ-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yûti-gôchara-paryantaḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ s-ôrddhv-âdhaś=chatur-âghâṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ [sva]-sîmâ-paryantaḥ **chatuḥpa(shpa)ñcha-sa(śa)d-adhika-sa(śa)taikâdasa(śa)-saṁvatsarê Mâghê mâ-**

12 **si su(śu)kla-pakshê tṛitîyâyâṁ Sôma-dinê Vârâṇasyâṁ uttarâyaṇa(ṇa)-**[19] **saṁkrântau aṅkataḥ saṁvat 1154 Mâgha su di 3 Sômê Vârâṇasyâṁ** dêva-śrî-Trilôchana-ghaṭṭê Gaṁgâyâṁ snâtvâ śrîma-

---

[4] From the impression. [5] Expressed by a symbol. [6] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[7] Metre, Indravajrâ. [8] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [9] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[10] This is distinctly *dhîra*, and not *vîra*. [11] Metre, Vasantatilakâ, and in the next verse.

[12] This *akshara*, *bhi*, is quite distinct here. [13] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[14] This sign of *visarga* had originally been omitted—I believe the right reading to be *Sêshaḥ śaisha-vaśâd=iva*: see *ante*, Vol. XV., p. 12, note 97.

[15] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[16] These signs of punctuation are superfluous. On the sign, resembling *chha*, which stands between them, see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 140, note 45.

[17] The consonant, *dh*, of this *akshara* is quite distinct, but the whole *akshara* may possibly be *dhê*.

[18] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[19] The actual reading of the text is *uttarânayana*.—*Uttarânayana* for *uttarâyaṇa* we also find *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 197, line 22.

13 [n-mahâr ? [20]]âja-śrî-**Chaṁdradêvêna** vidhivan=maṁtra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhûta-pitṛi-gaṇâṁs=tarppayitvâ timira-paṭala-pâṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarôchisham=upasthây=Aushadhipati-sa(śa)kala-śê(śê)kharaṁ samabhyarchchya
14 [tri]bhuvana-trâtur=Vvâsudêvasya pûjâṁ vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ havirbhujaṁ hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô(śô)-bhivṛiddhayê Kausi(śi)ka-gôtrâya Visvâ(śvâ)mitra-Audalya-Dêvarâta[21]-tripravarâ-
15 ya Chchhaṁdôga-sâ(śâ)khinê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-Dêvasvâmi-pautrâya vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-śrî-Vârâhasvâmi-putrâya vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-śrî-Vâmanasvâmisa(śa)rmmaṇê gôkarṇṇa-kusa(śa)latâ-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvam=â padmasadmanô hû-
16 hûkântaṁ yâvach=chhâsanîkṛitya pradatta iti jñâtvâ asmâbhiḥ pitṛi-dâna-sâ(śâ)sana-prakâsa(śa)nârthaṁ nija-nâm-âṅkita-mudrayâ tâṁmra[22]-paṭṭakê nidhâya pradattô[23] matvâ yathâdîyamâna-bhâgabhô-
17 ga[ka]ra-hiraṇya-prabhṛiti-samast-âdâyân=âjñâ-vidhêyîbhûya dâsya[tha] ॥ chha ॥ Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâḥ ॥ Bhûmiṁ[24] yaḥ pratigṛihnâ(hṇâ)ti yaś=cha bhûmiṁ prayachchhati । ubhau tau puṇya-karmmâṇau ni-
18 yatau svargga-gâminau ॥ Sa(śa)ṁkhaṁ bhadr-âsanaṁ chchhatraṁ[25] var-âsvâ(śvâ) vara-vâraṇâḥ । bhûmi-dânasya chihnâni phalam=êtat=Puraṁdara ॥ Sarvvân=[26] êtân=bhâvinaḥ pârthiv-êndrân=bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râ-
19 mabhadraḥ ॥(।) sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâ[ṁ] kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ ॥ Va(ba)hubhir[27]=vvasuddhâ(dhâ) bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ । yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ
20 phalaṁ ॥ Suvarṇṇam=êkaṁ gâm=êkâṁ bhûmêr=apy=êkam=aṅgula[ṁ] । haran=narakam=âpnôti yâvad-âbhûtasaṁplavaṁ ॥ Sva(sva)-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâṁ । sa vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ saha
21 majjati ॥ Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâ(srâ)ṇi svarggê vasati bhûmidaḥ । âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakaṁ(kê) vasêt ॥ Yân=[28] îha dattâni purâ narêndrair=ddânâni va(dha)rmm-ârtha-yasa(śa)skarâṇi । nirmmâ-
22 lya-vânta-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadîta ॥ Vât-[29]âbhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-âdhipatyam=âpâtamâtra-madhurâ vishay-ôyapabhôgâḥ[30] । prâṇâs=tṛiṇâgra-jalaviṁdu-samâ na-
23 râṇâṁ dharmmaḥ sakhâ param=ahô paralôka-yânê ॥ Śrîman-[31]**Madanadêvêna** pitṛi-dâna-prakâsa(śa)kaḥ । sâ(śâ)sanasya niva(ba)ndhô=yaṁ kâritaḥ svîya-mudrayâ । (॥) Likhitaṁ karaṇika-ṭhakkura-
24 śrî-Sahadêvêna । Si(śi)vam=a[stu] ॥ Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ !

May it be well !

(Line 1.)—May the agitation of Lakshmî during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikuṇṭha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness !

After the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (*personage*) **Yaśôvigraha** by name, (*who*) by his plentiful splendour (*was*) as it were the sun incarnate.

[20] I am doubtful about these three *aksharas*, of which only faint traces are visible in the impression. The *aksharas* were certainly not *drâjâdhirâ*.

[21] According to the *Âśvalâyana-śrautasûtra*, Calcutta Ed., p. 883, the three names are *Vaiśvâmitra-Dêvarât-Audala*.

[22] Read *tâmra*.

[23] One expects *pradatta iti matvâ*.

[24] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh) ; and in the next verse.

[25] Read *chhattraṁ*.

[26] Metre, Śâlinî.

[27] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh) ; and in the next three verses.

[28] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[29] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[30] Read *ôpabhôgâḥ*.

[31] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

(L. 2.)—His son was **Mahîchandra,** who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon's splendour, (*even*) to the boundary of the ocean.

His son was the king, the illustrious **Chandradêva,** whose one delight was in statesmanship, who attacked the hostile hosts (*and*) scattered the haughty brave warriors as (*the moon does the*) darkness. By the valour of his arm he acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious **Gâdhipura,**[32] when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of **Kâśi, Kuśika, Uttarakôśalâ,** and **the city of Indra,**[33] after he had obtained them, (*and*) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (*in weight*) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (*on which he had himself weighed*).

(L. 4.)—Victorious is his son, **Madanapâla,** the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars all[34] impurity of the Kali-age has been washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his rutty elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold,[35] Śêsha, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.

(L. 6.)—He who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all *Râjas,* the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja,* and *Paramêśvara,* the devout worshipper of (Śiva) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Madanapâladêva,**—who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka,* the *Mahârâjâdhirâja,* and *Paramêśvara,* the devout worshipper of (Śiva) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Chandradêva,** who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious **Kanyakubja,**—

(L. 8.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the village of **Ahuâma** in the **Dhaṇêsaramaua** *pattalâ,* and also to the *Râjas, Râjñîs, Yuvarâjas,* counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), *sthânas* and *gôkulas,*[36]—(*as follows*):—

(L. 10.)—Be it known to you that the illustrious *Mahârâja* (?), the illustrious **Chandradêva,**—after having bathed in the Ganges at the *ghaṭ* of the divine holy Trilôchana at Benares, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities,[37] saints, men, beings, and the group of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon, after having performed adoration of Vâsudêva, the protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar,—at Benares, in the year eleven hundred increased by fifty-four, in the month Mâgha in the bright half, on the third (lunar day), on a **Monday, on the sun's entrance upon its northern course,** in figures, in the year 1154, su. di. 3 of Mâgha, on Monday,—has given, in order to increase the merit and fame of his parents and himself, the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with and including its groves of *madhûka* and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with its ravines and saline wastes, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abuttals, up to its proper boundaries, to the Brâhmaṇ the illustrious Vâmanasvâmiśarman, son of the Brâhmaṇ the illustrious Varâhasvâmin, son's son of the Brâhmaṇ Dêvasvâmin, of the Kauśika *gôtra,* (*and*) whose three *pravaras* are Viśvâmitra, Audalya and Dêvarâta, a student of the Chhandôga *śâkhâ,*[38]—(*confirming his gift*) with (*the pouring out*)

[32] 'Gâdhi's town' is Kanyakubja.

[33] *i. e.* Benares, Kanyakubja, Ayôdhyâ, and probably Indraprastha (or ancient Delhi); see *ante,* Vol. XV. p. 8, note 46.

[34] Other grants have *-rajaḥ-paṭalam* 'the coating of impurity.'

[35] See *ante,* Vol. XV. p. 12, note 97.

[36] See *ib.* p. 9, note 54.

[37] See *ib.* p. 10, note 55.

[38] *viz.* of the Sâmavêda.

from the palm of his hand (*of*) water purified with *kuśa* grass . . . . .[39] (*and*) ordaining (*that it should be his*) as long as sun and moon[40] (*endure*);—

(L. 16.)—(*And*) that, knowing this (*to be so*), to make known (*our*) father's order of (*this*) donation, we have set it forth on (*this*) copperplate, furnished with a seal marked with our own name, and have (*thereby on our part*) given (*the above-written village*). Aware (*of this*), you, being ready to obey (*our*) commands, will make over (*to the donee*) every kind of income, the due share of the produce, money-rent, and so forth.

(L. 17.)—And on this (*subject*) there are (*the following*) verses:—[Here follow nine of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 23.)—This deed, making known (*his*) father's donation, has been ordered to be drawn up by the illustrious **Madanadêva**, (*and it is furnished*) with his own seal.

Written by the writer of legal documents, the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious Sahadêva.

May it be auspicious! (*May*) bliss (*and*) good fortune (*attend*)!

B.—Copper-Plate Grant of Madanapâla and Gôvindachandradêva. The (Vikrama) year 1166.

This inscription has been previously edited by Babu Durgaram Basu, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLV., Part I. Proceedings, pp. 131-135. It is on another **copper-plate** which belongs to the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and was presented by Mr. J. Growse, of Mathurâ. It was discovered, in 1869, at a place called '**Râhan**' in the 'Êtâwah' District in the North-West Provinces, by a person who was digging in a field.

The **plate**, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1′ 7¾″ by 1′ 1″. The front of the plate is quite smooth; but on the back of it the edges were both fashioned thicker and raised into rims all round, as if to protect an inscription that was, or was intended to be, written there; there are, however, no indications of this grant being a quasi-palimpsest through the obliteration of an inscription on the back and the engraving of a new one on the front of it. The writing is well preserved throughout; and, excepting one or two *aksharas*, there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. The plate is substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the tool.—In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole, through which there fits tightly a copper rivet, secured at the front with an eleven-leaved water-lily. At the back this rivet secures a copper-band, about $\frac{3}{16}$″ and 1¼″ broad, with a cross-line pattern on the outer side of it, the projecting part of which is folded over so as to give an inside circular diameter of about ¾.″ Through this there slides, quite loosely, a **ring** about $\frac{5}{16}$″ thick and 2¾″ in diameter; it had been cut, before the time when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, and probably before the time when it was obtained by Mr. Growse; and the seal belonging to it is not forthcoming.—The average **size of the letters** is about ¼.″ —The **characters** are Nâgarî.—The **language** is Sanskṛit. In line 23 we have the Prâkṛit word *puppha*, for *pushpa*; in line 16 the term *śirâ*, probably denoting a measure of land; and in line 21 several rare revenue-terms, the exact meaning of which is not apparent. As regards **orthography**, the sign of the *upadhmânîya* has been employed in °*taiḥ=payôbhiḥ*, line 6, and *antaḥpurika*, line 13; *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is 11 times used for the palatal sibilant (*e.g.* in *vaṁsa*, lines 1 and 2, *asasha* for *asêsha*, *i.e.* *aśêsha*, line 4, &c.), and the palatal sibilant 9 times for the dental sibilant (*e.g.* in *śûrya*, line 2, *vaśumatî*,

[39] See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 10, note 57.

[40] In the original, the words *â padmasadmanô hûhûkântaṁ yâvat* take the place of the ordinary *chandrârkaṁ yâvat* or *â-chandrârkaṁ yâvat*, and they convey, I believe, the same meaning. It is true that the dictionaries give neither *padmasadman* for 'sun,' nor *hûhûkânta* 'the beloved of Hûhû' for 'moon;' but *padmâsana*, the etymological sense of which is the same as of *padmasadman*, is said to mean 'the sun,' and considering that *Hûhû* is the name of a Gandharva, and that there are close relations between the Gandharvas and Sôma (the moon), *hûhûkânta* may really be a very old name of the moon According to Dr. F. E. Hall, the phrase in the original "is a hundred to one, corrupt."

line 5, &c.); *sh* is used for *kh* in *sushî*, line 2; *khya* for *ksha* in *âkhyapaṭalika*, line 12. Other errors, such as the occasional use of *h* for *bh*, and *vice versâ*, of *m* for *n*, &c., which are owing to the carelessness of the writer or engraver, will be pointed out in the transcript of the text.

The **inscription** refers itself (in line 11) to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, **Madanapâladêva** of **Kanyakubja** (or Kanauj), whose son **Gôvindachandradêva**, apparently acting on behalf of his father, thereby makes known that the *Râṇaka* **Lavarâpravâha**, who must have owed allegiance to Madanapâla, when at **Âsatikâ** on the Yamunâ, gave part of the village of **Râmaïtha**, in the **Sigurôḍha** *pattalâ*, to the Brâhmaṇ Guṇachandra, a student of the Ṛigvêda and emigrant from the village **Bhatakavaḍa**.

The **date** on which this donation was made, is stated (in lines 17 and 18), in figures only, to have been **Sunday**, the 15th of the dark half of the month Pausha, of the year 1166, at the time of **a solar eclipse**.

The introductory metrical portion (from line 1 to 10) of the inscription gives the genealogy of the so-called Râṭhôr princes of Kanyakubja, down to Gôvindachandra, referring those princes, like the Basâhi plate[41] of Gôvindachandradêva (with which this inscription has much in common), to the **Gâhaḍavâla-vaṁśa**, and mentioning, before Madanapâla's father Chandradêva, only the one prince **Mahîtala**, clearly the **Mahiala** of the Basâhi plate. The statement that Chandradêva acquired the sovereignty over Ḳanyakubja when the two great regal families of the solar and lunar races had perished, is identical in purpose with the statement of the Basâhi grant, that Chandradêva rose to power when **Bhôja** and **Karṇa** were no more. Beyond this, attention need only be drawn to Gôvindachandra's wars against the **Hammîra**, which are referred to in line 9.

The date, the details of which have been given above, **does not appear to work out satisfactorily.** Taking 1166 to be the *current* northern or southern Vikrama year, the corresponding date, by the *pûrṇimânta* reckoning, would be 4 December, A.D. 1108, and by the *amânta* reckoning, 3 January, A.D. 1109. On 4th December, 1108, there *was* **a solar eclipse**, but it was **not visible** in India, and the day was a Friday, *not* a Sunday; and 3rd January, 1109, *was* a **Sunday**, but without a solar eclipse. For Vikrama 1166, *expired*, the corresponding dates would be Thursday, 23 December, A.D. 1109, and Saturday, 22 January, A.D. 1110, both without an eclipse and therefore in every respect unsuitable. And for the Vikrama year 1165, current, the corresponding date, by the *pûrṇimânta* reckoning, would be Monday, 16 December, A.D. 1107, when, about noon, there *was* a **solar eclipse** which *was* **visible in India**; and by the *amânta* reckoning, Tuesday, 14 January, A.D. 1108, without an eclipse.—Considering that in all the years from A.D. 1100 to 1120 the 15th of the dark half of Pausha never fell on a Sunday on which there was a solar eclipse, I for the present incline to believe that some of the recorded details of the date are erroneous; but all I can say with certainty is, that of the several corresponding dates given above, **Sunday, 3 January, A.D. 1109** would be the most suitable, if the writer had made a mistake concerning the eclipse.

Regarding the **places** mentioned, none of which I am able to identify, I may add that **Âsatikâ** on the Yamunâ is also mentioned in line 9 of the Basâhi plate.

TEXT.[42]

1 Ô[ṁ*] Paramâtman[ê] namaḥ ‖ Akuṁṭhôtkaṁṭha-[43]Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭhapîṭha-luṭhatkaraḥ। saṁraṁbhaḥ surat-âraṁbhê sa Śriyaḥ śrêyasê=stu vaḥ ‖ Abhûn=[44]n[ṛi]pô **Gâhaḍavâla**-vaṁsê(śê) **Mahîtalô** nâma ji-

2 t-ârichakraḥ। sthit[ô] dharâ-bhâram=aśêsha[ṁ ?][45] êsha Śêshaḥ sushî(khî) yasya su(bhu)jê nidhâya ‖ Pradhvastê[46] Sôma-Śû(sû)r[y]-ôdbhava-vidita-mahâ-kshatravaṁsa(śa)-dvayê=sminn=utsannaprâya-vêdadhvani jagad=akhilaṁ ma-

---

[41] *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 103.
[42] From the impression.
[43] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[44] Metre, Upajâti.
[45] Read *aśêsham=êsha*.
[46] Metre, Sragdharâ.

3 nyamânaḥ Svayaṁbhûḥ I kṛitvâ dêha-grahâya pravaṇam=iha manaḥ [ś]uddha-vu(bu)ddhir=ddharitryâm=uddharttuṁ dharmma-mârgaṁ prapri(thi)tam=atha tathâ kshatravaṁśa-dvayaṁ cha II Vaṁśê[47] tatra tataḥ sa êsha samabhûd=bhûpâ-

4 la-chûḍâmaṇiḥ pradhvast-ôddhata-vairi-vîra-timiraḥ śrî-**Chaṁdradêvô** nṛipaḥ I yên=î(ô)dâratara-pratâpa-śamit-âsa(śê)sha-praj-ôpadrava - śrîmad - **Gâdhipur** - âdhirâjyam=asamaṁ dôr-vvikramêṇ=ârjjitaṁ II

5 Tîrthâni[48] **Kâsi(śi)-Kusi(śi)k-Ôttarakôśal-Êndrasthânîyakâni** paripâlayat=âbhigamya I hêm=âtma-tulyam=aniśaṁ dadatâ dvijebhyô yên=aṁkitâ vasu(su)matî śatasa(śa)s=tulâbhiḥ II Tasy=âtmajô

6 **Madanapâla** iti kshitîndra-chûḍâmaṇir=[vv]ijayatê nija-gôtra-chaṁdraḥ I yasy=âbhi-shêka-kalaś-ôllasitaiḥ=payôbhiḥ prakshâlitaṁ kali-rajaḥ-paṭalaṁ pṛithivyâḥ II Yasy[49]=âsîd=vijaya-prayâ-

7 ṇa-samayê tuṁgâchal-ôchchaiś-chalan-mâdyat-kuṁbhi-pada-kra[m]-â[sa]ma-bhara-bhra-syan-mahîmaṁḍal[ê*] I chûḍâratna-vibhinna-tâlu-galita-styân-âsṛi(sṛi)g-udbhâsita-Śêshaḥ [pyê[50]]sha-vasâ(śâ)d=iva kshaṇam=as[au[51]] krô-

8 ḍê mi(ni)lîn-âna[naḥ*] II Jâtas=[52]tatô rajanijânir=iv=amvu(mbu)râśêr=**Gg[ô]viṁda-chaṁdra** iti kâṁti-bhar-âbhirâmaḥ I râj-âtmaj[ê*]na bhavatâ sam[u*]pâjjâ(rjji)-tâni Râmêṇa Dâśarathin=êva yaśâ[ṁ]śi(si) yêna II Durvvâra-[53]sphâ-

9 [ra]-G[au]ḍa-dviradavara-ghaṭâ-ku[ṁ]bha-nirbhêda-bhîmô **Hammîraṁ**[54] nyasta-vairaṁ muhur=asama-raṇa-krîḍayâ yô vidhattê I sa(śa)sva(śva)t-saṁchâri-valgat-turaga-khuraput-ôllêkha-mudrâ-sanâpa(tha)-kshôṇî-śvî(svî)kâ-

10 ra-dakshaḥ sa iha vijayatê prârthanâ-kalpavṛikshaḥ II Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâ-dhiga(râ)ja-param[ê]śvara - paramamâhêśvara - mi(ni)jabhujôpârjjita-śrî**Kanyâku-vjâ(bjâ)**dhipatya-śrî**Chaṁdradêva**-

11 pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahâr[â]jâdhirâja-paramêśvara - paramamâhêśvara - śrî**Ma-danapâladêva**-vijayarâjyê II Asy=aiv=âtmajô mahârâjaputra-śrî-**Gôviṁdachaṁdra-dêvaḥ** II[55]

12 **Sigurôḍha**-pattalâ[yâ*]ṁ I **Râmaïtha**-grâmê II samasta-mahattama-janapada-nivâsi-lôkân prativâsi-lôkâṁś=cha II râja-râjñîṁ-matri[56]-purôhit-âmâty-âkhya(ksha)paṭa-likâ(ka)-hâṁ(bhâṁ)ḍâgârika-bhi-

13 shag-n[ai]mittika-s[ê]nâpati[57]-antaḥpurika-samast-âdhikâri-purush-âdîn samâjñî(jñâ)payati saṁvô(bô)dhayati cha II Yath=âstu vidit=êyam=anityat=âyu[r*]gatâ y[u]shmâ-bhiḥ I Vât-âtapa-vaśât=tri(tṛi)ṇâgra-lagn-â-

14 va[śyâ]ya-viṁdur=iva na sthira-pa[daṁ ?] va(ba)dhnâti jîvitaṁ I Nalinî-dala-gatê(ta)-jala-lava-chaṁchala-jaladhara-dhârâ-jala-janita-vu(bu)dvu(dbu)da-vat kshaṇa-dṛishṭa-nashṭâ sa[ṁ]pat II Kshaṇikân=î[n]driya-su-

15 khâni I Sataṁva[58] gatvaraṁ dêhinâm=âyuḥ II Tad=i[daṁ ?] may=âpi sakâta-[59] -śâpr(str)-ârth-avisaṁvâdinâ(nî)bhiḥ śruti-smṛitibhir=upajâta-niśchayêna[60] anaṁta-phala-bhôga-bhâjanaṁ bhûmi-dânaṁ matvâ[61] II asmin

16 gramê I halânâṁ chatu[r*]bhiḥ pramâyôḥ(?)[62] II sîrâ 1 sa-jala-sthalâ s-ôshara-pâshâṇâ(ṇa)- I giri-nadâ(dî)-vana-vâṭik-âm[r*]a-madhûka-lôha-lavaṇ-âkarâ I ûrddh-[v*]-âdha[ḥ*]-siddhi-yutâ I sa-daśâparâdha-daṁḍâ I tri(tṛi)ṇa-

17 parṇṇ-â[dy]-âkar-âdâya-sahitâ II **saṁ 1166 Pausha va di 15 Ravau** II ady=êbh(h)=**Âsatikâyâṁ** dêvatâ-Muraïtha-ghâṭṭê I Yamunâyâṁ yathâ-vidhinâ[63] snâtvâ dêva-manushya-pitṛi-tarpaṇâd=anaṁtaraṁ

[47] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [48] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and in the next verse. [49] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[50] This *akshara* looks like *pyê* or *yyê*. Read *śaisha*-, and compare *ante*, Vol. XIV., p. 12, note 97.

[51] In the original, this *akshara* is *s*, preceded by the medial *i*, and followed by the medial *â*; but the medial *au* is similarly denoted below in *Gauḍa*, line 9.

[52] Metre, Vasantatilakâ. [53] Metre, Sragdharâ. [54] Originally *Haṁmmîraṁ*.

[55] Here and below, in places which it is unnecessary to point out separately, the sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[56] Read -*râjñî-maṁtri*- [57] Read -*sênâpaty*-. [58] Read *satataṁ*. [59] Read *sakala*-.

[60] Read -*niśchayên=ânaṁta*-. [61] Read *mati=âsmin*. [62] Perhaps *pramêyâ*. [63] Read *yathâ-vidhi*.

18 bhagavaṁtaṁ sûryam=upasthâya | tat=anu ch=âbhîshṭa-dêvat[â*]-Mahêśvaraṁ paṁchabhir=upachâraiḥ samabhyarchchya bhagavatê Jâtavêdasê pûrṇ-âhutiṁ dat[t*]vâ | **Râhu-grastê savitari** | mâtâ-pitrô-

19 r=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê || bhaṭṭa-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya | Gûgâ-[64]pautrâya | Rîlhê-putrâya | **Bhatakavaḍa**-grâma-vinirggatâya | Sâṁkhyâyana-sâ(śâ)khinê | Gautama- | Aitatha(?)[65]- | Âṁgi-

20 rasa- | tri-pravarâya | śrut-âdhyayana-saṁpanna- | vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-Guṇachaṁdrâya || viśuddhêna manasâ kuśa-pûtêna hast-ôdakêna kshity-udadhi-pavan-âmva(mba)-râṇi yâvat | râṇaka-śrî-**Lava-**

21 **râpravâhêṇa** śâśa(sa)natvêna pradattaḥ(ttâ) || Iti matvâ sa(ya)thâ-dîyamânaṁ | bhâgabhôgakûṭaka-viṁśatichhavathâ-turushkadaṁḍa-[66] | akshapaṭalâdâya-valadî-kumaragadiâṇakâka-

22 ra-hiraṇya-vâhy-âbhyaṁtara-siddhi[67] êtat=sarvvaṁ | anyad=api bhûmy-âvâr—ṇ[68]-ôtpatsyamânaṁ mad-âjñâ-pâlana-pravaṇair=bhûtvâ[69] êtat=sarvvam=asm[ai u ?][70]panêtavyaṁ | êtat-sa[ṁ]tatyai[71] api | Na kên=â-

23 py=atra vâdhâ kâryâ | śrutvâ munînâṁ vachaḥ || Śaṁgaṁ(khaṁ)[72] ha(bha)dr-âśa(sa)-naṁ chhat[t*]raṁ var-âśvâ vara-vâraṇâḥ | bhûdâna-druma-pupphâ(shpâ)ṇi phala[ṁ] svargaḥ Puraṁdara || Bhûmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇâ(hṇâ)ti yas=tu bhûmi[ṁ]

24 prayachchhati | tâv=ubhau puṇya-ka[r]mmâṇau niyataṁ svarga-gâminau || Va(ba)-hubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || Sva-dattâ[ṁ]

25 para-dattî(ttâṁ) vâ y[ô] harêta vaśuṁ(suṁ)dharâṁ | sa vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimi[r]=bhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || Shashṭir[73]=vvarsha-sahaśrâ(srâ)ṇi svarggê vasati bhûmidaḥ | âchchhêttâ ch=ânumaṁtâ cha tâvanti narakê

26 vasêt || Gâm=êkâṁ svarṇṇam=êkaṁ cha bhûmya(mê)r=apy=[ê]kam=a[ṁ]gulaṁ | haran=narakam=âpn[ô]ti yâvad-âhûtasaṁplavaṁ || Yân[74]=îha dattâni purâ narêṁdrair=ddânâni dharmm-ârtha-yaśa(śa)skarâṇi | ni-

27 rmmâlya-vânta-pratimâni tâmi(ni) kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadîta || Yê[75] pâsyanti mahîbhṛitô mama kulê kim(ṁ)vâ parasmin=mahîṁ têshâm=êsha may=âṁjalir=vvirachitô n=âdêyam=a-

28 smât=kiyat | dûrvvâ-kâṇḍam=api svadharmma-niratâ dattaṁ mayâ pâlyatâṁ vâyur=vvâsyati tapsyati pratapanaḥ śrutvâ munînâṁ vachaḥ || Likhitô=yaṁ mahattaka-śrî-

29 Gâṁgêy-ânujñayâ Tribhuvanapâlêna | ṭhakkura-śrî-Dêvâṁga-suṁtên[76]=êti || Sunarakkuḍaṇêna Sât[ê]hara-sutên=êti[77] ||

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ !

Adoration to the Supreme Spirit!

(Line 1.)—May the agitation of Lakshmî during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikuṇṭha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness!

In the **Gâhaḍavâla** family, there was a prince, named **Mahîtala**, who defeated the host of (*his*) enemies, (*and*) by entrusting to whose arm the whole burden of the earth, Śêsha enjoyed permanent comfort.

[64] Perhaps altered to *Gûga-*.

[65] One expects *Auchathya*: see *Âśvalâyana-śrautasûtra*, Calcutta Ed., p. 878. The Basâhi plate of Gôvindachandra, *ante*, Vol. XIV., p. 103, l. 15, has *Avitatha*.

[66] Read *-daṁḍ-âksha-*. [67] Read *-siddhy=*. [68] Perhaps *-âkarshaṇ-*.

[69] Read *=bhûtv=aitat*. [70] Read *=asmâ upa-*. [71] Read *-tyâ api*.

[72] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh): and in the next five verses. [73] Read *Shashṭiṁ varsha-*.

[74] Metre, Indravajrâ. [75] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [76] Read *-sutên=*. [77] Originally *-sutênâti* (?)

When the two well-known great regal families, sprung from the Moon and the Sun, had perished, then, the self-existent (Brahman), the pure minded, considering the sound of the Vêda to have become almost extinct in the whole world, having conceived the inclination to assume a bodily form here, in order to re-establish on earth the path of religion, as well as the two famous regal families,[78]—

In that family there was then born that illustrious prince **Chandradêva**, the crest-jewel of rulers, who scattered the haughty hostile warriors as (*the moon does the*) darkness (*and*) who by the valour of his arm acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious **Gâdhipura**,[79] when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of **Kâśi, Kuśika, Uttarakôśalâ**, and **the city of Indra**, after he had obtained them, (*and*) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (*in weight*) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (*on which he had himself weighed*).

(L. 5.)—Victorious is his son **Madanapâla**, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars, the coating of impurity of the Kali-age has been washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his rutty elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold, Śêsha, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.

As (the moon) whose wife is the night (*sprang*) from the ocean, so was born from him **Gôvindachandra**, pleasing by his great loveliness, who, as son of the king, acquired fame like Râma, the son of Daśaratha.

Victorious is here that tree of paradise for (*granting*) requests, who, terrific in cleaving the frontal globes of arrays of irresistible mighty large elephants from Gauḍa, again and again by the play of his matchless fighting makes the **Hammîra** lay aside (*his*) enmity, (*and who is*) skilled in appropriating the earth (*which is*) marked by the scraping of the hoofs of (*his* constantly marching bouncing horses.

(L. 10.)—In the reign of victory of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the devout worshipper of (Śiva) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Madanapâladêva**,—who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the devout worshipper of (Śiva) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Chandradêva**, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious **Kanyâkubja**:—

His son, the illustrious **Gôvindachandradêva**, the son of the *Mahârâja*, commands and informs all the *Mahattamas* and the people residing at the village of **Râmaïtha** in the **Sigurôḍha** *paṭṭalâ*, as well as the neighbouring people, (*and*) the *Râjas, Râjñîs*, counsellors, chaplains, ministers, keepers of records, treasurers, physicians, astrologers, commanders of troops, superintendents of gynæceums, all officers having authority, and others,—as follows:—

(L. 13.)—You should know[80] that this life does not last for ever. As the dew-drop which sticks to the point of a blade of grass, on account of wind and heat, has no stable position, so it is with life. Unsteady[81] like the drop of water on a lotus-leaf, resembling the bubble produced by the shower from a cloud, fortune appears for a moment and then vanishes. Momentary are the pleasures of the senses. Ever fleeting is the life of mortals. Of this[82] I

[78] The sentence contained in this verse is incomplete, because it contains no principal verb; and I consider it impossible to connect the verse grammatically with the following verse, although it may be true that Chandradêva is intended to be described as an incarnation of Brahman. To me it appears, that the verse *Vaṁśê tatra* originally followed immediately upon the verse *Abhûn=nṛip°*, and that the verse *Pradhvastê Sôma-* has been inserted here from some other *praśasti* in which it was followed by a verse which is not given in the present inscription.

[79] For this and some of the following names and expressions compare the preceding inscription.

[80] In the original one would expect to read here *yathâstu vaḥ saṁviditam, Viditêyam*. The following must be understood to be the words of the *Râṇaka* Lavarâpravâha (in line 20), whose donation is made public by Gôvindachandra.

[81] If the original is correct, which I doubt, the word *chañchala* must be taken to qualify the following *budbuda*. I have translated as if the reading were *-chañchalâ*.

[82] Here again the words of the original, *tad=idaṁ*, are ungrammatical.

too have become convinced by the Vêdas and the law-books, which (*in this matter*) do not differ from the teaching of all the *Śâstras*; and, considering that donations of land secure the enjoyment of endless rewards,—

(L. 15.)—I, the illustrious *Râṇaka* **Lavarâpravâha,**—having duly bathed in the Yamunâ at the *ghaṭ* of the deity Muraïtha, here at **Âsatikâ,** having satisfied the divinities, men and ancestors, having adored the holy sun and thereupon worshipped with fivefold offerings my favourite deity Mahêśvara, having presented a full oblation to the holy fire,—to-day, on **Sunday,** the 15th day of the dark half of (*the month*) Pausha, of the year 1166, **during an eclipse of the sun,**—in order to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, have given as a grant in this village one *śirâ*,[83] measuring four ploughs, with its water and dry land, with its saline wastes, stones, hills, rivers, groves, enclosed gardens, mango and *madhûka* trees, mines of iron and salt, together with what accrues above and below, with the fines for the ten offences, (*and*) with the receipts from grass, leaves and so forth, and from mines (?), to the *Bhaṭṭa*, the Brâhmaṇ Guṇachandra, the son of Rîlhê (*and*) son's son of Gûgâ, who has gone forth from the village **Bhatakavaḍa,** a student of the Sâṁkhyâyana *śâkhâ*,[84] whose three *pravaras* are Gautama, Aitatha and Âṅgirasa,[85] (*and who is*) a Brâhmaṇ conversant with the Vêda,—with a pure mind (*confirming my gift*) with (*the pouring out*) from my hand (*of*) water purified with *kuśa* (grass), (*to be his*) as long as earth, sea, air and heaven (*endure*).

(L. 21).—Aware of this, (*you*) being disposed to obey my commands, will have to make over to him and also to his descendants the share of the produce,[86] . . . . **the money-rent,** whatever accrues from without and within, all this, as it may be given (*now*), and also whatever else may be produced from the cultivation (?) of the land. Nobody shall cause any obstruction in this matter, listening to the (*following*) sayings of the sages :—[Here follow eight of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate].

(L. 28.)—This[87] was written, with the consent of the *Mahattaka*[88] the illustrious Gâṅgêya, by Tribhuvanapâla, son of the *Ṭhakkura* the illustrious Dêvâṅga. (*Engraved*[89] *it was* ?) by Śunarakkuḍaṇa(?), son of Sâtêhara.

C.—Copper-Plate Grant of Gôvindachandradêva.

The (Vikrama) year 1174.

This inscription has been previously published, with a translation, by the late Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLII., Part I., pp. 324-328. It is on a **copper-plate** which belongs to the Government Museum at Lucknow, and was found, with the grant of the same king bearing the date of (Vikrama)-Saṁvat 1161, published by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XIV. pp. 101-104, in the village of '**Basâhi,**' in the 'Etâwah' District in the North-West Provinces.

The **plate,** which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1′ $5\frac{7}{8}$″ by $11\frac{3}{4}$.″ The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. But a good deal of the surface of the plate is very much corroded by rust so that at many places the writing is quite illegible. And small pieces of the plate have broken

[83] I have not found this technical term anywhere else; it is evidently related to *sîra*, 'plough.' On *hala* 'plough,' as a measure of land, see *e.g. ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 209, note 48. And with the construction *halânâṁ chaturbhiḥ* compare compounds like *bhûmâshaka-chaturnâm*, *suta-dvau*, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 13, line 29, and p. 229, line 6.

[84] *i.e.* the Śâṅkhâyana *śâkhâ* of the Rigvêda.

[85] One would expect Âṅgirasa, Auchathya and Gautama, and the *gôtra* Uchathya.

[86] I am unable to explain properly the technical terms which follow here in the original. Of other grants, the Basâhi plate of Gôvindachandra, *ante*, Vol. XIV., p. 103, l. 12, has *bhâgakûtaka* (instead of *bhâgabhôgakûtaka* of the present grant), *akshapaṭalaprastha* (instead of *akshapaṭalâdâya*), *turushkadaṇḍa*, and (as it appears, in the place of *viṁśati-chhavathâ*,) *viśatiathâ*-(?) *prastha*; the plate of the *Yuvarâja* Jayachchandra, *ante*, Vol. XV., p. 8, line 22, has *turushkadaṇḍa* and *kumâragadiôṇaka* (as I would now read): and the Raiwan plate of Gôvindachandra, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. plate VI. line 24 has *turushkadaṇḍa* and *kumaragadiyânêchâ(?)*. The term *turushkadaṇḍa* occurs also in other grants.

[87] If *likhitô=yaṁ* of the original is not a mistake for *likhitaṁ* or *likhitam=idaṁ*, we must supply some masculine word, such as *nibandhaḥ*.

[88] The same term occurs in the Basâhi plate, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 104, l. 21.

[89] I am very doubtful about the meaning of these last words of the grant, and am unable to explain them properly.

away at each of the four corners, and at the ring-hole. The letters do not shew through on the reverse side of the plate at all. The engraving is good; and but few of the letters shew any marks of the working of the tool. In the upper part of the plate there was a ringhole; but the **ring and seal** are not now forthcoming. The **weight** of the plate is 6 lbs. 1 oz.—The average **size of the letters** is about $\frac{5}{16}$." The **characters** are Nâgarî —The **language** is Sanskrit.

Having regard to the large amount of this record that is illegible, it seems unnecessary to produce the text in full, by restoring it from perfect grants of the same dynasty. It is sufficient to state that the **inscription** is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the illustrious **Gôvindachandradêva** of **Kanyakubja**; that it contains the usual genealogy of the rulers of Kanyakubja, from **Yaśôvigraha** to **Gôvindachandra**; and that it records a grant, by **Gôvindachandra**, of two villages (the names of which are quite illegible) to a Brâhmaṇ *Ṭhakkura* named Dêvapâlaśarman.

Of the legible portion of the inscription, the only thing of importance is the **date**, which by Dr. Rajendralal has been transcribed incorrectly, and which really is as follows :—

(Line 13.) . . . . . . chatuhsaptaty-adhik aikâdaśa-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsarê Phâlgunê mâsi kṛishṇa-pakshê tṛitîyâyâṅ=tithau **Sukra-dinê**=ṅkê=pi saṁvat 1174 Phâlgu-

(Line 14.) [na va di 3 (?)] **Sukrê** . . . *i.e.*, "in the year eleven hundred increased by seventy-four, in the month Phâlguna, in the dark half, on the third lunar day, on a **Friday**; in figures, the year 1174, **Friday**, Phâlgu[na va. di. 3]."

Taking this date to be recorded in the Vikrama era, according to either the northern or the southern reckoning the corresponding dates would be as follows :—

(1), For the Vikrama year 1174 current,—

(*a*) by the *amânta* reckoning, Wednesday, 21 February, A.D. 1117;

(*b*) by the *pûrṇimânta* reckoning, Monday, 22 January, A.D. 1117.

(2), For the Vikrama year 1174 expired,—

(*a*) by the *amânta* reckoning, Sunday, 10 February, A.D. 1118;

(*b*) by the *purṇimânta* reckoning, Saturday, 12 January, A.D. 1118.

Of these four dates, the first three evidently are altogether unsuitable; nor do I believe that the *tithi* intended was the one ending (about 11 hours after mean sunrise) on Saturday, 12th January, 1118, for that *tithi* did not commence till about 12 h. 50 m. after sunrise of the preceding Friday,[90] and the calculation of the dates of other grants of Gôvindachandra appear to show that the reckoning followed was the *amânta* reckoning. Such being the case, I for the present incline to believe that there is **some error in the details of the date,** and that the year intended was really the Vikrama year 1173 current. For the date corresponding, by the *amânta* reckoning, to the 3rd of the dark half of Phâlguna of Vikrama 1173, current, is **3 March, A.D. 1116,** when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise, and which *was* a **Friday,** as required.

D.—Copper-Plate Grant of Gôvindachandradêva and Râjyapâladêva.

The (Vikrama) year 1199.

In *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXII. p. 59, Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle mentions two inscribed copper-plates, constituting one grant, which were found at '**Gagahâ**,' to the west of the Râptî River, about 21 miles south of Gôrakhpur, in the North-West Provinces, and were secured through the kindness of Mr. Lumsden, then Collector of the District. What has become of the original plates we are not told; and my account of the inscription is from indifferent impressions, made over to Sir A. Cunningham, and transmitted to me by Mr. Fleet.

[90] Phâlguna-kṛishṇa-tritîyâ being one of the *Kalpâdi-tithis* (see *Dharmasindhusâra*, p. 62), the ceremony with which the donation was connected probably was a *śrâddha* ("*âsu Kalpâdi-tithishu śrâddhât pitṛi-tṛiptiḥ*"), and a *śrâddha* should not be performed during the night.

From these it appears that the inscription is on **two plates**, which measure about 1′ 6″ by 11¼″ each, and which, to judge from the **ring-holes** at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate, are or were held together by a **ring**. Each plate contains 17 lines of writing. The lower half of the first plate, on the proper left side, and the upper part as well as the proper right side of the second plate, appear to be in a bad state of preservation, so that it is impossible to make out with certainty from the rubbings the proper names of localities and private individuals, contained in these parts of the inscription. The engraving appears to be good.—The average **size of the letters** is about $\frac{5}{16}$." The **characters** are Nâgarî.—And the **language** is Sanskrit.

The **inscription** is of the time of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the illustrious **Gôvindachandradêva** of **Kanyakubja**. In lines 1-12 it gives the usual genealogy of the rulers of Kanyakubja, from **Yaśôvigraha** to **Gôvindachandra**; and its proper object is to record (lines 13-25), that the *Mahârâja-putra*, or son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Râjyapâladêva**, by the consent of the lotus-feet of the illustrious **Gôvindachandradêva** endowed with all royal prerogatives (*samasta-râja-prakriy-ôpêta*), when encamped at a village the name of which is illegible, granted a village, the name of which also is illegible, in the **[Ha ?]thauṇḍa** *pattalâ*, to a [Brâhmaṇ] *Ṭhakkura* of the Vatsa *gôtra*, a follower of the Yajurvêda *śâkhâ*. The inscription contains the usual admonition to give to the donee whatever by this grant may be due to him (the *bhâgabhôgakara, pravaṇikara, jâtakara, gôkara, turushkadaṇḍa*, etc.), and it contains (lines 25-34) some of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And it closes (in line 34) with the remark that this *tâmra-paṭṭaka* was written by the *Karaṇika*, the *Ṭhakkura* the illustrious Vîvika.

The date on which this donation was made, is in lines 18-19 given as follows :—

(Line 18.) . . . . . . samvatsarêshv=êkâdaśa-sa(śa)têshu nava-navaty-adhikêshu Phâlgunêma-

(Line 19.) si [śu]kla-pakshê êkâ[da]śyâyâṁ[91] tithau **Sa(śâ)ni-dinê** tath=âṅkê=pi samvat 1199 Phâlguna su di 11 **Sa(śa)nau** ‖ . . . . *i.e.*, "in eleven hundred years increased by ninety-nine, in the month Phâlguna, in the bright half, on the eleventh lunar day, on a **Saturday**; in figures also, in the year 1199, **Saturday**, Phâlguna su. di. 11."

Taking this date to be recorded in the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents would be.—

for the (northern or southern) year 1199 current: Sunday, 8 February, A. D. 1142, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended about 11h. after mean sunrise;

for the (northern or southern) year 1199 expired: **Saturday** 27 February, A. D. 1143, when the same 11th *tithi* ended about 13 h. after mean sunrise.

The true date accordingly is **Saturday, 27 February, A.D. 1143**; and the year mentioned in the inscription is the **Vikrama year 1199 expired.**

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA

No. XIII.—*The Floating Palace, or the Three Wise Precepts.*

Once upon a time there lived in a certain city a merchant who had an **only son**. When this son came of age, the father, with a view to put his business capacities to the test, proposed to **place at his disposal a sum of money** large enough to enable him **to begin life** as a respectable merchant, but with this proviso, that if, at the end of a certain period, the merchant found that the young man had made good use of the money entrusted to him and showed an aptitude for business, he would leave him in his will all his immense wealth, but if, on the contrary, he found that his son was wanting in that foresight and shrewdness which are the characteristics of a merchant, and launched into unprofitable speculations and thus lost money, he would disinherit him without mercy.

---

[91] Read *êkâdaśyâm*.

The young man, who had all along hoped that he would one day quietly come into possession of his father's wealth, demurred at first at this proposal, but when he saw that the old man was determined, he reluctantly consented, and taking the money from his father went to all his friends and consulted with them as to what he had best do with it.

They all suggested diffe-ent ways in which to make use of the money, till at last one old man, who was reputed to be a sage, proposed to him that if he made over the whole to him he would in return give him something worth all of it and more. The simple young man agreed, and keeping but a trifle for himself made over all the rest of the money to the old fellow, and that worthy in return gave our hero a sheet of paper neatly folded, saying with a look of great importance, "Take this, my good friend, make good use of it, and you will find that this scrap of paper is worth a great deal more than the sum you have invested in its purchase."

Our hero took it home; and on opening it found the following sentences inscribed on it in bold characters:—

1. "Hesitate not, but tread boldly.

2. "A sister in prosperity (lit. plenty), a true friend in adversity (lit. scarcity).

3. "He who falls asleep within a king's palace is lost, while he who keeps awake is saved." ([1])

The credulous youngster read the lines over and over again and then treasured up the paper like a thing of great value. He then invested the small sum he had still left in a few cheap articles of merchandise, and quietly booked himself as a passenger on board a ship bound for a distant shore.

The father, who had all this while been watching his son's movements, felt very sorry to find that though he had placed a large sum of money in his hands, he was fitting himself out as a petty trader only, instead of chartering a whole ship for himself and his wares, as became the son of a great merchant, and so when the time came for the young man to bid farewell to his father the latter remonstrated with him strongly on what he considered his meanness, and the two parted in high anger.

The poor fellow went on board with a heavy heart and the ship sailed away. After a long voyage, she entered the mouth of a large river, and cast anchor near a magnificent city situated on its banks.

Now in the middle of this river, and at a short distance from the city, there was a large and most beautiful palace, which was the wonder of all who came from far and near, for instead of being built on *terra firma*, it appeared to be floating over the surface of the waters, rising, as it were, from the depths of the river, without a yard of dry land around, along which one could walk over to the door and enter it. Besides the beauty and grandeur of the palace itself, there was another object that attracted the attention of the people on board, and that was a lovely damsel who appeared at one of its windows.

Our young hero, however, did not seem to take much interest either in the damsel or in the palace, so occupied was his mind with his own affairs, although he constantly heard his fellow-passengers discussing among themselves as to how it could be that the palace appeared to float on the surface of the river and how people could go in and come out of it.

Now as our young hero was thinking of landing and entering the city to see if he could find a market for any of his wares there, the owner of the beautiful palace, who had been watching him all the while, called out to him and invited him to come to it. The young man could not for the life of him see how he was to approach the palace, in the absence of any visible means of communication with it, and was greatly puzzled as to how the

[1] In Gujarâtî these sentences run as follows :—

१. ओइसनां पाऊं ठेसनां

२. छतनी ब्हेंन अछतनो यार

३. राजाना म्हेलमा अेकोई सुवे, जोगेत जीवे ऊंघे तो मरे.

was to act, when he bethought him of the old man and his scrap of paper, and the first sentence in it showed him a way out of his difficulty. It ran thus :—" Hesitate not, but tread boldly." So he went as close up to the palace as a boat could take him and then, to convince himself that it was really water that surrounded the palace, he plucked a piece of thread from his garments, and let it fall unperceived by any one upon what seemed to be the surface of the water, and to his great delight he found that the thread remained as dry as before, for it was not water that encircled the palace, but only a pavement of glass, so cleverly contrived as to resemble the water around, and thus deceive the unwary stranger's eye.

This contrivance not only served to attract attention towards the palace, but gave the owner, who was a bad character and enticed away unwary strangers into his den to rob them of their possessions, time to observe closely and form his opinion of the person to whom he offered his hospitality.

So when he saw our hero walking boldly on, as if he had found out the trick of the glass pavement, the bad man felt himself outdone for once, and thought he had to deal with one who might be more than a match for him. Nevertheless he welcomed him with great show of kindness, and pressed him to remain in his palace and consider it as his own till he could find suitable quarters for himself in the city.

The unsuspecting young man saw no reason why he should not accept the proffered hospitality; and ordering all his wares to be brought over to the palace, he took up his abode there with the minister and his daughter.

He had a very pleasant time of it for some weeks, for his host and his daughter treated him with so much kindness and affability that he could hardly think of quitting their hospitable abode. There was one thing, however, which made the young man feel very uneasy as to his future. The sale of what few goods he had brought with him realized but a trifling sum of money, which melted away like snow in his hands in the face of the great expenses he had to incur to keep up appearances, and he had nothing left which he could invest once more in merchandise and thus try his luck again. So he wandered aimlessly from one part of the city to another in the hope of finding some suitable means of earning a livelihood.

One day as he was walking about the streets dressed in rather a homely suit of clothes and presenting a care-worn appearance, he happened to catch sight of his only sister, whom he knew had married into a wealthy family, and had often occasion to visit the city he was in, with her parents-in-law. She was standing at one of the windows of a large house, and their eyes met as he looked up, but she drew in her head and did not appear to notice him. So he went up to the door and desired one of the servants to go up and inform his mistress that her brother wished to see her. But the rich lady thought it beneath her dignity to acknowledge so near a relationship with one who went about on foot unattended by any servants or horses, and dressed in a style not at all becoming her father's son. So she sent him word that she did not want to see him or to have anything to do with him.

This hurt the poor fellow's feelings to the quick, and he walked away from the house in no very enviable frame of mind. He had not proceeded far, however, when he fell in with a person whose face he remembered as that of an old playfellow, the son of a man of very modest means, who had once been on very good terms with his father. The other recognized him also, and the two men, after greeting each other very kindly, began to talk of their private affairs. When this old acquaintance heard our hero's story, and learnt in what manner he had parted with the large sum of money placed at his disposal by his father, how he had been left amongst strangers without the means of subsistence, and how heartlessly his own sister had disowned him, he felt very sorry for him, and offered to place at his disposal a small sum of money which he had scraped together out of his slender earnings, saying :—"Take this, it is all I have; I am but a poor man's son, and can content myself with only the bare necessaries of life, but it is a different thing with you, who have been bred in the lap of luxury; make therefore what use you choose of this money, and do not concern yourself as to how you are to return it to me. First of all, provide yourself with suitable apparel, buy a good horse,

and keep a few servants, and you will soon see that you will find credit in the city. Nor will you have cause any longer to complain of the coldness of your sister, for, if you do as I tell you, she will lose no time in owning you as her brother.

The rich man's son was greatly touched with his poor old friend's generosity, and accepted his offer with the greatest reluctance. At the same time the second of those dearly-bought sentences "a sister in prosperity, a true friend in adversity," came to his recollection, and he praised the wisdom of the old man.

This newly found friend took the opportunity of warning our young hero against the apparent kindness and friendship of the owner of the floating palace, who, he informed him, was one of the ministers of the state, but was known to be a very dangerous character. So at parting, the young merchant made a promise to his friend to bid good-bye to his host and his daughter as early as circumstances permitted.

Shortly after this his host, the minister, who had long since found out that his guest was worth nothing to him, but was on the contrary continuing to be a burden upon him, set about thinking of some method by which to get rid of him. At last he hit upon a plan by which to dispose of him effectually.

The king, his master, had an only daughter who was afflicted with an incurable disease, which had baffled the skill of a great many physicians, who had come from far and near to cure her and win the promised reward. This reward was nothing less than the hand of the fair Princess herself and the sovereignty of half her father's kingdom. Nearly every day a physician presented himself before the king and obtained permission to watch by the Princess's bed and find out what it was she was suffering from, with a view to cure her, but before next morning he was found lying dead in the chamber. So the wily minister thought this a very feasible mode of doing away with his young guest, and going up to the king one day, he told him that he had a man staying with him, who was proficient in the healing art, but pretended for some reason or other to be ignorant of it, and that, therefore, if the king wished to secure his services he had only to send his men to bring him into the royal presence, and see if he could not induce him by threats and promises to undertake the cure of the Princess.

The king agreed to this, and sent armed men to the floating palace to seize the stranger and bring him into his presence.

When the guards seized hold of the unsuspecting young man, he, in his fright, asked his host to interfere and save him, but the doublefaced villain, still pretending to be his friend, advised him to obey the king's mandate without opposition and leave the rest to fate.

Acting upon this advice the young man went with the guards and stood before the king who questioned him as to the extent of his knowledge of medicine and offered him the promised reward if he took the Princess's case in hand and cured her. But our hero declared himself quite ignorant of any knowledge of medicine and related how he was only a merchant's son. The king, however, would not believe him, and the more the poor fellow declared himself ignorant, the more the deluded king disbelieved him, so much was his mind prejudiced by the minister's story.

At last, partly by threats and partly by promises, the monarch induced the young man to consent to keep watch by the Princess's bed for one day at least and leave chance to do the rest, hoping that the sight of the poor lady's misery would melt his heart and induce him to try his remedies on her.

So the supposed physician went with the attendants into the chamber where the sick Princess lay and was there left alone with her. Not knowing what to do, he sat for some time narrowly watching the fair patient. He saw that her abdomen was swollen to an enormous height, and heard groans of great agony issuing from her mouth. In other respects, however, she appeared to be all right, for her highly beautiful face was calm and serene, and she looked as if she were wrapped in sweet slumber, in which state, as he had been told by the attendants who had led him into the chamber, she had been lying for months past, taking no other food but milk, which too had to be poured down her throat. The young man felt greatly for her,

and fervently wished he had the power to do something for the poor suffering creature. He sat by her bed the whole day, watching her movements, and towards evening he ordered the attendants to strew her bed with soft, fragrant flowers, for, he said to himself, "how bed-sore and tired she must be feeling, lying here so long and so cheerless! The odour of sweet flowers will do her good." So they strewed her bed with the choicest flowers that could be had, and placing a pail of milk near her bed, retired, leaving her alone with the reputed physician.

Left thus alone to his thoughts our hero sat and pondered for a while on what he thought his very equivocal position, wondering much how the king could have been led into considering him a physician, and how the next morning he would be able to account for his failure in curing the Princess. By degrees slumber began to steal upon him and he was about to lie down to go to sleep, when all at once he remembered the lines, "He who sleeps in a king's palace is lost, while he who keeps awake is saved." So up he started and rubbing his eyes and shaking off sleep, he sat intently gazing at the Princess again. Nor was his night's vigil unrewarded, for about midnight, he perceived the patient writhing in great agony, and giving out low moans, indicative of extreme pain. He thereupon went nearer her bed and stood by, gazing with pity on her lovely face, when what should he see but a fierce serpent slowly thrusting its head out of the poor lady's mouth, and looking stealthily about as if to see whether there was any one near! The young man, surprised and bewildered as he was at this unexpected sight, had presence of mind enough left to hide himself behind some curtains and watch what followed. The loathsome reptile, seeing the coast clear, began to draw its whole length out of the Princess's body, inch by inch, without fear, the Princess all the while giving low groans of agony, and finally with a heavy jerk it fell out amongst the flowers, and hid itself beneath them. Seeing his prey thus secure our hero came out of his hiding place and was just going to strike it with his sword, when the greedy reptile, happening to see the pail of milk hard by, slid from amongst the flowers and glided towards it. Just then the brave young man drew his sword and gave the hateful creature such a heavy blow with it as to kill it on the spot.

The joy of our hero knew no bounds when he saw the venomous reptile that had so long been tormenting the sweet Princess lying dead on the one hand, and that beautiful lady, now free from pain, with her abdomen fallen to its natural level, pouring forth her thanks on the other.

He allowed the loathsome carcass of the dreaded reptile to remain where it was, that he might show it to the king as a trophy of his victory, and engaged in a pleasant *tête-à-tête* with the fair Princess.

With morning came into the room a couple of sweepers who had been sent there as usual to clear away the remains of any physician who may have dared to treat the Princess that night, but what was their surprise when they saw the physician alive and hearty and conversing with the Princess, who was herself sitting up in bed, looking quite well and happy, and a large serpent lying dead beside her bed. They retreated respectfully and spread the good news everywhere in the palace, so that the king was soon on the spot.

When the monarch saw the body of the huge reptile and found his beloved daughter sitting up in her bed and looking cheerful and happy he comprehended at a glance what had happened, and was beside himself with joy. He held his dear child to his heart, and then, embracing the reputed physician, congratulated him on his success. Now it was that every one came to know what the poor Princess had been suffering from, and how it came about that every physician who attended her was found dead in the morning, for, judging from the account our hero gave the king, the venomous reptile had been in the habit of coming every night out of the poor lady's mouth and stinging the unfortunate physician in attendance on her while he was asleep.

The young merchant now felt really thankful to the old man who had given him, among others, the lines that warned him against going to sleep within a king's palace, for he clearly saw that but for them he too would have lost his life like the other physicians.

There was immense joy and rejoicing all over the kingdom when the Princess for the first time after her recovery from her terrible illness, rode through the city, and the fame of the fair-haired youngster who had cured her, when so many others had failed, spread far and wide, and every one, high and low, sought his friendship and did him honour. Nor was our hero's sister tardy in her attentions towards him, now that he stood so high in the royal favour. She sent messengers to invite him to make her house his home, and expressed herself highly concerned in his welfare; but her brother knew her too well to be carried away by these manifestations of her regard, and sent her word that he could do well without a sister who had discarded him when he was poor, and wanted now to make up to him only because he was rich and powerful.

Now that his beloved daughter was thoroughly cured, the king thought it high time that the promised reward should be bestowed upon her deliverer. So he sent for his astrologers and bade them fix upon a day on which to celebrate the Princess's wedding with the young merchant. But our hero's heart was not as light as it should be, considering that he was loved by the Princess as much as he loved her, and that they both looked forward to their union with the greatest rapture; for he saw that the proud nobles and grandees of the king's court looked upon him as a mere upstart and a creature of circumstances. He thought, therefore, of going back to his own country to solicit his father's forgiveness and bring him over with all his friends and relatives to celebrate his nuptials with the king's daughter with fitting pomp and ceremony. So he obtained the king's permission, and fitting out a magnificent ship sailed in it to his native country.

His father was both surprised and happy to see him back again and greeted him with the greatest kindness, for his heart was glad to find that his son had at last shown himself possessed of those qualities that he prized in a merchant's son, by making the most of the money he had placed in his hands. So he made preparations on a grand scale and sailed with a train of friends and relatives towards the country of his daughter-in-law elect, and there amidst universal rejoicing, the nuptials of the illustrious pair were celebrated with immense pomp, and the promised half of the kingdom was soon made over to the happy bridegroom.

Our hero, however, did not forget, amidst all this pomp and rejoicing, the poor friend who had assisted him in his poverty. He duly sent for him, and not only returned to him with interest the money he had so generously placed in his hands when he was poor and needy, but bestowed upon him a high post as a reward for his unselfish and disinterested friendship.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XII.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Journal of the German Oriental Society) for 1887; Vol. xli.

(*a*) The first part opens with a continuation of Prof. Bühler's **Essays on the Aśôka Inscriptions.** The present paper deals with the detached edicts of Dhaulî and Jaugada, and comprises text (in the Dêvanâgarî and Roman characters), translation, and notes. The text is founded on Dr. J. Burgess's paper impressions, checked by paper rubbings obtained by General Cunningham. Owing to its nature, a summary of the contents of the paper would be useless. Amongst new explanations given by Dr. Bühler may be mentioned that of the date and time fixed for reading the edicts publicly. He also points out that Aśôka's instructions for the inspection-tours of his higher officials agree with those of the Brâhmaṇical law-givers, and with the *Râjanîti*, and offers a new derivation for *sakhînâlaṁbhê* in the first edict from *ślakshṇârambhaḥ*. In the second edict, he explains *chakiyê* as the fut. part. pass. of the Prâkṛit verb *chak* 'to be able,' a representative and possibly a relation of the Sanskṛit *śak*. The Mahârâshtri form *chay* occurs in *Pâiyalachchhî*, vs. 202, and in Hêmachandra's *Prâkṛit Grammar*, IV. 86 (*śakêś chayatara-tîra pârâḥ*), and in the *Dêśikôsha*.

This is followed by a reprint of Dr. Ignaz

Goldziher's paper, read before the Oriental Congress at Vienna, in 1886, on the **Mahdist movement of North Africa.**

Next comes a facsimile of an **Arabic and Chinese inscription** from a mosque at Canton, with notes and translation by Herr K. Himly. The inscription is in a mosque described by Dennys in *the Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, and dates from the year 1350 A.D.

Dr. O. von Böhtlingk contributes a short note on **the Maurya question and the Mahâbhâshya,** in which he replies to Dr. Kielhorn's criticisms on a former paper of his on the subject.

The number concludes with an appreciative review by the same scholar of Dr. J. S. Speijer's *Sanskṛit Syntax.*

(b) Dr. George Ebers, the well-known Egyptologist, opens the second part with a notice of the life of **Dr. Gustav Seyffarth,** who died in New York in Nov. 1886, at the age of 89. Dr. Seyffarth was the first professor of Egyptian Language and Antiquities at Leipzig. He was the first discoverer of polyphonic hieroglyphs, and, with some reservations, of the syllable-signs of that system of writing.

This biographical sketch is followed by a continuation of Dr. Carl Lang's translation of **Ibn-al-Mu'tazz's** heroic poem regarding Mu'tadid as Prince and Regent, already noticed.

Dr. F. von Spiegel contributes a second article on the **Fatherland and Age of the Avesta.** The paper is devoted to a reply to criticisms of Dr. Geiger and others on his theories concerning the late age of this work. He first deals with the linguistic side of the argument, and shows that the fact of the *Avesta* being written in an ancient dialect is not necessarily a proof of the antiquity of the work. He draws attention to the habit of scholars writing at the present day both in Sanskṛit and in Latin. He further maintains that the language of the *Avesta*, while agreeing in many points with Sanskṛit, has also some hitherto unexplained points of difference, which seem to show traces of the influence of modern Persian, and which can only have come into existence in later ages, whether owing to corruption of the dialect or to the fact that portions of the *Avesta* were written in a dead language. Moreover the whole work rests on a mythic foundation, and the kings mentioned in it are the same as those admitted as mythical in the lists of the *Shâhnâma.* If the *Avesta* were written at the time of Zarathustra, we should expect to find his contemporaries divided into two great camps of believers and unbelievers; but instead of this we find the *Avesta* to be a fanatical book, showing us the existence of various kinds of heretics. The historical arguments for the antiquity of the *Avesta,—viz.* (1) that, with the exception of Ragha, it mentions none of the noteworthy towns of the time of the Achæmenides or Parthians, (2) that it contains none of the more usual later tribe-names, and (3) that it contains no historical notices,—are met by the contention that it does not deal with historical reminiscences, but only with the mythic period of Iranian Folklore. Places which occur in the folk-myths are mentioned, and not others. The argument that Zarathustra speaks of himself in the *Gâthâs* in the first person, is met by the fact that Ahura Mazda does the same. The author who dared to speak under the name of the highest God would not hesitate to speak under the name of his prophet. Four other arguments for the antiquity of the *Avesta* are:—(1) that the people of the *Avesta* did not appear to know salt; (2) that they did not know glass; (3) that coined money was not current among them; (4) that they did not know the working of iron. All that can be said about the first three is that they are not mentioned in the hymns, which considering their character is not extraordinary. Moreover in north and east Iran, cattle and farm-produce are still used instead of money. Regarding the fourth contention it rests on the interpretation of the word *ayagh*, which the upholders of the age of the *Avesta* translate as 'bronze.' Dr. S. Spiegel, however, maintains that, as in Sanskṛit, it meant 'metal' in general, and also 'iron.'

An appendix to the article is devoted to disproving the existence of the so-called **Baktrian Kingdom of Vîstâspa,** which has hitherto been dealt with by writers on ancient history as a reality.

Dr. David Kaufmann contributes a note on Hebrew lexicography, and is followed by a paper by Dr. J. H. Mordtmann on the typography of Northern Syria, according to Greek inscriptions. The same author also gives a short note on five forgotten **Himyaritic**

inscriptions existing **at Sana'a,** the capital of Yemen.

Dr. C. de Harlez next contributes extracts from a translation of the *Shang-yu-pa-ki.* The Emperor Chi-tsong, son of the illustrious Kanghi (1723-1736) was one of those sovereigns of the Manchu dynasty, who have left full traces of their administrative action. Amongst other things he has left is a **collection of decrees addressed to the right divisions of the Manchu-Mongol Army.** They were published in Manchu, and afterwards translated into Chinese. The present paper consists of translated extracts. These decrees are of importance to students of the histories of Chinese civilisation, and of the middle kingdom.

Dr. H. Hübschmann next contributes an elaborate paper on the formation of **Ossetic nouns.** Thirty-five primary and secondary suffixes are dealt with, one by one; the derivation, meaning, and use of each being separately considered.

Dr. Heinrich von Wlislocki gives some **folk-songs of the transylvanian Gipsies,** with a translation in German verse. To philologists a literal prose translation in addition would have been an advantage.

Herr Felix Liebrecht in his short notes compares a **Malagasy** sermon on the shortness of life with similar opinions in old **Egyptian** Literature, and refers to the Arabic origin of the *jus primæ noctis.*

The number concludes with two reviews, the first by Dr. Dieterice on Dr. Schwarzlose's treatise on the **arms of the ancient Arabs,** as described by their poets, and the second on Mr. Payne-Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Fasc. vii.)

(*c*) Part III. commences with an essay by Dr. Karl Vollers on the **living Arabic** now spoken in Egypt, with special reference to the works of Spitta Bey, and other grammatical writers. The paper consists of additions and corrections to Spitta Bey's grammar.

This is followed by a baptismal liturgy in Ethiopic, with a Latin translation, taken from a work entitled *Hydragiologia* (published in Rome, 1586 A.D.) by Dr. Carl von Arnhard.

Dr. M. Klamroth continues his interesting series of articles on **Greek authors quoted by al—Ya'qûbî.** The present paper deals with Grecian Philosophers. Translations are given of the various passages of Ya'qûbî in which a long array of these worthies, and their systems, is described An appendix gives a list of the writings of Aristotle known to the Arabs.

Dr. H. Gelzer, in two short notes, identifies the modern sites of the ancient Egyptian Trimuthis and Kopritheos Kômê.

Dr. H. von Wlislocki gives us next a further set of **specimens of the Gipsy language of Transylvania.** It consists of three capital folk-tales worthy of Grimm, with, this time, a literal German translation.

Herr K. Himly discusses **Chess,** and other connected games, with special reference to their introduction into and **method of play in Burma, Siam, China and Japan.** He is not inclined to dispute the Hindu origin of the game, and maintains that at any rate its birth-place ought to have been a country, where the use of elephants for warfare was well-known.

Prof. Aufrecht gives us some **Sanskṛit notes.** The first concerns the rare Kâśmîrî-Sanskṛit word *hêvaka,* which he identifies with the Arabic هوى 'love,' 'desire.'

He next shows the use of the word *namaka* as a technical term for the first section of the *Rudrajapa.* The third note deals with the date of Narahari, the author of the *Râjani-ghaṇṭu,* whom he places as not earlier than the commencement of the 15th century. The catalogue of Indian poets is added to every year. Dr. Aufrecht brings two new poets, Bhaṭṭa Bhallaṭa, and Indrabhânu to light, and discusses the identity of another named Mâlavabhadra.

An imitation of the *Gîta-Gôvinda,* entitled the *Râma-Gîta-Gôvinda,* and also attributed to Jayadêva is next discussed, and the paper concludes with an account of a *Bṛihachchhârṅga-dharapaddhati* published in Benares in the year 1874. This latter is an enlarged edition of the *Śârṅgadharapaddhati* previously brought to notice by Dr. Aufrecht.

Dr. F. Pollenson follows with some Essays on **Vedic Criticism.** The word *prithivî* he says, is given in the dictionaries as meaning 'earth.' This meaning is however too narrow, as its derivation from *pṛithu* shows, it can mean any expanse, and in fact we have the *tisras pṛithivyaḥ,* earth, air, and heaven, mentioned.

Anâs and *mṛidhravâch* have been translated by Grassmann (in *Ṛig-Vêda,* V., 29, 10) as *ugly,* and *reviler,* and by Ludwig *noseless* and *speak-*

ing an enemy's tongue. The reference is to the Dasyus. Megasthenes refers to Indian tribes who were noseless (ἄρρινες) or mouthless (ἄστομοι) *Anâs*, if it is *a* + *nâs* (as Ludwig takes it) means *noseless*, if it is *an* + *âs* it is mouthless. Dr. Bollensen suggests that the latter is the correct interpretation,—the Aborigines, speaking unintelligibly (*mṛidhra-vâch*) and when spoken to being mouthless, *i.e.* dumb.

Amongst the Aryans, the head of the nobles (*sûri*) was the **Maghavan**, who always rode in a carriage. The other nobles usually rode on horse-back. So it was in the god-world. The chief gods always had their carriages. Hence the *Aśvins* were not so much riders (*Reiter*) or knights (*Ritter*), as travellers in a carriage drawn by horses. The horses were called *váhnî* (vii. 73, 4) and are described as plump (*sámbhṛitâ*) and strong-hoofed (*vîlúpâṇi*). Dr. Bollensen maintains that they do not represent the twilight, but the morning and the evening stars.

The next note deals with grammar, and refers to *Ṛig-Vêda* vi. 61, 13, in which the loc. pl. term *su* is believed to have been elided after an *á*. Incidental mention is also made of the word *apás*, fem., water, or used as an adjective following.

In dealing with *ulôka* and *lôka* Dr. Bollensen maintains at considerable length that the former is the original word and discusses Prof. Ludwig's objections to the theory. Amongst other poets, he draws attention to the fact that *lôka* occurs only eight times, and only in the most modern hymns, while *ulôka* 29 times and only in the most ancient ones.

The earliest Trinity of the Aryans, was Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman. The last is the most mysterious. He is only mentioned in one hymn of the *R. V.* (vii. 64, 3), where the plural verb shows that besides Mitra and Varuṇa, the words *dévá aryá* must refer to him. Dr. Bollensen sees in *dêva aryas*, the God Aricus, the tribe-father of the Aryans, their peculiar national God from an ethnic, as Indra is from a religious, point of view.

Mitra is pre-Indian, and was the Sun-God of the Indian world. On Indian ground he is superseded by Savitar as the sun-genius, and by Sûrya as the Sun in visible form. He is merely described as the *friend* of Varuṇa, a colourless etymology enough. Really the word is derived from the root *smi*, 'to be clear, to beam;' *cf.* Lat. *micare* for *smicare*. It was originally an adjective like *varuṇa* and *indra*; *cf. mitramahas*, having gleaming splendour.

So also **Varuṇa** is wrongly derived from root *var* 'surround.' It is from another root *var* or *vas*, 'to shine,' and is an adjective meaning 'shining.' It occurs more than once as a simple adjective in the *Ṛig-Vêda*. As a god, Varuṇa is the day-light as distinct from sun-light, *i.e.* the light of day when the sun is obscured.

Indra, Varuṇa's frequent companion, is a special Indian creation, and does not belong to the original Aryan Pantheon. His name must be derived from a root in current use in India, and not from one which has fallen into oblivion like those of Mitra and Varuṇa. With Grassmann, Dr. Bollensen connects it with *indh*, 'to be clear,' with loss of the aspiration. It was also originally an adjective, *cf. indratamá* (*ushás*) 'very clear,' 'very bright.' As a god, Indra is 'the clear one,' 'the bright one,' and therefore the first morning light, that precedes the aurora and the sun. The stars are then still in the sky and harness his chariot. Every morning, darkness and light are at warfare, and Indra conquers Śushṇa the demon of darkness, who holds the light imprisoned. Then he brings into manifestation the dawn, the sun, and day-light. He is accordingly a war-god.

In the next paper, Prof. Oldenberg, criticises M. Bergaigne's essay on the *adhyâya division of the Ṛig-Vêda* in the latter publication.

Dr. O. von Böhtlingk next combats Dr. Bühler's proposition that *iti* and *cha*, can have the meaning of *âdi*. This is a continuation of an old controversy.

The number concludes with a review, by Dr. J. Löw, of Ascherson and Schweinfurth's *Illustration de la Flore d'Egypte.*

(*d*)—Part IV. commences with translations by Dr. H. Hübschmann of some **Ossetic folk-tales** of more than usual interest. The first fifteen relate to the Narts, a fabulous tribe, half-men half-angels, and the concluding one deals with Ossetic beliefs as to the fate of the soul after death.

Baron von Schlechta-Wassehrd next gives translated extracts from Firdûsî's *Yûsaf and Zulîkhâ*, in German verse.

This is followed by a short notice from the pen of Herr H. G. Schils of a new translation of the *Man-yô-siu*, an ancient Japanese poem. The translation is in course of publication in the Journal of the French *Société des Études Japonaises et Indo-Chinoises* (Paris, Maisonneuve).

Dr. J. Barth next contributes some essays on Semitic philology, the most important of which deals with biliteral nouns.

In a former number of the *Zeitschrift* (xl. 412) Dr. Morales, translating from Bar-Hebräus, gave the peculiar properties of wine according to Indian writers. It had the properties of a peacock, an ape, a lion, and a pig. Dr. M. Grünbaum now gives a number of similar legends from Semitic sources. Thus, according to Damiri, when Adam planted the vine, Iblis slew a peacock over it, and the earth drank up the blood. When the leaves showed themselves, he slew an ape, when the fruit appeared, a lion, and when the vine came to maturity, a pig. The vine drank the blood of the four animals, and hence their peculiarities appear in the various phases of drunkenness.

Prof. O. von Böhtlingk contributes some notes on the *Kâtantra*[1] and laments the unfinished condition in which Dr. Eggeling is leaving the Bibliotheca Indica Edition. He also gives us some miscellaneous critical notes on various points of ancient Sanskṛit literature.

Prof. R. von Roth contributes an interesting paper on Wehrgeld or Blood-money in the Vêda. He shows from a quotation from the *Táṇḍya-Brâhmaṇa*, that the Vêdic *vaira* (*cf.* the Anglo-Saxon *vere*) can only mean 'blood-money,' and that the amount was paid in cows, in the Vêdic period, just as Tacitus relates of the Germans. According to the *Tâṇḍya-Brâhmaṇa* the number of cows was a hundred, probably in the case of the *honestiores* and *optimates* as mentioned by the Latin author.

In *Âpastamba* the *vaira-yatana* which Prof. Roth translates as 'payment of blood-money,' is assessed at 1000 for a Kshattriya, 100 for a Vaiśya, and 10 for a Śûdra.

The volume concludes with reviews of the following works:—

Codrington's *Melanesian Languages*, by Dr. W. Grube.

Winkler's *Das Uralaltaische und seine Gruppen*. (On the Ural-altaic and the groups composing it), by Dr. O. Donnes.

Schreiber's *Manual of the Tigraic language*, spoken in Central and Northern Abyssinia, by Dr. F. Prætorius.

Hirschfield's edition of the *Al Khazari* of Abû'l—Ḥasan, Text and Hebrew translation of Jehuda ibn Tibbon, by Dr. J. Goldziher.

Wellhausen's *Essays on Relics of Arabic Heathenism*, by Prof. Th. Noldeke.

Cornill's edition of *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, by Prof. Augustus Müller.

Hoberg's Edition of *Ibn Jinnii on Declension*, (Text and Latin translation) by Prof. Thorbecke.

Bondi's *Hebraic and Phœnician loan-words in Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Texts*, by Dr. Steindorff.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 21.

In the copper-plate grant of king Śiva-siṁha, from somewhere in the direction of Bihâr in the Bengal Presidency, published by Mr. Grierson in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 190 f., the date (from the published text) is — La-saṁ[2] 293 Śrâvaṇa śu di 7 Gurau ‖ Abdê Lakshmaṇasêna-bhûpati-matê vahni-graha-dvy-aṅkitê mâsê Śrâvaṇa-saṁjñakê muni-tithau pakshê=valakshê Gurau . . . . ‖ San[3] 801 Saṁvat 1455 Śâkê 1321,—"the year of Lakshmaṇasêna 293, (the month) Śrâvaṇa, the bright fortnight, the (civil) day 7, on Thursday; in the year, (*of the era*) that was sanctioned by king Lakshmaṇa-sêna, numbered by the (three) fires, the (nine) planets, and (the numeral) two, in the month that has the appellation of Śrâvaṇa, on the *tithi* (*that has the number*) of the (seven) Seers, in the

[1] I may note that this grammar has great authority amongst the Pandits of Ḍhâkâ (Dacca) and Eastern Bengal.—G. A. G.

[2] i.e. *Lakshmaṇasêna-saṁvat.*—I have taken a liberty with the published text, which gives the number of the year here as 283; though the translation gives 293. But, as the Lakshmanasêna era commenced in or about A.D. 1106 (see *Indian Eras*, p. 76 ff.), the Vikrama and Śaka years that are quoted shew that the figure in the tens place must be 9, not 8. Also, the real number of the year is made quite clear by the immediately following repetition of the date in words.

[3] Here, again, I have taken a liberty with the published text, which gives the number of the year as 807. But it is not difficult sometimes to make a mistake between 1 and 7, in reading the older Dêvanâgarî figures. And the year referred to is evidently the Hijra year 801, which commenced (see *Indian Eras*, p. 127) on the 13th September, A.D. 1398, and ended with the 2nd September, A.D. 1399.

bright fortnight, on Thursday . . . . The (Hijra) year 801; the (Vikrama) year 1455; in the Śâka (*year*) 1321."

Here the data are :—The year 293 of the era of Lakshmaṇasêna, the Hijra year 801, and Vikrama-Saṁvat 1455 and Śaka-Saṁvat 1321, not specified either as current or as expired; the month Śrâvaṇa (ordinarily July-August); the bright fortnight; the seventh civil day, and the seventh *tithi*; and Guru, *i.e.* Guruvâra, or Thursday.

Since, in the absence of an examination of the original record, the correct Hijra year can only be established by inference, the most important item is the mention of Śaka-Samvat 1321.

And this shews that we have to find the English equivalent in A.D. 1398 or 1399, according as the given Śaka year is to be applied as current or as expired.

By Professor K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the results are :—

(1) In Śaka-Saṁvat 1321 current, the given *tithi*, Śrâvaṇa śukla 7, ended on Saturday, the 20th July, A.D. 1398, at about 55 *ghaṭis*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bombay.[4]

(2) And in Śaka-Samvat 1322 current (1321 expired), **the given tithi, Śrâvaṇa śukla 7, ended, as required, on Thursday, the 10th July, A.D. 1399,** at about 17 *gh.* 10 *p.*

This resulting date can be referred to the given Vikrama year, only if the latter, Vikrama-Saṁvat 1455, is taken as a southern Vikrama year, expired; and as really denoting the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1456 current, commencing with Kârttika śukla 1, corresponding approximately[5] to the 12th October, A.D. 1398, and ending on the 30th September, A.D. 1399. For, the northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1456 current (1455 expired), commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, extended approximately[6] from the 19th March, A.D. 1398, to the 7th March, A.D. 1399, and had ended before the date in question.

This record, therefore,—(1) gives **an instance of the use of an expired Śaka year, and an expired Vikrama year**; to be applied as such, though they are not distinctly so qualified;—and (2) proves that **the southern reckoning of the Vikrama era was preserved in Bihâr down to A.D. 1399.**

This date has been noticed by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, p. 77f. He gave the same result, Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1399. But, instead of explaining it by the use of the southern scheme of the Vikrama year, he seems to have accepted a statement made by Buchanan, on the authority of a Brâhmaṇ named Kamalâkânta, to the effect that, in that part of the country, the Vikrama era was taken as commencing only one hundred and thirty-four years before the Śaka era, instead of one hundred and thirty-five years, as is taken to be the case in Northern India generally. The meaning of this statement, unless it can be shewn to be limited to the period from Chaitra śukla 1 to the *pûrṇimânta* Kârttika or *amânta* Âśvina kṛishṇa 15, is that, in the part of the country to which this record belongs, the reckoning of the Vikrama era, with the northern scheme of the year, is one year behind the reckoning in other parts of Northern India. And, on this view, the resulting English date would belong to the northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1455 expired or 1456 current, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, corresponding approximately[7] to the 8th March, A.D. 1399, and ending on the 25th February, A.D. 1400,—according to this supposed erroneous reckoning of the era. But any such reckoning could have really come to exist, or to seem to exist, only if the years of the Vikrama era, given in the Tables and Almanacs, were current years; which is not the case. And other instances will be forthcoming, which, taken all together, render it quite certain that the true explanation is that which I have put forward; *viz.* **the preservation in Bihâr and in neighbouring parts of Northern India of the southern scheme of the Vikrama year, commencing with Kârttika śukla 1, at least as late as the end of the fourteenth century A.D.**

J. F. FLEET.

[4] The charter is issued from the town of Gajarathapura; but I do not know the modern representative of this name. If the times should be reduced for the town of Bihâr, they would be about 2 *gh.* 7 *p.* later in each instance. This would not cause any difference in the resulting week-days, as determined for Bombay.

[5] C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 156.

[6] *Indian Eras*, p. 183.

[7] *Indian Eras*, p. 183.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE OF A BUFFALO IN THE MALAY PENINSULA.

A Malay in Trong, Perak, wrote to the Assistant Resident as follows on the 19th March 1885 :—

"Your servant begs to inform your honour that on Saturday we will slaughter a white male-buffalo in Trong, to cleanse the *kampong* (village) of all evil, in accordance with the custom of the old people.

"If this is not done, then there will be less *padi* (paddy) and perhaps more sickness. This is done once in six years. There is an abstinence from everything during this one day (22nd March Sunday). No persons from a distance can enter Trong on that day. In former times on such occasions the limit for people living close by is three days and people from any distance seven

days; but now your servant cannot undertake to preserve the barrier so long; one day would be all that your servant can undertake for."

Can any one give any information regarding the above custom? It would be interesting to know whether it is observed in other Native States or in Sumatra or Java.

I am informed that only a white male-buffalo can be used, which must be killed and eaten in the jungle. The whole of the flesh must be consumed at a *kanduri* (feast), which is held for the purpose at a convenient distance from the village—not a particle must be taken away. I am informed on good authority that the surreptitious removal of the smallest piece of meat would entail the most disastrous consequences on the whole community.

Larut. C. V. CREAGH.

Sacrifices of this sort are not uncommon in remote parts of the Malay Peninsula. See the note on Pĕlas Nĕgri (Note 67 in *Notes and Queries*, No. 3, issued with No. 16 of the *Journal of the Straits Branch R. A. S.*). Forbes, author of a *Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, 1885, alludes (pp. 197 and 198) to the custom of the people of Pasumah, West Coast of Sumatra, to sacrifice a buffalo to purify a village.

W. E. MAXWELL.

BOOK NOTICE.

MANUAL OF BURMESE, by Capt. CHAS. SLACK. London:—Simpkin, Marshall & Co.; Trübner & Co.

We suppose it was inevitable that the British occupation of Burma should produce some such work as this, which professes, in forty very small pages, to teach Burmese to "travellers, students, and merchants, and also the military and others in official position." Capt. Slack has never been in Burma apparently, and has merely "compiled" his booklet, so it might well have been much worse than it is.

The system on which he proceeds is clear and intelligent, and it only requires a real knowledge of the language and the people to make it a useful work. As it is, we fear that the student will learn but very little from it, and a good deal of that will be wrong.

There are vital omissions in the book which prevent its being of any value as a teacher. Thus the Burmese letters are given in the original character, but the peculiar effect of final stopped consonants on preceding vowels is nowhere even hinted at, though it is the main feature of Burmese orthography. It is explained that the Burmese alphabet is derived from the same source as the various Indian alphabets allied to the Nâgarî, but it is nowhere explained that while the equivalents for कन् spell *kán*, those for कङ् spell *kin*, and those for कञ् spell *kî* or *kè*. Again, कक् spells *ket*, कच् spells *kit* and so on. Within its rules Burmese orthography is, on the whole, regular; but the rules are peculiar and have to be learnt if there is any desire to make head or tail of words written in the vernacular character.

The effect of the accent း is roughly explained, but that of ့ is ignored, though it is intended to represent a great peculiarity of the language, which lies in an extremely *staccato*, and to foreign ears a practically inaudible, sound of final consonants. In hundreds of cases these accents form the only difference in words of widely different meaning, which would be otherwise homonyms.

Nothing is said of the changes that the initial consonants of words and particles undergo in composition, and yet this is one of the first puzzles of the language: *e.g.*, *kô* is an objective suffix; *chyunôkkô*, to me; *nwágô*, to the ox: *k'alê* is young, *ménk'alê* (female = young) a girl; *lûgalê* (male = young), a boy: *ma . . . . . . bû* is negation; *mathwá-bû* goes not; *ma-pyit-pû*, is not: *kwet* a cup, but *shwégwet*, a golden cup.

In dealing with the numerals there is nothing to show the learner that one cannot, as a rule, use one, two, three, etc. *by themselves* in Burmese as adjectives, although it must be clear to all that it is impossible to speak a word of any language without a correct knowledge of the numerals. Each class of noun in Burmese has its proper numeral adjectival suffix: *e.g.*, *akaung*, brute-beast, belongs to all animals not human: *nwâ*, ox; *thóng*, three: *nwá thóng-gaung*, three oxen. *Ak'û*, thing, belongs to words not having any other suffix: *k'adin*, bedsteads; *ngá*, five: *k'adin ngá-gû*, five bedsteads. *'As'in*, a line; *hlè*, boat; *chyauk*, six: *hlè chyauk-s'in*, six boats. *As'î*, vehicle; *hlé*, cart; *ngá*, five: *hlé ngá-zí*, five carts.

However in reviewing a book that gives the "grammar" of a language in two small pages, we need hardly go further into omissions.

The "sentences" occupy three and a half pages, and the chief thing wrong with them is that the components are not explained and the hyphens are frequently in the wrong place: *e.g.*, "I forget" is given as—*kyún-ok ma-hmat-mi-bu*, which is really "I [do] not remember."

A good "simplified grammar" of Burmese by a scholar who knows something of grammar as a science is a great *desideratum*. There are many who know grammar and many who know Burmese, but no writer that knows both has as yet put his views on paper, to the great disadvantage of the now numerous students of that difficult language.

BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF TRILOCHANAPALA. THE (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1084.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I EDIT this grant from an excellent ink-impression, made and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. It does not appear to have been previously published; though a reference on the plate,—to an entry in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII. p. 621, recording the presentation of a copper-plate grant, which seems to be this one, by Mr. R. Brown,—would indicate that it has been on hand for about sixty years. But the inscription has been incidentally mentioned, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 8, note, by Dr. F. E. Hall, who, "with the plate before him," stated that it contained a land-grant of the "king Vijayapâla, son of Âdyapâla, son of Trilôchanapâla." The original plate is now in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta. From the entry in the *Asiatic Researches*, referred to above, it appears to have been discovered at **Jhûsî**, a town in the Allahâbâd District, North-Western Provinces, opposite the city of Allahâbâd, on the left bank of the Ganges.

The **plate**, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about $17\frac{1}{2}''$ by $14\frac{1}{4}''$, without including the projection, the object of which is not apparent, at the top of the plate. It is smooth; the edges of it being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into a rim. Its preservation, however, is perfect; and every letter has come out clearly and distinctly in the impression, so that the actual reading of the text is nowhere in the least doubtful. The plate is thick; and the letters, being rather shallow, do not show through on the back of it at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is no ring-hole in the plate, for a **ring**, with a **seal** attached to it; and no indication of a seal having been soldered on to it.—The **size of the letters** is between $\frac{3}{8}''$ and $\frac{1}{2}''$.—The **characters** are Nâgarî. They are boldly and beautifully drawn; but either the writer or the engraver has often confounded those signs which are at all similar to one another (*na* and *ka*; *da*, *bha*, and *ha*; *ma* and *sa*; *va*, *cha*, and *dha*; *sa* or *sva*, and *kha*; and others), and has several times omitted the superscript *ê* and the medial *â*, so that the inscription contains a rather large number of minor mistakes which will be pointed out in the text.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 12-16, the inscription is in prose. The language is grammatically correct; except that in line 12 the singular form *asya* has been employed for the plural *êshâm*, or rather *êbhyaḥ*.—In respect of **orthography**, I may note that *b* has throughout been written by the sign for *v*; that the dental sibilant has been employed for the palatal sibilant in *para-m[ê*]svara*, line 2, *dasâparâdhaḥ*, line 5, *sikhâ*, line 7, *asêsha*, line 8, and *kusa*, line 10; and that for the conjunct *mra* we find *mvra* in *sâmvra*, line 5.

The **inscription** is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the illustrious **Trilôchanapâladêva**, who (lines 1-3) is represented as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the illustrious **Râjyapâladêva**, who, again, is said to have meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the illustrious **Vijayapâladêva**. **Trilôchanapâladêva**, being in residence on the banks of the Ganges near **Prayâga**, (lines 3-11) in the customary manner informs the king's officers and the *mahattamas* and other inhabitants of the village **Lêbhuṇḍâka**, in the **Asurâbhaka** *vishaya*, that, having bathed in the Ganges and having worshipped Śiva, etc., he, on the occasion of the *dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti* or commencement of the sun's entrance on its southern course, on this meritorious day, gave the aforesaid village, with its belongings, to six-thousand Brâhmaṇs belonging to **Pratishṭhâna**,[1] who were of various *gôtras*, had various *pravaras*, and were followers of various Vêdic schools; and he admonishes the people concerned to

[1] The original has *Pratisthâna*; but I have little doubt that the name intended is *Pratishṭhâna*, 'a town at the confluence of the Gangâ and Yamunâ, on the left bank of the Gangâ, opposite to Allahâbâd;' and that *Pratishṭhâna* is the older name of the very town *Jhûsî*, where the grant is reported to have been found. See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 140, note 3.—The same place appears to be meant by *Srîśa-pratishṭhâna*, in the grant of Gôvindachandra, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXVII. p. 243.

make over to the said donees whatever in accordance with this grant might be due to them. After some of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (lines 12-16), the inscription, at the end of line 16, is **dated** in the year 1084 (expressed by decimal figures only), on the 4th day of the dark half of (the month) Śrâvaṇa.—There is hardly anything in the wording of the inscription which calls for any special remark; and the phraseology of the whole is so well known from other inscriptions, as to render a full translation superfluous.

The inscription affords no clue as to the line of sovereigns to which the three princes mentioned in it may belong, and, beyond noting that a prince **Trilôchanapâla** appears to have opposed[2] the Sultan Mahmûd in A.D. 1021, I am unable to offer any suggestion on the subject. Nor am I able to identify the village mentioned in the inscription, or the *vishaya* in which it was situated.

The details for calculating **the date** are, in line 16,—the year 1084 of an unspecified era, the 4th day of the dark half of the month Śrâvaṇa, being, as appears from line 8, **the day of the dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti.** The mention of the *dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti*, which introduces the first day of the solar month Śrâvaṇa, coupled with a day in the dark half of the lunar month Śrâvaṇa, shows that the year with which we are concerned is **a northern year,** with the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the months. And referring the year 1084 to the Vikrama era, the corresponding European date should fall in A.D. 1026 or A.D. 1027, according as 1084 is the current year or denotes the years expired. In A.D. 1026 Śrâvaṇa va. di. 4 was the 6th July; which cannot be the day intended by the grant, because the *Karkaṭa-saṁkrânti*, which introduces the solar month Śrâvaṇa, had taken place already on the 25th June In A.D. 1027, on the other hand, the fourth *tithi* of the dark half of the lunar Śrâvaṇa ended, at Prayâga, about 2 h. after sunrise of the 26th June, causing that day to be called the 4th of the dark half of the lunar Śravaṇa; and the same 26th June was the first day of the solar Śrâvaṇa, the *Karkaṭa-saṁkrânti* having taken place about 2 h. 30 m. after sunset of the preceding day. Accordingly, **26 June, A.D. 1027,** is clearly the day specified in the grant; and the date 1084 of the grant is thus proved to refer to **the Vikrama era,** and to denote the number of **years expired.**

TEXT.[3]

1 Ôṁ[4] svasti[॥*] Śrî-**Prayâga**-samîpa-**Gaṅgâ**-tat-âvâsê paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-param[ê*]śvara-śrî-**Vijayapâlad[ê]va**-pâ-

2 d-ânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-param[ê*]sva(śva)ra-śrî-**Râjyapâlad[ê]va**-p[â*]bh(d)-ânudhyâta-parasa(ma)ṅga(bha)ṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâ-

3 ja-param[ê*]śvara-śrîmat-**Trilôchanap[â*]ladêvaḥ** ।[5] **Asurâ[bha]ka**-visva(sha)yê **Lôbhuṇḍâka**-grâmê ।[5] samupagatâ[mapa[6]]n=râjapurushân=[vrâ(brâ)]hmaṇ-ôttarâṁ-

4 ś=va(cha) prativâsi-samasta-sa(ma)hattama-janapad-â[dî]n=mâka(na)yati sa[mv?(mb)]ô-dhayaty=âjjâ(jñâ)payaty=astu vaḥ sê(sa)ṁviditaṁ yath=ôparilisi(khi)ta-grâmô=yaṁ [sva?][7]-

5 sîmâ-triṇa-yûti-gôchara-parshabhaḥ[8] sa-jala-sthalaḥ s-âmvra(mra)-madhûkaḥ sa-l[ô]ha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ s-âṇûpa-jâṅgalaḥ sa-daṇḍa-daśâ(śâ)parâdhaḥ sa-pâ-

6 shâṇa-khâ[n]iḥ sa-garh(rtt)-ôsharaḥ s-âdha-ûrddhvaḥ pûrvva-datta-vasu-dêva-vrâ(brâ)-hmaṇa-varjjichô(tô)=smâbhir=[jja]lanidhi-jalataraṁga-dha(va)d=y[au]vanam = aṅginô vi-

7 gaṇayya kari-kalabha-karṇṇâgra-chapalâṁ la[kshm?]îsvilâjya[9] mâ[ru]t-âhavà(ta)-dîpa-si(śi)khâma(nta?)-taralatamân=[v]ishayân=matv=[â*]sarvvam[10]=[ê]va saṁsâ-

---

[2] See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III. p. 740; Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II. p. 362.

[3] From the impression. [4] Expressed by a symbol. [5] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[6] Of the two *aksharas* in these brackets the first is quite distinct, and the second I can only read *pa*. Both appear superfluous, and I believe that the writer has merely repeated here the second and third *aksharas* of the preceding *samupagatâ*.

[7] This *akshara* looks rather like *ma*.

[8] Read-*paryantaḥ*.

[9] Read *lakshmîṁ vilôkya* (for *lakshmîm=vilôkya*).

[10] Read = *asâram*=.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Trilochanapala.—The Year 1084.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S. | SCALE ·38 | W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

8 ra-sâgaraṁ samâkalayya adya puṇyê=hani **dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrântau** asê(śê)sha-kalikâla-kanma(lma)sha-prakshâlaja(na)-paṭîyasyâṁ sakala-tî-

9 rthamayyâṁ bhagavatyâṁ **Gaṁgâyâṁ** vidhivat=snâhâ(tvâ) d[ê*]vatâ-manupya(shya)-pitṛîṁs=tarppayitvâ bhagavantaṁ [sma ?]ryasarppayitvâ[11] Ś[i*]va-bhaṭṭâra-

10 kaṁ pûjayitvâ mâtâpitrôr=âtsa(tma)naś=va(cha) puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê kusa(śa)-latâ-pûtêna hast-ôdaki(kê)na **Pratisthâ(shṭhâ)na**-saṁva(mba)ddha-sha-

11 ṭ-sahasra-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇêbhyô nâkâ(nâ)-gôtr[ê*]bhyaḥ nânâ-pravarêbhyaḥ[12] nânâ-śâkhâ-(khê)bhyaḥ śâsaka(na)tv[ê]na pradasta(tta) iti matvâ bhavadbhir=yathâ-

12 dîyamâna-bhâga-sê(bhô)ga-kara-hiraṇy-âdikam=asy[13]=ôpanêtavyam । (॥) Va(ba)hubhir[14]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ । yasya

13 yasya yadâ bhûmis=tas[y]a tasya tadâ phalas(m) ॥ Sva-dattâ[ṁ] para-dattâ[ṁ] vâ yô harêt=tu va[s]undhanâ(râ)ṁ [।*] sa vishṭhây[â*]ṁ [kṛi]mir=vbhû-(bbhû)tvâ pi-

14 tṛibhiḥ saha majjati ॥ Bhûsi(mi)ṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇâti yas=tu bhûmi[ṁ*] [pra]-ya[chchha*]ti[।*] na(u)bhvô(bhau) tau p[u]ṇva(ṇya)-karmmâlau(ṇau) [n]iyatau[15] svargga-gâ-

15 minau ॥ Suvarṇṇam=êkaṁ gâm=êkâṁ bhûmêr=apy=êkan(m)=aṁgulaṁ [।*] haran=narakam=âpnôti yâvad-âhûtasaṁplavaṁ ॥ Śaṁsva(kha)ṁ bhadr-âsanaṁ

16 chhat[tr*]aṁ var-âśvâ vara-[v]âraṇâḥ [।*] [bh]ûmi-dânasya chihnâni phalaṁ svarggaḥ Pura[ṁ]dara ॥ **Saṁ 1084 Srâvaṇa va di 4** [॥*]

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 173.—GUDIGERE JAIN INSCRIPTION.—SAKA-SAMVAT 998.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from an ink-impression supplied to me in February, 1883, by a Native friend who then held the post of Mâmlatdâr at Lakshmêshwar, but whose name I cannot just now recall.

Guḍigere[1] is the chief town of a Sub-Division of the same name, belonging to the Junior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâḍ District. Its Kanarese name, under the more precise form of **Guḍigere**, occurs in lines 21, 23, and 26. And it is also mentioned under the Sanskrit name of **Dhvajataṭâka** in line 12. In these two names, *kere* and *taṭâka* are exactly synonymous; both meaning 'a tank.' And the use, in the Sanskrit name, of *dhvaja*, 'a banner, flag, flag-staff,' seems to indicate that *guḍi* is here to be taken, not in its most customary sense of 'a temple,' but as meaning 'a vessel raised up on a long bamboo, as at a festival.'—The **inscription** is on part of a **stone-tablet**, measuring about 2′ 10″ broad by 3′ 2″ high, standing against the wall of a Jain temple at this town. It is only a fragment; the upper part of the tablet, containing all the introductory portion of the record, and the usual sculptures at the top, being broken away and lost.

The **writing**, which covers the entire front of the extant portion, save for a margin of about an inch down each side and at the bottom, is in a state of very good preservation throughout; and nothing is illegible, except in those parts of lines 1 and 2 in which the fracture of the stone occurred.—The **characters** are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the eleventh century A.D. They include, in line 19, the **decimal figures** 8 and 9. The **virâma** is represented sometimes by its proper Kanarese sign, as in *śrîmat*, line 7, *urvviyoḷ*, line 9, and *eḷeyoḷ*, line 10; and sometimes by the vowel *u*, as in *anubhavaṇeyalu*, line 3, *dhâtri-yolu*, line 16, and *guḍigereyolu*, line 26. And an interesting instance in which a pronunciative

---

11 Read *sûryam =archchayitvâ.* 12 Originally °*bhyêḥ.* 13 Read *êbhya upa.*°

14 Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh): and in the following verses.

15 This *akshara* is really *t*, with the sign for *i* before and the sign for *â* after it.

1 The 'Gudagerree' of the map; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41. Lat. 15° 6′ N.; Long. 75° 26′ E.

value has to be given to the latter form of it, occurs in line 13; where the metre requires us to pronounce *aruhane*, as written; though what is intended is *aruhane*, i. e. *arhane*. The average **size of the letters** is about ½″. The engraving is bold and excellent. — The **language** is Old-Kanarese; with two Sanskṛit verses in lines 40-42. And the inscription is in mixed verse and prose. Three **curious words** occur in it. In line 8, we have *rundra*, 'large, great, lofty,' which occurs in many other inscriptions in the Kanarese country; and the formation of which has been explained by Mr. K. B. Pathak.[2] In line 9, in introducing the mention of Ashṭôpavâsi-Kanti, the disciple of 'Srînandipaṇḍita, we have *śishshinti*, 'a disciple.'[3] And in line 22, we have *gudda*, which on previous occasions[4] I have shewn must have the meaning of 'a disciple,' or something very similar; and of which we have also the feminine form *guḍḍi*.[5] My previous explanation of the word is fully established by the present inscription; for, while in line 22 the *Sênabôva* Siṅgayya or Singaṇṇa is called the *guḍḍa* of 'Srînandipaṇḍita, the latter, in line 13,—mentioned there under his epithet of *paravâdi-śarabha-bhêruṇḍa*,—is distinctly called the *Guru* of Siṅgayya. And I have only to add that, as the word is applied here to a *Sênabôva* or 'accountant,' and in my previous instances either to *Seṭṭis* or 'merchants,' or to *Gauḍas* or 'village-headmen,' it evidently means 'an ordinary pupil;' and not 'a religious pupil, or disciple,' which is plainly the meaning of *śishshinti*.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice, are (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya*, represented by the same sign that stands for the Old-Kanarese *ṛ*, in *manaḥpuṇḍarîka*, line 6; (2) the use of the Old-Kanarese *ḻ* in the Sanskṛit word *kaḻpânta*, line 11; (3) the doubling, very exceptional at so late a period, of *p* after the *anusvâra*, in *saṁppanan*, line 13; and of *s* before *y*, in *yassya* and *tassya*, line 41; (4) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in Sanskṛit words only, in *bhabya-sêbya*, line 16, and in *priyaṁbadaṁ* and *brati*, line 17; and (5) the occasional use of the wrong sibilant, as in *namaśyam*, lines 11 and 23, *viśês-ânna*, line 14, and *śâstr-âmṛita*, line 5, *sarabha*, lines 6 and 19, *suchi-subha*, line 16, and *saka*, line 19.—A special **point of interest** is the allotment of the properly regal titles *Paramesvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, in line 4, to "the divine *Arhat*." I have no other instance of this use of *Paramêśvara*. And the only other instance, known to me, of the use of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* in this way, is in line 43 of an inscription at Mamdâpur in the Belgaum District, dated 'Saka-Saṁvat 1172 expired (*Indian Inscriptions*, No. 1), in which it is applied to a 'Saiva priest named Vimalaśiva or Vimalaśaṁbhu.

The inscription is **a Jain inscription**. The extant portion of it opens with the mention of an official, holding the post of *Pergaḍe*, named Prabhâkara (line 2), or Prabhâkarayya (l. 3). In his time of office (*anubhavaṇe*, l. 3) there was a Jain priest or teacher named Śrînandipaṇḍitadêva (l. 7),[6] Siriyanandimunîndra (l. 9), or Siriṇandi (l. 17), "who had crossed to the other shore the sea of nectar of the Siddhântas and all the other 'Sâstras which are useful in investigating the real nature of all the good and evil and other substances that proceeded from the water-lily that is the mouth of the divine *Arhat*, the omniscient one, destitute of passion (*vîta-râga*),[7] the *Paramêśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, who is decorated with a third eye[8] which is the unsurpassed knowledge of the doctrine of unity (*kêvalajñâna*) that is the refuge of the whole circuit of the earth;" and who had the other name or epithet of *paravâdi-śarabha-bhêruṇḍa* (l. 6), indicative of his skill in vanquishing those whose doctrines were opposed to his own. While this *Âchârya*, 'Srînandipaṇḍita, was practising asceticism (l. 7), his disciple

[2] *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 273.

[3] I thought at first that, though the word appeared to be *śishshinti*, it might optionally be read *śishpinti*, or even *sippinti*. And, if we should adopt the reading *śishpinti*, there are instances, in other inscriptions, which would justify our pronouncing it *śishi-panti*, which might represent *śishya-pankti*. This last word, however, though quite possible, is not altogether a probable one; especially since the passage introduces only one disciple, and not 'a row or line of disciples.' And a further examination of the whole record satisfied me that the word is undoubtedly *śishshinti*.

[4] *ante*, Vol. X. p. 189, note 16, and Vol. XII. p. 99 ff.

[5] *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 101.

[6] The use of *śrîmat* in line 7, is an instance of the habit of emphasising the use of *śrî* as an integral part of a proper name (see *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 8, note 3).

[7] This was also a Buddhist title; *e. g.* in line 1 of the Srâvastî inscription, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 62.

[8] This, in a Jain inscription, is rather a peculiar instance of borrowing from Hinduism; the origin of the metaphor being the three eyes,—one in his forehead,—of the god Śiva.

(*śishshinti*, l 9) was Ashṭôpavâsiganti (l. 10), or Ashṭôpavâsi-Kanti (l. 29), "who delighted in the duty of maintaining the religion of Jinêndra." And this latter person obtained from 'Srînandipaṇḍita a *namasya*-grant of seven *mattars* of land (l. 11), and applied it, under the protection of the Twelve *Gavuṇḍus* or village-headmen of (the village of) **Dhvajataṭâka** (l. 12), for the worship of Pârśva-Jinêśvara, and for providing food for people versed in the sacred writings.

The inscription then introduces the *Sênabôva* Siṅgaṇṇa (l. 13), Siṅga (l. 14), or Siṅgayya (l. 22), whose god was the *Arhat*, and whose *Guru* or teacher was 'Srînandipaṇḍita (l. 13); who was a very moon in causing the increase of the ocean of the Jain religion (l. 15); who was a very bee at the water-lilies which were the feet of the ascetic Siriṇandi (l. 17); and who was the *Sênabôva* or village-accountant of 'Srînandi (l. 18).

It then proceeds to record that, **at the śrâhe or aśrâhe of the Anaḷa saṁvatsara, which was the Saka year 998 (expired)** (l. 19), 'Srînandipaṇḍita, shewing the charter to Kâladiya-Nâyimmarasa (l. 22), acquired possession of the western fields, in the lands of **Guḍigeṟe**, which, on the authority of a copper-charter, were under the control of the Jain temple called Ânêsejjeya-basadi (l. 21) which **Kuṅkumamahâdêvî**, the younger sister of the glorious **Châḷukya Chakravartin Vijayâdityavallabha** (l. 20), had formerly caused to be built at **Purigeṟe**; and gave, out of those fields, to his pupil (*guḍḍa*) Siṅgayya (l. 22), as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, fifteen *mattars* of land (l. 23), which Siṅgayya allotted (l. 24) for the purpose of providing food for the saints at **Guḍigeṟe**,—making it the duty of the king, the *Paṇḍits*, the Twelve *Gâvuṇḍus*, and all pious persons (l. 25), to see that the proceeds of the land were applied only for that purpose, and were not diverted to any other religion or any other object, and to continue the grant as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth might endure (l. 27).

The boundaries of this land were: — On the east, the culturable land of Bandigâvuṇḍa (l. 28); on the south, the road to (the village of) **Pullumgûr**; on the west, the culturable lands of the *basadi*, and of Nâkayya; and on the north, the joint-fields (*pasugeya polam*) of the *Gâvuṇḍus*. And the boundaries of the seven *mattars* of land, granted, as stated in lines 10-11 above, to Ashṭôpavâsi-Kanti, are here specified (l. 30) as being, on the east, the culturable land of (the village of) **Baṅgagêri** (l. 30); on the south, the culturable land of the village-*chaityâḷaya*; on the west, the culturable land of the *Pergaḍe* Prabhâkarayya; and on the north, the road to **Pullumgûr**. Thus there were given two *paryâya*-allotments of twenty-one *mattars* of land (l. 31).

Also, in the same western fields, 'Srînandipaṇḍita gave, as rent-free land (*umbaḷi*), one hundred and eleven *mattars* to the Twelve *Gâvuṇḍas* (l. 36); fifteen *mattars* to Rudrayya (l. 37), son of the *Pergaḍe* Prabhâkarayya; fifteen *mattars* to the *Sênabôva* Habbaṇṇa (l. 38); seven *mattars* to Mûkiyara-Kâvaṇṇa; four *mattars* and six hundred *kammas* to Kantiyara-Nâkayya (l. 39); and twenty *mattars*, as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, to the god Bhuvanaikamalla-'Sântinâthadêva (l. 40), — *i.e.* to a Jain temple or image of 'Sântinâtha that had been built or set up by the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara II., who had the *biruda* of Bhuvanaikamalla.

The inscription ends with two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory Sanskṛit verses, in lines 40 to 42.

Of the **places** mentioned in this inscription, — in addition to **Guḍigere** itself, which is spoken of under the names of **Guḍigeṟe** and **Dhvajataṭâka**, the latter being the Sanskṛit translation of the Kanarese name,—**Pullumgûr** is the modern **Hulgûr**, in the Dhârwâḍ District, six miles south-west of Guḍigere. And **Purigeṟe** is one of the ancient names of the modern **Lakshmêshwar**, in the Miraj State, about six miles east of Guḍigere. **Baṅgagêri**, which cannot now be recognised in the map, must have been an ancient hamlet of Guḍigere, or of Lakshmêshwar.

As regards the **date** of this inscription, we have, in line 19, the details of **Saka-Saṁvat 998**; and, coupled with this, of **the Anala saṁvatsara**, which, as by the southern luni-solar system it was coincident with 'Saka-Saṁvat 999 current, shews that the given 'Saka year is to

be taken as **an expired year,** though it is not qualified as such. And further we are told that the copper-charter was exhibited **at the srâhe of this year**; but I have not succeeded in obtaining any explanation of the word *śrâhe*, or, as it may possibly be read, *aśrâhe.*

The name of **the reigning king** is lost with the missing fragment of the stone. But the date shews that the record belongs either to the very end of the reign of the **Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara II.**, or to the commencement of the reign of his younger brother and successor, **Vikramâditya VI.**

The **Châlukya Chakravartin Vijayâdityavallabha,** who is mentioned in line 20, seems to be **the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya,** of whom we have an inscription at Lakshmêshwar,[9] dated in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when 'Saka-Saṁvat 651 had expired, and consequently in 'Saka-Saṁvat 652 current (A.D. 729-30), which records the grant of a village for the benefit of the Jain temple called 'Saṅkha-Jinêndra-vasati at Pulikara (Lakshmêshwar). The only other person with whom he could be identified, is a certain *Mahârâja* Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayâditya, who is mentioned in a Dàvaṇgere inscription, from Maisûr,[10] as a 'son' of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I., and who in 'Saka-Saṁvat 988 or 989 was governing the Noḷambavâḍi Thirty-two-thousand District in Maisûr. It seems probable, however, that he was not really a son of Sômêśvara I., but only a distant relative of his, in the same degree of descent with a son; and that he belonged properly to the Eastern Chalukya family.[11] And, for this reason, and because of the use, in line 20, of the word *munnaṁ*, 'formerly,' which indicates a certain amount of antiquity, I think that we have undoubtedly a reference to the Viyayâditya who commenced to reign in A.D. 696. The present mention of his younger sister **Kuṅkumamahâdêvî,** gives us a new name in the Western Chalukya genealogy.

TEXT.[12]

1 ⏑̱ ⏑̱ ⏑̱ lavara besadi[ṁ] ॥ Vṛi[13] ॥ Sara[14] ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ naya-mûkaran=ant=adu mâṇg-[e][15] vâg-na-

2 y-âkaran=abhay-âkaraṁ dvija-divâka[ran] – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ bhîkaraṁ budha-niśâkaran=udgha-yaśaṁ Prabhâkaraṁ ॥ Ant=enisida perggaḍe

3 Prabhâkarayyan=anubhavaṇeyal*u* ॥ Ôṁ[16] [S]v[as]t[i] Samasta-bhuvanavaḷaya-niḷaya-niratiśaya-kêvaḷajñâna-nêtratri(tṛi)tîya[17]-virâjamâna-

4 bhagavad-arhat-sarvvajña-vîtarâga-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mukhakamala-vinirggat-ânêka-sad-asad-âdi-vastu-svarûpa-nirûpaṇa-pravîṇa-siddhâ-

5 nt-âdi-samasta-sâ(śâ)str-âmṛitapârâvàra-pâragarum=anêka-nṛipati-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-maṇi-gaṇa-kiraṇa-jaḷa-dhârâ-dhaut-âvadâta-pûta-chara-

6 ṇâravindaruṁ budhajana-manaḥpuṇḍarîka-vana-mârttaṇḍaruṁ shaṭ-tarkka-Shaṇmu-kharuṁ parama-tapaścharaṇa-nirataruṁ paravâdi-sa(śa)rabha-bhêruṇḍ-âpara-

7 nâmadhêyar=appa śrîmat 'Srînandi-paṇḍita-dêvar=âchâryyar-âgi tapô-ràjyaṁ-geyyuttam-ire ॥ Vṛi ॥ Jina[18]-samay-âgam-âṁbunidhi-pâragar=u-

8 gra-tapô-nivâsigaḷ manasija-vairigaḷ sa(śa)ma-dam-âṁbudhigaḷ budha-sajjana-stutar=vvinata-narêṁdra-ruṁdra-makuṭ-ârchchita-pâdapayôja-

9 yugmar=eṁb=initu mahat[t*]vadiṁ Siriyanandi-munîṁdrare dêvar=urvviyoḷ ॥ Avara śishshiṁtiyar ॥ 'Sama[19]-dama-yama-niyama-yutar=vvi-

---

[9] *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 112.

[10] *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 136.

[11] See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 47f. To my remarks there, I would add that the inscription calls Vishṇuvardhana-Viyayâditya *sarvalôkâśraya* or 'refuge of all people,' which is a very customary Eastern Chalukya epithet, but does not, I think, occur in any of the inscriptions of the Western branch of the family.

[12] From the ink-impression. [13] *sc.* Vṛitta; *i.e.* 'metre.' [14] Metre, Champakamâlâ.

[15] Or perhaps *ant=adum=âṅg[e]*.

[16] Here, and throughout this inscription, this word is represented by a symbol; not in writing.

[17] Read *tṛitîyanêtra*. [18] Metre, Champakamâlâ. [19] Metre, Kanda.

10 maḷa-charitrar=Jjinêṁdra-dharmm-ôddharaṇa-krama-niratar=elele lôk-ôttamar=esev=Ashṭôpavâsigaṇtiyar=eḷeyoḷ ‖ Vṛi ‖ Ant[20]=avar=êḷu

11 mattarane paṇḍitar=îye namaśya(sya)m-âgi kalpânta-dinaṁ bara[ṁ*] paḍedu Pârśva-Jinêśvara-pûjegaṁ śrut-âtyaṁta-sad-ânna-dâna-

12 vidhigaṁ sale koṭṭar=idaṁ nitântav=ôrant-ire rakshipa[r*] **Dhvajataṭâkada** panneraḍuṁ-gavuṇḍugaḷ ‖ Ôṁ Namaḥ siddhêbhyaḥ ‖

13 Ôṁ Samasta-guṇa-saṁppannan=appa śrîmat sênabôva Siṁgaṇṇaṁge ‖ Aruhane[21] naṁbida deyva[ṁ*] gurugaḷu paravâdi-śarabha-bhêruṇḍa-

14 budhar=ppara-hitame tanage charitaṁ dore-vettudu Siṁgan=êṁ kṛit-ârtthano jagadoḷ ‖ Parama-[22]śrî-Jaina-dharmmakk=anavarata-viśês(sh)-ânna-dânakke

15 munnaṁ Bharataṁ śrêyâṁsan=îgaḷu nija-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Jaina-dharmm-âbdhi-chaṁdraṁ shpu(sphu)rad-udyat-têjan=atyunnatan=amaḷa-yaśaṁ śishṭa-ratnâkaraṁ

16 bâppure Siṁgaṁ bhabya(vya)-sêbya(vya)ṁ su(śu)chi-su(śu)bha-charitaṁ dhâtriyoḷu puṇya-puṁja[ṁ*] ‖ Kanda ‖ Para[23]-hita-charitran=anupama-vara-guṇa-niḷa-

17 yaṁ pri(prî)yaṁba(va)daṁ dharmma-dan=akshara-pakshapâti yati-pati-Siriṇaṁdi-bra(vra)ti-padâbja-bhṛiṁga[ṁ*] Siṁga[ṁ*] ‖ Amaḷa-charitra[ṁ*] budha-hṛitka-

18 maḷ-âkara-dinakaraṁ kṛit-ârtthaṁ Jaina-krama-naḷin(n)-êshṭha(shṭa)ṁ Śrînandi-muniṁdrara sênabôva Siṁga[ṁ*] dhareyoḷ ‖ Ant=enisida ‖ Ôṁ ‖

19 **Sa(śa)ka-varsha 998ney=Anaḷa-saṁvatsarada śrâheyoḷu**[24] Svasti Śrîmat paravâdi-sa(śa)rabha-bhêruṇḍ-âpara-nâmadhêyar=appa

20 Śrînandi-paṇḍita-dêvar=mmunnaṁ śrîmat **Châḷukya**[25]-chakravartti-**Vijayâdityavallabh**ânujey=appa śrîmat **Kuṁkuma-mahâ-**

21 **dêvi Purigeṟeyalu** mâḍisidh(d)=Ânêsejjeya-basadige tâṁbra[26]śâsana-maryyâdeyiṁd=âḷva **Guḍigeṟeya** bhûmiy-olage pa-

22 ḍuva[27]ṇa polan=ottu-vôg-iḷdaḍe[28] Kâladiya-Nâyimm-arasaṁge śâsanamaṁ tôṟi paḍeda bhûmiy-oḷage tamma guḍḍaṁ Siṁgayyaṁge kâru-

23 ṇyadiṁ sarvva-namaśya(sya)m-âgi padinâlku mattaraṁ daye-geydu koṭṭad=ây=Ayyan=â padinâlku mattarumaṁ rishiyargge **Guḍi-**

24 **geṟeyoḷ**=âhâra-dânaṁ naḍev-ant-âgi biṭan=î keyyoḷ=puṭṭid=artthamaṁn[29]=illiy=âhara-dânakk=allade peṟat-oṁdu dharmmakkaṁ

25 peṟat-oṁd=edegam=uyyal-âgad=int=î maryyâdeyan=arasuṁ paṇḍitaruṁ pannirvvar=ggâvuṇḍugaḷuṁ dharmmav-arivavar=ella-

26 ruv=odeyar-âgi parirakshe-geydu sva-dharmmadiṁ naḍasuvudu ‖ Kanda ‖ **Guḍigeṟeyoḷu**[30] dharmmaṁgaḷig=oḍarisuvavar=ella

27 voḍeyar=î dharmma[ṁ*]-kâv-oḍeyar=em=ôrvvare venaved[31]=uḍupati ravi jaḷadhi dhâtri nilup-annevara[ṁ*] ‖ Antu Siṁgaṇṇaṁ biṭṭa

28 keyya chatus-sîmey=ent-ene mûḍa Bandi-gâvuṇḍana keyi teṁka **Pulluṁgûra** baṭṭe paḍuva basadiya keyyu[ṁ*]

29 Nâkayyana keyi baḍaga gâvuṇḍugaḷa pasugeya polan=antu mattar=ppadinâlku ‖ Mattam=Ashṭôpavâsi-Kantiyara

30 biṭṭa keyge chatus-sîmey=ent-ene mûḍa **Baṁgagêriya** keyi teṁka grâma-chaityâlayada keyi paḍuva perggaḍe

31 Prabhâkarayyana keyi baḍaga **Pulluṁgûra** baṭṭey=antu mattar=êḷuman=int=î yeraḍuṁ paryyâyada mattar=irppatt-o-

32 ndumaṁ pratipâlisuvavargge Vâraṇâsi Kurukshêtraṁ Prayâgey=Argghyatîrtthaṁ modal-âgi puṇya-tîrtthaṁgaḷo-

[20] Metre, Utpalamâlikâ. [21] Metre, Kanda. [22] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[23] Metre, Kanda; and in the next verse. [24] Or we may read *saṁvatsarad=aîrâheyoḷu*.

[25] Read *śrîmach-Châḷukya*. [26] Read *tâmra*.

[27] The letters *paḍuva* were at first omitted, and then were inserted in the margin,—the *pa* at the end of line 21, and the *ḍuva* at the commencement of line 22.

[28] Or perhaps *ottum=êg-iḷdaḍe*. [29] Read *artthaman*. [30] Metre, Kanda.

[31] From *dharmma[ṁ*]* to *uḍupati*, the reading is quite certain; but, whether I have divided the words rightly, and what correction is to be applied for the fault in the metre, is doubtful.

33 ḷu sûryya-grahaṇadoḷu sâsira kavileyan=alaṁkâra-sahitaṁ chatu[r*]vvêda-pâragar=appa sâsirvvar=brâhma-

34 ṇarggey=ubhayamukhi-goṭṭa pa(pha)ḷam=ak[k*]uv=î dharmmaman=aḷiyalu manaṁdaṁdavarggey=int=î puṇya-tîrtthaṁgaḷoḷu sâsi-

35 ra kavileyuma[ṁ*] sâsirvva[r*]=brâhmaṇaruman=aḷida paṁchamahâpâtakan=akku ॥ Ôṁ Svasti Śrîmat paravâdi-śarabha-bhê-

36 ruṇḍ-âpara-nâmadhêyar=appa Śrînandi-paṇḍita-dêvar=mmattam=â paḍuva-volad-oḷage pannirvvar=ggâvuṇḍ[u*]gaḷge daye-geyd=uṁbaḷiy-âgi

37 koṭṭa mattar=nnûṟa pannondu perggaḍe Prabhâkarayyana maga Rudrayyaṁge daye-geyd=uṁbaḷiy-âgi koṭṭa mattar=ppadi-

38 nâlku । sênabôva Habbaṇṇaṁge daye-geyd=uṁbaḷiy-âgi koṭṭa mattar=ppadinâlku Mûkiyara-Kâvaṇṇaṁge day[e*]-geyd=u[ṁ*]baḷi-

39 y-âgi koṭṭa mattar=êḷu Kantiyara-Nâkayyaṁge daye-geyd=uṁbaḷiy-âgi koṭṭa mattar=nnâlku kammav=aṟu-nûṟa śrîmad-Bhuvanai-

40 kamalla-Śântinâtha-dêvargge sarvva-namaśya(sya)m-âgi paḍeda mattar=irppattu ॥ Bahubhir[32]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhirs(s)=Sagar-âdibhiḥ ya-

41 ssya yassya yadâ bhûmis=tassya tassya tadâ pa(pha)ḷaṁ ॥ Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâ[ṁ*] shashṭhir=vvarsha-sahaśrâ-

42 yâṁ mishthâyâṁ[33] jâyatê krimiḥ ॥

SOME SOUTH-INDIAN LITERARY LEGENDS.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, M. F. L. S.

INTRODUCTION.

I have frequently had the privilege of laying before the readers of this Journal the folk-tales of the people of Southern India; but in addition to these there are current among them many **legendary tales based on Sanskrit or Tamiḻ Literature and Tradition.** These legends, are, I think, worth recording in the forms in which they occur in popular use, and I propose in the following pages to give specimens of them. They are specially interesting, because now-a-days they are rapidly disappearing before the march of education and the spread of communication with the outer world.

The time to hear them is during moonlight nights, after the simple toils of the villagers are over for the day, and their frugal, but withal plentiful, repast is finished. It is then that they delight to squat themselves on mats in the open moonlight, and spend a few hours relating folk-tales and folk-legends to each other. Several such evenings have I spent most pleasantly, with simple but hospitable companions, during my travels in search of the ideas that pervade them. And I trust that the results of what I have been thus able to record, may prove to be something more valuable than matters of mere passing interest.

LEGEND I.

On a certain day, a learned but poor **Paṇḍit** was coming to the council house of **king Bhôja** on a visit. His intention was to display his learning to that great monarch, and receive presents from him for his hard-earned knowledge. Now, to go to a king with empty hands is considered a great sin among Hindûs. So, on his way he bought some **sticks of sugar-cane** as a present for the king, cut them into smaller ones, each of a cubit's length, and made a bundle of them. When he approached the palace, he found he was too late to enter the council-chamber that evening, for the king and his learned assembly had already dispersed. So, the Brâhmaṇ, not relishing the idea of missing the morning council as well, by going elsewhere for the night, made up his mind to sleep on the palace premises, so as to be ready.

[32] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

[33] Read *shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ*.

The place he chose for the night's repose was a stable; and there he put the bundle of sugar-cane under his head for a pillow, and soon began to snore away the night, for the day's work had been too much for him. In the middle of the night a groom happened to come into the stable. The pillow had slipped from beneath the Paṇḍit's head and attracted the groom's attention. He opened it and found it to contain sugar-canes. He at once determined to take possession of the canes, and rolled up in the bundle, in their place, some half-burnt sticks of fuel. He then put the bundle back into its original place and went away.

Our hero arose early the next morning, never dreaming that any trick had been played upon him, for the bundle appeared to his eyes to be exactly the same as when he had rolled it into his kerchief the previous evening. He rose up and hastily took the bundle under his arm, not liking to open it, lest some of the troublesome palace peons should snatch away part of the present he was carrying for the monarch. Proceeding thus hastily, he took his seat in the midst of the learned Paṇḍits assembled before the king, and in his turn pronounced several benedictory verses in a general way. And lastly wishing to bless the king with the sugar-canes in his hand, he opened his bundle. But what was his dismay and confusion, when, instead of the canes, only some **half-burnt fuel-sticks** met his eyes! The whole conclave of Paṇḍits was amazed to see one among their number with such a present in his hand. However, our hero, who had a ready wit, sang the following benedictory verse :—

दग्धं खांडवमर्जुनेन हि वृथा देवद्रुमैर्मण्डितम्
दग्धा वायुसुतेन हेमनगरी लंकापुरी स्वर्णभूः ।
दग्धः सर्व्वसखो हरेण मदनः किं तैरयुक्तं कृतम्
दारिद्र्यं जनदुःखकारकमिदं केनापि दग्धं न हि ॥

"The (great) forest of the Khâṇḍava, full of divine trees, was burnt down by Arjuna; the city of Laṅka, otherwise called Hêmanagarî (the golden city) whose surface was all of gold, was burnt by Vâyu's son (Hanumân); the friend of all, the god Madana (Cupid), was reduced to ashes by Hara. Why should this happen? What bad acts did they do? But **this poverty of mine**, which puts me always to sorrow, **has never been burnt** by any one."

So sang the poor Brâhmaṇ, hinting thereby that he meant by the presentation of those sticks that the king should burn his poverty with them. And the monarch too, famous throughout the world for liberality, amply rewarded the Paṇḍit, being extremely pleased with the verse.

LEGEND II.

In a certain learned village there lived a poor Brâhmaṇ who had no learning by which he could earn his living, or which could enable him to go with the others to the king, when he held assemblies of Paṇḍits, and return home with presents from him. Now, to go to the king and get from him some present, was his great aim in life; and, finding all the means of doing it unaided hopeless, he resolved at last to go for help to the great poet **Kâlidâsa.** He went to him accordingly and represented his case. The great poet promised to oblige **Bhôjanadâsarathi**—for that was our hero's name—and told him to get by heart the following benediction :— **त्रयीकारकसुखावाप्तिरस्तु**, "May there be to you the attainment of the three-fold happiness."

With the greatest difficulty, and after spending a month over it, Bhôjanadâśarathi at last got it by heart. Kâlidâsa then wished to take him to the king and previously told his majesty that a fellow-student of his was coming the next day to the assembly. **Bhôja** (for that was the king's name) was highly pleased to hear it, and awaited the happy occasion.

In due course Bhôjanadâśarathi came into the assembly and was introduced to the king. He carried a cocoanut in his hand; and, presenting it to the sovereign, essayed to pronounce the benedictory sentence. But, as the troubles of his poverty always stood before his mind's eye, he remembered *pîdâ*, 'misery,' much better than *sukha*, 'happiness,' and so tumbled into the mistake of substituting the former for the latter and said **त्रयीकारकपीडावाप्तिरस्तु**, "May there be the attainment of the three-fold misery to you."

The king's face changed colour on hearing such on unwelcome benediction, if benediction it might be called, from the fellow-student of the great poet. And all the assembled Paṇḍits were struck dumb with fear and astonishment. But in order to save Bhôjanadâśarathi, Kâlidâsa at once rose up and said,

आसने विप्रपीडा च सुतपीडा च भोजने ।
शयने दारपीडा च त्रिधः पीडा दिने दिने ॥

"May Brâhmaṇs trouble you when you are on your throne; may your sons trouble you when you sit down to eat; may your wives trouble you (for amorous sports) when you are in bed. Thus may there be three kinds of trouble to you day after day."

Thus Kâlidâsa explained away the three miseries wished by Bhôjanadâśarathi to the monarch. And the king, highly pleased, rewarded the poor Brâhmaṇ, though of course he did not deserve anything.

LEGEND III.

One day a poor Brâhmaṇ went to **Kâlidâsa**, and requested him to take him also to the assembly of **king Bhôja**. The great poet asked him whether he knew anything to bless the king with, and the Brâhmaṇ, being the son of a reciter of *Upanishads* replied that he had heard his father often repeat the words सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात्— but that was all he knew, and even of that he did not know the proper intonation or meaning. "Very well, it will do," said Kâlidâsa, and asked the Brâhmaṇ to come to the king's assembly the next day; and our hero, much pleased, went away.

As the next morning was a special occasion, learned Paṇḍits from all parts of Jambûdvîpa had assembled there to bless the monarch and receive presents. Our poor Brâhmaṇ too came; and, when his turn approached, without using the peculiarintonation of the *Upanishads*, he said सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात्.

Every Paṇḍit there was astonished to hear so gauche a repetition of a portion of one of the *Vêdâṅgas*. Kâlidâsa read the faces of the assembled Paṇḍits, and standing up in their midst said: "*Paṇḍitâḥ*! Learned Sirs! The Paṇḍit who has just quoted from the *Upanishad* did not adopt the usual intonation, as he meant it to be but one-half of a verse. You must all try to patch up the other half. The whole assembly heard what Kâlidâsa said, and tried their best to fill in the other portion, but in vain. Then rose up Kâlidâsa, the king of poets, and said चलितश्चकितश्छन्नस्तव सैन्ये प्रधावति, which may be rendered thus — *Tava sainyé pradhâvati*, "when your army marches," *Sahasraśirshâ purushah chalitah*, "the thousand-headed (hooded) god Adiśêsha changes his position (unable to bear the weight)." *Sahasrâkshaḥ chakitah*, "the thousand-eyed Indra fears for his safety," and *Sahasrapât*, "the sun becomes," *chhannaḥ*, "clouded by the dust raised by the army."

The king praised Kâlidâsa, scolded the assembled Paṇḍits, and rewarded the poor Brâhmaṇ.

LEGEND IV.

Four poor Brâhmaṇs visited **Kâlidâsa** on a certain day and requested him to introduce them to the king. The poet asked them whether they knew any Sanskṛit verses to bless the king with. The first Brâhmaṇ said that his father was a great reader of the *Râmâyaṇa*, and that he had heard him often repeating the words कूजंतं रामरामेति, and that he knew only so much. The second Brâhmaṇ replied that his father was a great *Purâṇa*-reader, and that he had heard him often repeat श्रोत्रियाय कुटुंबिने, and that he knew only so much. The third Brâhmaṇ stated that his father took great delight in the *Harivaṁśa*, and that he had heard him often repeat the words उवाच वचनं श्रीमान्, and that he knew only so much. And the fourth Brahmaṇ said that his father, grandfather, great-grandfather and others, were all priests, and that he had often heard them pronounce, while discharging their duties, the words पितृणां दत्तमक्षयम्, and that he knew only so much. Kâlidâsa was pleased with them all, and, pitying their poverty, asked them to be present at the king's assembly the next day.

Next morning the great poet went in advance, and informed the king that four of his fellow students had come to the town, and that they would soon be in the council to see him. In due time the four Brâhmaṇs entered the hall of assembly, and the monarch received them very kindly, as he had heard they were fellow-students of the great poet. After being seated, each began to repeat what he knew; and that most learned assembly of Paṇḍits, with Kâlidâsa at its head, heard the following jumbles of Sanskṛit verse :—

कूजंतं रामरामेति श्रोत्रियाय कुटुंबिने ।
उवाच वचनं श्रीमान्पितॄणां दत्तमक्षयम् ॥

Each quarter of this being borrowed from a separate source, no one in the hall could make a grain of sense out of it. But up rose Kâlidâsa, and said that the best verse ever uttered by Paṇḍits was the one that was just given out, and he explained its meaning thus :—रामरामेति कूजंतं (नारदं) श्रीमान् (ब्रह्मा) इदं वचनमुवाच पितॄणामुद्दिश्य कुटुंबिने श्रोत्रियाय यद्दत्तं तदक्षयम्-इति "To Nârada, who was always pronouncing 'Râma, Râma,' the most holy (Brahmâ) said thus :—'Whatever is given in honour of the *manes* (*pitṛis*) to the Śrôtriya Brâhmaṇs who have large families, becomes the most imperishable donation in the world.' And as the four Brâhmaṇs who have come now to the court are Śrôtriya Brâhmaṇs with large families to protect, they remind you, O king! of the words of Brahmâ to Nârada, and ask you to follow the same advice."

So explained Kâlidâsa, and the monarch at once issued an order that each should be rewarded with a hundred-thousand gold coins for each letter.

LEGEND V.

A certain boy, who had just begun Sanskṛit and had not advanced beyond the declension of nouns, went on a certain day to **Kâlidâsa** and said he wanted be taken to the assembly of **king Bhôja**. The poet asked him what he knew. He said that his master had only the previous day taught him *kaviḥ*, *kavî*, *kavayaḥ*—कविः, कवी, कवयः—the declension of the word *kavi* (poet) in the singular, dual and plural of the nominative case. Said the poet "Come with me to the assembly to-morrow, and, blessing the king with कविः कवी, कवयः, request the assembled Paṇḍits to compose a verse on it."

The boy did accordingly. No one present was able to compose a verse upon those forms, till at last Kâlidâsa got up and said :—जाते जगति वाल्मीके शब्दः कविरिति श्रुतः । कवी इति ततो व्यासे कवयस्त्वयि दंडिनि ॥ "When Vâlmîka was born, the word कविः (poet) came to existence in the world; and then when Vyâsa too was born, the dual कवी (poets twain) came into use; and when you began to wield the sceptre, the whole world became full of poets, and कवय : (poets) came into use.

The king was exceedingly pleased at this praise and amply rewarded the boy.

LEGEND VI.

A certain buffoon named **Bhukkuṇḍa,** very learned in Sanskṛit and of most ready wit, lived in the country of **king Bhôja**. One day he committed a great crime for which, by the laws of the state, he was to be executed. When taken before the king, to have sentence pronounced upon him, he said :—भट्टिर्नष्टो भारविश्चैव नष्टः । भिक्षुर्नष्टो भीमसेनश्च नष्टः । भुक्कुण्डोऽहं भूपतिस्त्वं हि राजन् । भभावल्यामन्तकस्त्वं प्रविष्टः ॥ "*Bha*tti (the great grammarian and minister) is gone. *Bhâ*ravi (another poet) is also gone. *Bhi*kshu (a beggar) is dead and gone, and *Bhî*masêna too is dead. I am *Bhu*kkuṇḍa. And you are *Bhû*pati, O king! Infer from this that the god of death has entered the *Bha* series in order (*Bha*, *Bhâ*, *Bhi*, *Bhî*, *Bhu*, *Bhû*). And that when I, Bhukkuṇḍa, die, the next person to die after me is yourself, your name being Bhûpati."

The witty arrangement of the names of the dead persons confused the king. He seriously began to think that, when Bhukkuṇḍa dies, Bhûpati, *i.e.* he himself, must die next. So he pardoned Bhukkuṇḍa.

This verse is quoted as an instance of ready wit, though there is not much logic in it.

LEGEND VII.

In the **Maisûr Darbâr**, during the days of **Kṛishṇarâja Uḍaiyâr**, a certain Paṇḍit concluded a verse with the words **दरमीलन्नयना विलोकते** ॥—"She looks with her eyes a little shut," and wished his fellow Paṇḍits to patch up the verse on the condition that the verse was to be natural and treat of a thing without sentiments of love.

One of the Paṇḍits rose up and said:—

गहनेषु करीषवांछया विचरंती किल तिन्त्रिणीफलं ।
परिचर्व्य पुलिंदसुंदरी दरमीलन्नयना विलोकते ॥

"While searching for cakes of dried cattle-droppings in the forest, a *pulinda* (hunter) woman comes across a tamarind fruit and when tasting it, she looks with her eyes a little shut."

The allusion here is to the fact that, when anything acid is eaten, the nerves of the cheeks and the eyes contract and make the eater half shut his eyes for a second or two. The peculiarity of the above verse is that it is without sentiments of love, as is always the case when women in Sanskṛit literature are represented as looking with half-shut eyes.

LEGEND VIII.

King Bhôja was seated one day among the learned Paṇḍits in his assembly, when a poor Brâhmaṇ presented himself before his majesty. Mendicants can be distinguished by their very faces, so the king said to him **कुतस्त्वमागतो विप्र**! "Whence have you come, O Brâhmaṇ?" **कैलासादगतो नृप** । "I have come from Kailâsa, O king." Then his majesty asked him—**शिवस्तत्र सुखी वापि** ॥ "Is Siva there doing well then?" And our Brâhmaṇ hero replied—**नास्ति तत्र शिवो मृतः**. "No, There is none there. Śivạ is dead and gone."

The king was apparently startled and wishing to confound the Brâhmaṇ asked him "What had become of the several things which were in Śiva's person if he had died?" Whereon the Brâhmaṇ repeated the following verse which is unparalleled for its beauty among such effusions:—

अर्द्धं दानववैरिणा गिरिजयाप्यर्द्धं हरस्याहृतम्
देवेत्थं दिवि भूतले पुरहराभावे समुन्मीलति ।
गंगा सागरमंबरं शशिकला नागाधिपाः क्ष्मातलम्
सर्व्वज्ञत्वमधीश्वरत्वमगमत्त्वां मां च भिक्षाटनम् ॥

"Half of Śiva was taken away by the enemy of the Dânavas (Vishṇu); the daughter of the mountain (Pârvatî) too took away half of Hara (Śiva) to her own body. Thus the conqueror of Tripura, the great Śiva, was swallowed up in the heavens (by Vishṇu) and on the earth by Pârvatî, and became a cypher. He had the Ganges on his head; she went to the ocean as her lord. He had the moon-disc on his head; she went to the sky. He had several serpent-lords (as his ornament); they went to the nether world. He had the mastery of learning and the lordship of wealth; they came to you, O King! And lastly, Śiva was a mendicant; and he bequeathed his mendicancy to me."

Thus replied the Brâhmaṇ, most truely accounting poetically for the way in which Śiva disappeared, and hinting very cunningly that, because Bhôja was a wealthy and learned king, he had come there to beg. The king, who wished to confound the Brâhmaṇ by dragging him into unnecessary questions, was himself confounded. He rewarded the Brâhmaṇ amply, and sent him away.

In the above verse, the half of Śiva being taken away by **Vishṇu** is merely a poetical fiction. There is a god Hari-Hara, sometimes called Vishṇu and sometimes Śiva, by the

Vaishṇavas and Śaivas respectively. In this *avatâra* or incarnation, half is Hari (Vishṇu) and half Śiva (Hara). This is most ingeniously represented in the above verse as Hari stealing away half of Śiva. And in the incarnation of Śiva as Arddhanârîśvara, half of him is himself and half Pârvatî. This is what is meant by the other half of Śiva being stolen by Pârvatî, as the poet cleverly represents it. And of course, when the two halves that make up one Śiva disappeared, Śiva himself disappeared.

Some orthodox Śaivas sometimes criticise the last line of the first verse नास्ति तत्र शिवोमृतः and say it is irreligious of the king to have spoken about the god as having died. But they make things right by representing that the words शिवो and मृतः can also be separated as शिवो and अमृतः. And by the rules of the *Vyâkaraṇa* (हसि च ॥ and अतो गुणे ॥) शिवः मृतः and शिवो-अमृतः both become respectively शिवोमृतः ॥ In शिवो अमृतः Śiva does not die, but only undergoes a sort of poetical death for the occasion; only in the mouth of the Brâhmaṇ mendicant.

CURIOSITIES OF SOUTH-INDIAN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

I.—Punning Verses.

The following two verses, one on Śiva and one on Vishṇu, are looked upon in Southern India as among the best examples of puns upon words in Sanskrit.

Śiva, in his incarnation of Naṭêśa, was always going astray with strange women. One night he returned home very late and knocked at the door of the goddess, when the following questions and answers passed between them—

कस्त्वं शूली प्रविश भिषजां वेश्म वैद्यं न जाने
स्थाणुर्बाले न वदति तरुर्नीलकंठः प्रमुग्धे ।
केकामेकां वद त्वं पशुपतिरबले नैव तीक्ष्णे विषाणे
इत्येवं शैलकन्याप्रतिवचनजडः पातु मां पार्वतीशः ॥

which may be rendered thus :—

Pârvatî.—"Who is it that knocks at the door?

Śiva.—*Śûlî.*

Pârvatî.—If you are Śûlî go to the doctor's house for treatment, as I do not know medicine.

Śiva.—I am *Sthâṇu*, my dear.

Pârvatî.—Sthâṇu ! Trees do not speak.

Śiva.—No; I am *Nîlakaṇṭha.*

Pârvatî.—If so let me hear one of your *kêkâ* notes.

Śiva.—No; my dear! I am *Paśupati.*

Pârvatî.—Then how is it that I do not see your sharp horns.

(Śiva was confused by the natural interpretation given to each of his names by Pârvatî.) May that lord of Pârvatî who stood confused and unable to reply to the questions of the daughter of the king of mountains, protect me!"

The puns here lie in the words *Śûlî*, *Sthâṇu*, *Nîlakaṇṭha* and *Paśupati*. Each of these four means Śiva and also a person suffering from stomach-ache, a piece of wood, the peacock, and the bull as the lord of the cattle (cows). When Śiva says that he is Śûlî, Pârvatî interpreting the word to mean a person suffering from belly-ache, wants her husband to go to the doctor's house as she had not studied medicine. Śiva then says that he is Sthâṇu; and as that word means also 'wood' she wonders and says "if you are a *Sthâṇu* you could never have spoken, as trees do not speak." Then Śiva has recourse to a third name of his which also unfortunately means a peacock. The word is Nîlakaṇṭha. Then Pârvatî teases the god and wants to hear one of his *kêkas*—the special name, in Sanskrit, of the peacock's note—as all Nîlakaṇṭhas sing *kêkas*. Once more Śiva tells his wife that he is Paśupati which also means a bull.

Pârvatî then wants to see whether her husband has the horns of a bull and for that purpose opens the door. Then says the story that the god and goddess were reconciled, and the poet calls upon Śiva's protection in his half-amorous mood !

In the same strain, but representing the adventures of **Krishṇa,** who was notorious for his adventures with the fair sex, is the following verse—

अंगुल्या कः कवाटं प्रहरति कुटिले माधवः किं वसन्तो
नो चक्री किं कुलालो नहि धरणिधरः किं द्विजिह्वः फणीन्द्रः ।
नाहं घोराहिमर्दी त्वमसि खगपतिर्नो हरिः किं कपीन्द्र
इत्येवं गोपकन्याप्रतिवचनजडः पातु मां पद्मनाभः ॥

which may be thus rendered :—

The Gôpîs.—" Who is it that strikes (slowly) at the door with his fingers ?
Krishṇa or Padmanâbha.—Mâdhava, you enraged woman.
The Gôpîs.—What ? Is it the god of the spring season ?
Krishṇa.—No. I am the Chakrî—the bearer of the discus.
The Gôpîs.—What ? Are you the potter (who bears the wheel)?
Krishṇa.—No. I am the bearer of the earth.
The Gôpîs.—Then are you the double-tongued king of serpents ?
Krishṇa—No. I am rather the killer of the serpent (Kâlîya).
The Gôpîs.—Then are you the lord of the birds (Garuḍa) who is the killer of serpents ?
Krishṇa.—No. I am Hari.
The Gôpîs.—What ? Are you then the lord of monkeys (Hari) ?

May the god Padmanâbha who stood bewildered and unable to reply to the questions of the Gôpîs protect me !"

Here also the names chosen by Padmanâbha for revealing himself have all double meanings. Thus, Mâdhava means Vishṇu as well as the spring season, and Chakrî also means the potter. The bearer of the earth is Vishṇu and also the lord of the serpents Âdiśêsha ; and the Gôpîs whose aim was to worry the god so interpreted his name. Then Krishṇa told them that he was the killer of the serpent as it is known that he vanquished Kâlîya while yet a boy by jumping into the pool in the Yamunâ where that serpent demon dwelt. As Garuḍa kills serpents, the Gôpîs at once asked him if he was that bird. He denied it and said that he was Hari which unfortunately means the lord of monkeys also.

Both the above verses are often quoted in Southern India as examples of puns, though they are not found in any of the set books.

II.—Fate.

The following verses are always quoted by the South-Indian Paṇḍits for the supremacy of दैव, fate.

A **hen and cock pigeon** were once seated on the branch of a tree, when a hunter came to the root of the tree, and bending his bow was just about to aim an arrow at the birds. The hen pigeon saw him and said to her lord by her side that a miserable death awaited them as they were deprived of escape through the air, as just at that time a kite was wheeling over their heads. She had scarcely finished speaking when a serpent started from under the tree and stung the hunter, and he in confusion at the prospect of immediate death missed the pigeons and hit the kite by accident. Thus both the enemies of the pigeons—the hunter below, and the kite above, went together to the world of death. And fate, whose ways are wonderful, preserved the loving pair of pigeons. The following is the verse relating the story in pathetic Sanskrit, though the logic in it may not satisfy the modern students of Bain's "System."

कान्तं प्राह कपोतिकाऽऽकुलतया नाथान्त्यकालोऽधुना
व्याधोऽधोधृतचापसंहितशरः श्येनः परिभ्रामति ।
एवं सत्यहिना स दष्ट इषुणा श्येनोऽपि तेनाहतः
तूर्णं तौ तु यमालयं प्रति गतौ दैवी विचित्रा गतिः ॥

"The hen pigeon much bewildered said to her lord—'My lord, now has come our last moment to us. The hunter pulling tight his bow has aimed his arrow at us. Over our head the kite circles in his flight.' Scarcely had she spoken this, when by a serpent he was stung and by his arrow the kite was killed, and both their enemies went at once to the house of death. The ways of the fate are wonderful."

In another verse the difficulties of a doe are enumerated :—

अग्रे व्याधः करधृतशरः पार्श्वतो जालमाला
पृष्ठे वह्निर्दहति च वनं संनिधौ सारमेयाः ।
एणी गर्भादलसगमना बालकः पादलीनः
चिन्ताविष्टा कलयति मृगी किं करोमि क्व यामि ॥

"In front of her is a hunter with a full-drawn bow in his hand: on both sides of her he has spread his nets so that escape on either side is impossible; to turn back and run away is also impossible, as he has lighted a big fire which is burning the whole forest. The space between the hunter and the nets is guarded by the hounds. With all these external difficulties, the doe is full heavy with young and not at all able to walk quickly, and a young one is running between her feet. In the midst of so many difficulties she is buried in the ocean of anxiety and says to herself 'What shall I do? Where shall I go?'"

While thus surrounded with dangers the following events occurred, or are supposed to have occurred, and made her escape possible :—

मध्ये ज्या त्रुटिता शरासनमभूद्भग्नं दवाग्नेर्भयात्
निर्यातश्शशकश्शुनानुगमितः पाशश्च दग्धोऽग्निना ।
शान्तो वह्निरकालमेघसलिलैः सूता मृगी गर्भिणी
तामापत्सरितं ततार कृपया देवस्य लक्ष्मीपतेः ॥

"The bow-string broke in the middle (from too strong a pull); the bow too was smashed to pieces. From fear of the forest-fire a hare left its bush and ran and was followed furiously by the hounds. The nets were burnt by the fire. All of a sudden an untimely cloud appeared and poured volumes of water upon the fire and quenched the flames, and in that very place after crossing all the channels of difficulty by the favour of the lord of the Lakshmî (Vishṇu) the doe was confined and brought to bed of another young one."

Thus if fate only desires it, everything shall take place as it should. In this way many an idler generalizes in remote villages and quotes the three verses given above as his authority for so doing.

III.—On Musk.

The following beautiful verse is current as one addressed by a great Paṇḍit to a rogue :—

कस्तूरिकां तृणभुजामटवीचराणां
निक्षिप्य नाभिषु चकार वृथा वधार्हान् ।
मूढो विधिः स खलु दुर्जनलोलजिह्वा
मूलेषु निक्षिपति चेत् सकलोपकारः ॥

"The fool Brahmâ by placing musk in the navel of those poor beasts which graze on grass and roam the forests made them (most unreasonably) objects of slaughter; but if, instead of that, he had kept it at the root of the tongues of wicked people it would have been a great help to all."

The author means that wicked men would lose their tongues, and thus their wickedness, and that the rest of the world, would get musk from their tongues instead of from harmless beasts.

IV.—An old man's wife.

The following is a fine (but somewhat tasteless) verse based on the observation that a lamp is useless to the person who holds it while walking :—

करे गृहीतापि पुरे स्थितापि
स्नेहेन सम्यक् परिवार्द्धितापि ।
परोपकाराय भवेद्धि नित्यं
वृद्धस्य भार्या करदीपिकेव ॥

"Though held by the hand, though made to be before us, though well kept up by *snêha*, (oil and also affection), like a lamp held in hand which always becomes useful to others, and not to th e person who holds it, is the wife of an old man."

The au thor evidently means a young wife of a very old husband.

V.—On Friendship.

The following is a fine verse on friendship :—

दारुभेदनिपुणोपि षडंघ्रिः
निष्क्रियो भवति पंकजबद्धः
बंधनानि किल सन्ति बहूनि
स्नेहरज्जुकृतबन्धनमन्यत् ॥

"Though the six-footed (bee) is an expert in boring even trees, it gives up all its powers and becomes actionless when it is enclosed in the lotus. There are several kinds of bonds; but the bondage of friendship is unparalleled."

The bee is supposed to be tied down by the rules of its friendship to the lotus. Hence it does not like to use its tree-boring powers which, if brought into action on the lotus, would destroy the latter in no time.

VI.—The Advaita Philosophy.

The following verse is related in every village as an example of the **Advaita Philosophy,** and apart from the fact, it stands unparalleled in beauty. It is a conversation between Sîtâ and her faithful friend Trijaṭâ :—

त्रस्ताहं सखि भृंगकीटकनयं संवीक्ष्य सीते कथं
श्रीरामार्पितचित्तवृत्तिरधुना रामो भविष्याम्यहम् ।
तत्किं ते प्रभुणा समं नहि रतिस्तादात्म्यसिद्धेः कुतः
सोपि त्वां भवितैव तर्हि युवयोः संसर्गलाभो भवेत् ॥

Sîtâ observed a wasp bring a worm to its nest in the tree under which she was confined. The bee used to sting the worm during all its leisure hours, but the worm, which was always in dread of the wasp soon turned into a wasp itself. When an animate thing, so low as a worm, by thinking with dread upon an object which it hates, can itself become a wasp, *à fortiori* can men who follow the **Advaita** philosophy become Śiva by thinking upon Śiva with an idea of doing a pleasurable duty? This is called **Bhṛiṅgakîṭakanyâya**. The meaning of the verse is as follows:—

Sîtâ.—"Well, my friend, after witnessing the evolution of the wasp and worm I fear much.

Trijaṭâ.—Sîtâ! What do you fear?

Sîtâ.—That I who have been thinking of Râma for ever shall now become Râma (by the rules of the above explained evolution).

Trijaṭâ.—What of that?

Sîtâ.—With that lord of my life, I shall lose the pleasures of a wife, as those would become impossible in me after my becoming Râma.

Trijaṭâ.—Fear not. He must always be thinking of you and become changed to yourself by the rules. Then there shall still be the happiness to you both of a husband and wife."

Though this is a conversation existing only in the imagination of the poet, it is considered a very fine expression of genuine affection between husband and wife.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XIII.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society.

(*a.*) *Meeting of the 24th September* (*6th October*) 1887.

J. S. Yashtrebov, Consul-General at Salonika, presented the Society with a collection of **Old Coins,** Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Slavonic and Italian.

V. V. Veliaminov-Zernov, in a letter to Baron Rosen, expressed his consent to the publication of the fourth part of the **Essays on the Tsars of Kasimovo.**

Vice-Consul Villier-de-Lille Adam presented to the Society a collection of **Egyptian Antiquities,** bronze and alabaster statuettes, heads in terracotta, &c.

V. A. Zhukovski read a paper on M. Bielozerski's book *Letters on Persia,* included in the *Collection of Geographical and Topographical Notices of Asia,* and in his careful review of the above-mentioned book shewed the superficial nature of the views of M. Bielozerski and the levity with which he had addressed himself to the task.

(*b*) *Meeting of the 26th October* (*7th November*) 1887.

S. J. Chakhotin sent some **Eastern Coins** for inspection, one of which, according to Baron Tiesenhausen, exhibited special interest.

The Fifteenth Volume of the Transactions of the Eastern Section, containing the text, translation, notes and preface to the **History of the Mongols, by Rashîdu'ddin,** published by I. N. Berezin, will appear as soon as the index which is now in the press is ready.

A letter was received from A. T. Soloviev, with some coins and an impression of a **Chughatai Coin** of Kazan-Timûr, which, in the opinion of Baron Tiesenhausen, is very curious.

V. Villier-de-Lille Adam sent three **Egyptian Statuettes** as a present to the Society.

A. M. Pozdneiev read a paper on **Calmuck Literature,** which is important, although boasting no great antiquity.

(*c.*) *Meeting of the 13th December* 1887.

V. M. Uspenski sent **four coins,** one of which is **unique** according to Baron Tiesenhausen.

N. N. Pantusov sent to the Society six **Chinese Proclamations** to the inhabitants of the **Ili District** in three languages, Chinese, Manchu and **Turkî,** of the years 1880-1881, the time of the transfer of Kuljâ to China; they contain an amnesty offered by the Chinese to the inhabitants of that district.

V. V. Radlov read a paper on the *yarliks* of **Tuqtamish** and **Timûr-Qutluq** (which will be published shortly in the *Transactions*).

S. M. Georgievski communicated extracts from his large work on **Chinese Social Institutions.**

(*d*) *Song about Khudvar Khân.*—N. Ostroûmov communicates from Tashkand a song on the **Banishment of Khudvâr Khân from Fergana.** It is said to produce a great effect upon the Mussulmâns, who weep upon hearing it sung. The author is unknown. A translation is added. The piece is in the usual Oriental style, full of trite reflexions, *e. g.*, "My life has passed, O God! My actions have been vain." In one verse he is made to say—"I have fallen into Russian nets, and have been shut up in a cage." In a note to the poem Baron Rosen says that he does not think either the text or translation quite accurate, but as the **Sart dialect** is so little understood, he has only ventured on a few emendations.

(*e*) *The Embassy of Spaphari.*—This is a translation from the **Chinese,** giving an account of an embassy sent in the year 1676 by the **Tsar** Alexis **Mikhailovich** to the Emperor of **China.** Communicated by **A.** Ivanovski.

(*f.*) *Remarks on the kurgâns of Turkistân, by N. Veselovski.*—These are called in **Western** Turkistân, *kepe,* which means hillock. The word *kurgân,* which was undoubtedly used for such **mounds in ancient times,** is now **preserved only in** the names of towns and villages. There are no traditions among the natives that these mounds were heaped up over the graves of their ancestors. The writer did not excavate any of the mounds used as graves, but collected information about them wherever he could. When *kurgâns* of this kind are found alone they are very high, but smaller when they are in groups, and the place is then called by the natives **mintepe, 'the thousand' hills.** The most numerous are situated in the **Margelan** district of Fergana. In the *mintepes* various articles are found, such as buckles, rings, metal looking-glasses, &c. The fact that *mintepes* are only discovered near the Sirdarya, leads us to conclude that they were raised by nomads. On the other hand, *kurgâns* are sometimes used by stationary populations as fortifications, but by the nomads they are never employed as such. A fort of this kind is Toi-tepe (situated 35 versts **from Tashkand,** on the way to Khojand). Some *kurgâns* **stand** quite alone and have no **towns near them, as Chorlok-**tepe, forty versts to the north of **Tashkand.** It

is a lofty cone-shaped hillock. Between seven and eight years ago a great hoard of silver coins of the **Timûris** was found here and three golden earrings. Here the writer conducted excavations with the following results :—On the northern side there was a clay wall and some cylinder-shaped wells, and unmistakable signs of a dwelling. Among other things were found a little earthen pitcher, some trinkets, a piece of glass, two iron knives, one of which was curved like a sickle, a stand made of stone with three legs, a little brass lamp (*chirâgh*), a brass coin of the so-called Bukhar-Khudats, a large earthen pot, within which were three stones for grinding by hand, many pieces of earthen vessels, ashes, stones, &c.

The Academician Müllendorf, in his *Sketches of the Valley of Fergana* does not regard the *kurgâns* of Central Asia as artificial, but holds that the people merely made use of the natural ones which they found. With this opinion the writer does not agree. He thinks the forts among the Turkmâns the work of an earlier settled population. There is a very interesting *kurgân* in the Khanate of Bukhârâ, between the Kishlak Shîrîn-Khâtun and the town of Ziâ'u'ddîn (the old Debusia). The writer had not heard of *kurgâns* being excavated by natives, but still they are constantly being destroyed. The natives use some of the earth in them as manure. Pieces of land in which *kurgâns* are found are therefore valued more than others, and, in consequence, many of them have lost their original forms and threaten to disappear. It is from earth being taken in this way that objects are found. Colonel Voitzekhovich gave the writer some which had been found by a Sart in his field.

The article concludes with a list of *kurgâns* in Turkistân, which the writer recommends to the investigation of antiquaries.

(*g*) *Georgian Inscriptions found in Russia, by A. Tsagarelli.*—Many Georgian Inscriptions and other antiquities have been found in the interior of Russia. The relations between Russia and Georgia date from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Embassies coming from Georgia to Moscow brought presents for the Tsars and Patriarchs, such as embroidery, robes for priests, icons, church furniture, books with miniatures, &c. In the same way Russian embassies going to Georgia received similar presents or bought things in the country. In the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries came many emigrants, *tsars* and their wives, with large suites, and priests. Two emigrations are especially noteworthy. In 1725 arrived the Georgian Tsar Vakhtang VI. with all his family and about 1500 persons, and another extensive emigration in 1802-1815. It is in this way that the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Arts acquired its rich collection of manuscripts. Many valuable articles are scattered about in the different governments. Thus Stroyev found in the year 1829 at Vologda, a splendid copy of the *Nomocanon of the Sixth Œcumenical Council,* perhaps the autograph of the translator himself, Euthymius, of Athos, a Georgian, who died in 1028. So also the *palitsa* of Tula and the cope of Kiev. Brosset published many of the inscriptions in 1839; see *Inscriptions tumulaires Georgiennes de Moscou et St. Petersbourg, expliquées par M. Brosset.* Some of the inscriptions are translated in the paper, and it is hoped that some more will be found.

(1.) *Inscription on a Priest's Cope at Kiev*[1].—"O Mother of God, Virgin Mary, protectress not only of Moscow, the country of the North, but also protectress of the whole world, defender of all those who worship thy Son as God, be not ashamed of *us* at the day of judgment, thy servants, the Tsar Archil and Tsaritsa Ketevan and our children." Archil was born in 1647 and married in 1667 the sister of Heraclius I. He came to Russia in 1690 and died at Moscow in 1712. He was a considerable author in Georgian. He prepared the Georgian Bible for the press which was published after his death at Moscow in 1743.

(2) *Inscription on an icon.*—"Thou defender of all sinners, Most Holy Mother of God, of Kazan, be merciful and spare from all sickness and affliction him who devotedly adorns thee, Alexander, the son of the Tsar."

There were several sons of Georgian Tsars bearing the name Alexander, and living in Russia in the XVIII. and XIX. centuries, and as there is no date it is difficult to say who this 'adorner' of the Kazan icon was.

(3.) *Georgian inscription on two guns,* one large, the other small, preserved in the Museum of the Admiralty at St. Petersburg. They are in civil characters without any abbreviations, and there is a date on the largest gun :—"*Eristavi Rostom,* 1756." How these guns got into their present place is unknown. Perhaps they were brought here from Kutais after Imeretia had been united with Russia in the year 1810; perhaps they came to Kutais as trophies of victory after the defeat inflicted by Solomon Tsar of Imeretia on his powerful vassal Rostom Eristavi, who had declared war against him in 1767-1768. The Tsar Solomon, having defeated Rostom,

[1] [The inscription is given both in the ecclesiastical and civil alphabets.]

imprisoned him and had his eyes put out. Perhaps at that time Solomon brought these guns among other things to Kutais. In Russia in the eighteenth century, there were emigrants of the family of the prince Eristavi.

(4.) "We, the Tsar George and Tsaritsa Tamara, have ordered this *palitsa* to be embroidered so that our souls may be remembered. Amen." This is embroidered in silk on a *palitsa* (part of the dress of the upper clergy) now at Tula. There is also a verse of the 44th psalm in Greek. In Georgia there were several couples having the names George and Tamara. Thus a George and Tamara ruled about 1187 to 1190. There was also the Tsar George X. and his wife, according to some Mariama, according to others Tamara. A letter of this Tsar has been preserved addressed to Boris Godunov. There was besides the Tsar George XI. who ruled from 1675 to 1688, and again from 1691-1695, and was married to Tamara. The latter Tsar did not have any close relations with Russia. The *palitsa* hardly belongs to the twelfth century, although, from lack of date, it is difficult to say when it was brought into that country.

(*h*) ***Buddhist Prayers, translated by I. Minayev*** A panegyric of Harshadêva. Nothing is known of the author. Târânâtha mentions a king of Kaśmîr named Harshadêva.[1]

(*i*) *A List of the Persian Turko-Târtâr and Arabic MSS. of the Library of the University of St. Petersburg, by K. Saleman.* The titles are given first in Russian and afterwards in the original languages.

(*j*) *Miscellaneous Notes.*

(1) *Interpretation of a Saying in a Satire by Firdûsî, by V. Zhukovski.* The satire is against Maḥmûd Ghaznavî. This is the line, which may be literally translated as follows :—

"The hand (properly palm) of Shâh Maḥmûd of exalted origin is 9 × 9 and 3 × 4."

Mohl thinks that it is an allusion to a game and translates :—"*La générosité du roi Mahmoud, de si illustre origine, est rien et moins que rien.*" He afterwards corrected the last part as follows :—"*n'est rien ou plus de chose.*" This correction was introduced by Mohl in consequence of an explanation communicated to him by Kasimirski at Tehrân from a certain Mulla Muḥammad 'Alî, who explained Firdûsî's 9 × 9 and 3 × 4 in connection with an ingenious trick of counting on the fingers حساب العقد Mohl was followed by Stanislas Guyard (*Chapitre de la préface du Farhangi Djehangiri sur la dactylonomie.*) He differs in some points from Mohl, but they both agree in thinking that it has to do with laying the fingers in the hand and counting by them and was a way of referring to the extreme stinginess of Maḥmûd of Ghaznî, as the satire is well known to have been written by Firdûsî because Maḥmûd had not paid him the promised money for the *Shâh Nâma*. V. Zhukovski adds two further interpretations heard in Persia—the first from one who knew the whole work by heart. He did not think there was any allusion to counting on the fingers. The line made sense if the numerals of the hemistich were changed into the corresponding letters in the *abjad*, or alphabet, arranged in numerical order thus :—

$$93 = (4 \times 3) + (9 \times 9) \because 93 = (4 + 2 + 6) + (40 + 10 + 1 + 30)$$

The second computation may thus be arranged according to the *abjad*, (د + ب + و) + (م + ی + ا + ل) *i.e.* لئیم و بد. He then translates, 'The hand of the Shâh Maḥmûd of lofty lineage is very avaricious and foul.'

The second interpretation belongs to a scholar of Isfahân. It proposes a different reading in the verse itself (وشش اندر چهار نُهٔ اندر نُهٔ است). and explains that by the laying of the fingers on the hand as expressed by the figures 9 × 9 and 3 × 4 the hand takes the form of a closed fist. The reason why Firdûsî expresses the avarice of Mahmûd by a closed fist is to be found in the well-known story of a certain *durvêsh*, who came to Maḥmûd of Ghaznî. The latter put his hand in his pocket, but drew out a closed fist and placed it in the *durvêsh's* hands, pretending to give him something. M. Zhukovski adds that this explanation seems somewhat far-fetched.

(2.) *The so-called Khân Çuci or Zuci, by V. Tiesenhausen.*—In the well-known work of Heyd on the trade between Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages, in the chapter on the mercantile affairs of the Venetians and Genoese in Persia (II, 123), from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century, mention is made of a 'privilege' which is only preserved in a Latin translation. This was given in the year of the serpent (according to the Tâtâr manner of computation), or the year 1305 of the Christian era, by the then Tâtâr 'Sultân' to the Venetians, and begins with the words: *Verbum Çuci* (or according to another reading *Zuci*) *Soldani duci Venetiarum*. Heyd is right in thinking that the 'privilege' was given by the **Khân Uljaït**, but is wrong in taking **Zuci** for a person's name; it is

[1] [Here follows the translation and after it the original hymn.]



only a transcription of the Turkish word سوزی which means 'his word' or 'his decree,' and was the customary word at the commencement of documents issued by the Mongolian Khâns.

(3) *Coins belonging to S. I. Chakhotin (continued.)*—The only one of these coins, in the writer's opinion, hitherto unclassified, is a silver **coin** of the Turkish **Sultân Murâd** IV (1032-1049), the son of Aḥmad, struck at Damascus, and remarkable for the fact that on it we meet for the first time with the Musulmân ejaculation 'May his shadow be lengthened!' Also a copper, and as it appears, unclassified **Sâljûq coin of Sultân Kaikhusrav I.**, son of Khilij-Arslân (588-607), with the representation of horseman on one side.[2]

(4.) *Maimatal, by D. Kobeko.*—Among the documents of the diplomatic relations between Moscow and the Crimean Horde are the instructions given by the Grand Duke Ivan III. to the Boyar Semen Borisovich, sent by him in the year 1486 to the **Khân of the Crimea,** Mengli-girei. The Khân in his answer uses the word *maitamal,* which appears to mean public chest or treasury, but is employed in no other documents relating to Russian dealings with the East.[3] The Khân has taken for his treasury the goods of a Russian who died in the Crimea. This custom prevailed with the Turks till the commercial treaty with Russia in 1783.[4]

(5.) *Story of Khilâl-as-Sâbi concerning the taking of Bukhârâ by Bogra-Khân, by Baron Rosen.*—All investigators of the history of Central Asia regret the meagreness of information about the **Turki Dynasty** which reigned over Mâwaru'n-Nahr in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries of the *hijra* and took the place of the Sâmanîs. The writer wishes to point out a useful source of information in the chronicle of **Khilâl-as-Sâbi,** which serves as the continuation of another chronicle by Sâbit *ibn* Sinân, uncle of Khilâl. The history of Khilâl includes the years of the *hijra* 363-447 (973-1055). The opinions of Musalmân authors on the value of the works of Khilâl and his uncle are given by Chwolson in *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus, St. Pet.* 1856. Lately Baron Kremer has succeeded in finding the work of Khilâl in the Ducal Library at Gotha. Besides this newly-discovered production of Khilâl, we have also a fragment of his chronicle, including the history of three years, *i e.* 390-392 years of the *hijra* (= 1000-1002). It is preserved in the British Museum (*Cod. Add.* 19, 360). This manuscript the writer saw in 1879, and made extracts from it relating to the taking of Bukhârâ by the troops of Boghra Khân. Khilâl employs the account of a contemporary merchant, **Abû'-l-Ḥussain ibn Ilyâs.** The narrative of the merchant is extremely curious, because it shews us the great influence which the Musalmân holy men, now called *ishân*, had at that time on the bulk of the population.

(6.) *Pâṇini I.* 4 79.—In his remarks on this *sûtra* Böthlingk (*Pâṇini's Grammatik*) refers to Vajrachchhêdika (*Anecdota Oxoniensia,* I. 35, 10, 42, 7), and on page 477 says: *Dr. H. Wenzel macht mich darauf aufmerksam, dass* उपनिषद् *an den angegebenen Stellen im Tibetischen durch Ursache weidergegeben wird.* Both expressions quoted in *Mahâvyutpatti,* 223, 15, and in the Tibetan text, are translated by the word 'cause.' The Pâli *upanisá,* with which may be compared उपनिशा (*Sukhvâtîvyûha,* 31, 9) has the same meaning, *viz.*, cause.

(7.) *Chandragomin, by I. Minayev.* Among the authors cited in the *Subhâshitâvalî* (edited by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1886), is found **Chandragô-pin.** The editor of this remarkable anthology (on p. 36 of the preface) makes the following suggestion:—"May be the **Chandragômin** to whom the Chandra Grammar is ascribed." The first part of the suggestion seems to me utterly improbable. The part of the verses ascribed to Chandragôpin are taken from *Sishyatêkha,* the work of Chandragômin.

The writer then cites the verses under No. 3384, and also says that those under No 3448 are taken from the Sishyatêkha. He does not quote them in full, because he hopes in a short time to publish the entire work of Chandragômin. Chandragômin, as is well known, was one of the celebrated Buddhist teachers. Târanâtha often makes mention of him.

(8). *On the name 'Balavari,' by Baron Rosen.*—In the review of the book by Zotenberg, *Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Joasaph* the writer expressed the supposition that in the name (of the book) **Balavari,** translated by **Saint Euthymius** from Georgian into Greek, was concealed the same Indian name or word which in the form *b-l-v-h-r* بلوهر stands in the place of the name **Varlaam** in the Musalmân version of the romance. **The name Balavari,** and all the information about the translation of the book of that name, the writer took from Professor Tsagarelli's work on *The Documents of Georgian Literature,* Part I. St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 53-54, who in his turn copied

[2] See Lane-Poole, Catal III. No. 102.

[3] Here Baron Rosen appends a note that it is the word *baitmalorbaitu'l-mâl,* a term always used among Musalmâns for treasury.

[4] It is like the French *droit d'aubaine.*

it from the life of SS. John and Euthymius, preserved in a manuscript of the year 1074. Of this ancient manuscript, as Professor Tsagarelli says, two copies exist. On referring to these copies the Professor finds that the form Balavari is incorrect; in one of the copies before *v* stands *h*, in another *gh*, and so we must read the name **Balahvari**, or **Balaghvari**. The word *balavari* signifies 'foundation,' which agrees with what the writer previously supposed. He concludes with a hope that the Greek original will be found, and thus it will be seen how far the life has been paraphrased by the Georgian translator.

(*i*) *Criticisms and Bibliography.*

(1). *A Description of the Territory of Sir-daryo, compiled from official documents by E. Smirnov, St. Petersburg*, 1887.—The district contains about 1,200,000 inhabitants. The book is very useful and will do something to dispel the illusions prevalent about the richness of the country (which has already cost the Imperial treasury a great deal), especially Chapter VII. on the industries of the territory. The cotton and silk industries are languishing. Chapter III. is weak where the author discusses the population, because he goes too much into history, about which he knows but little. The work concludes with sixteen statistical tables of very various character. It is to be hoped that other districts will be described, those of Fergana and Zaravshan (if possible—without any history).

(2). *The Travels of the Shâh Nasru'ddîn in Masanderân. (Diary kept by his Highness.) Translated from the Persian by E. Koriander, Mining Engineer.*—The Journals of the Shâh Nasru'ddin, compiled by himself at the time of his travels in Persia (in Mazanderân, Kerbela and Khurâsân), in spite of occasional monotony and dryness in style, possess considerable interest in many particulars. The Shâh is full of curiosity, and introduces ethnographical, social and archæological observations, but the chief interest of the book is geographical and topographical. The Shâh often visits the most out-of-the-way places, and so whoever undertakes to translate his diary ought to give the geographical names very accurately (an alphabetical list of them would not be without its use), but M. Koriander gives neither. He has done his work very carelessly, suppressing some things, adding others, and confusing the narrative. The book is of little value. The original appeared at Teherân in 1294 A. H.

(3). *Contemporary Persia.*[5]—A good book and well translated.

(4). *M. Mashanov. A Sketch of Arab Life in the time of Muhammad, as an introduction to the Study of Islâm. Part I. Sketch of the Religious Life of the Heathen Arabs at the time of Muhammad. (Missionary Miscellany against Musalmân doctrines Part XVII)*—A Review by V. R[osen], consisting of many pages, in the main unfavourable. The reviewer recognises in the author laboriousness and a good knowledge of Arabic, but inasmuch as he confesses that he had not the opportunity of consulting some of the most important Arabic works, does not think that he ought to have undertaken to write the book. The only course open for the real student of history of whatever country he treats is the careful study of the original authorities. The reviewer then recapitulates some of the early authorities on Arabian history, but we must not copy their mistakes, eminent though they were. Oriental history and philology have latterly made great strides. The reviewer gives three requirements which are fundamental in the case of every one who treats of Oriental history.

(i) The writer must have recourse to the most important authorities which have been published.

(ii) A criticism of the authorities, as careful and many-sided as possible, and, as a natural result, a correct estimation of the importance and meaning of each separate fact.

(iii) As much accuracy as possible in details.

But M. Moshanov fails in these. His authorities are at secondhand; he knows nothing of the great advances in Arabic epigraphy. He shews no critical use of authorities, and his details are inaccurate, being from translations, &c. An example is given in his treatment of Al-Uzza, an ancient Arabian deity mentioned in the *Qurân*. The work has no scientific value, but the reviewer hopes for something better from the author on account of his knowledge of Arabic and his enthusiasm in the study.

(5). *Dictionnaire des noms propres palmyreniens, par E. Ledrain.*—The object of the work is to collect into a *corpus* the proper names, scattered over collections of every kind, learned travels and monographs which are found in Palmyrean Inscriptions, and in this way to furnish as complete material as possible for the future investigator of Palmyrean onomatology. The author makes no comments on the names, which are more than four hundred in number, and are transcribed in the Hebrew alphabet. Of the names introduced by M. Ledrain a large number do not belong to the dialect spoken at Palmyra. Owing to the city being on one of the highways of commerce, there lived there a multitude of strangers

[5] A translation of the work by Dr. Wills.

and especially Greeks, Romans, Persians, Parthians and other Aryans. There are 14 Greek proper names in this list, the orthography of which is very capricious. The same remark applies to the Latin. Many valuable hints are given on pronunciation of these transcriptions. With the exception of Parthian and Persian all the other names are of Semitic origin and are mythological, personal, and geographical. Some of the former show the existence of deities of the Semitic pantheon not otherwise known. Many of the theophoric personal names are compounded of Baal with some other word—thus Yaribel. The book is a very valuable one.

(6). *Palmyræ sive Tadmur urbis fata quæ fuerint tempore Muslimico. Scripsit H Grimme. Monasterii Guestfalorum* 1886. **The History of Palmyra** has been often specially treated, but only in its more ancient and glorious period and not after 273 A.D., when Aurelian took the city and united it with the Roman Empire. M. Grimme discusses its history from the time of the conquest of Aurelian till the time when it falls out of mention in history. The work is in five chapters In the first the author gives a sketch of the history of Palmyra in 273 till its subjugation by the Arabs in 634 in the time of the Khalifa Abû Bakr. The chief authorities here are the Byzantine historians. As far as can be gathered Palmyra at that time took no part in the political events which frequently shook the very foundations of the Byzantine Empire in the time of Justinian and other monarchs. That Emperor paid particular attention to Palmyra, then almost in ruins, and ordered that it should be rebuilt and surrounded with walls, spending for this purpose, according to the testimony of Theophanes and Malala, large sums of money. After the loss of its commercial prosperity Palmyra acquired strategical importance, and when during the sway of the Arabs it was filled with a large population professing Islâm, it played an important part in the quarrels of the Ummayîs and the 'Abbâsîs. On the taking of the town by Mervan II., its walls were demolished, and as they were never rebuilt it lost its strategical importance, and sank to the dimensions of a small provincial town but rarely afterwards mentioned by historians. M. Grimme brings his history of Palmyra down to the year 1401, namely to the conquests of Tîmûr in the East, when Tadmor is again mentioned by the Arabian historians, and with this the second chapter of the work concludes.

The third chapter is occupied with a discussion of the **information given about Palmyra by the Arabian Geographers** The ruins in their time were much more extensive. Yakût tells us that among them were found a group representing two women embracing, which served as a subject for some verses of the Arabian poets: this has completely disappeared In the same writer we meet with an account of the grave of a woman, made of gypsum, found in the time of Mervan II., which contained an embalmed body, covered with various ornaments, &c.

The author devotes the fourth chapter to the discussion of the **caravan-routes**, leading from various places to **Palmyra mentioned by the Arabian Geographers**, and finally in the fifth chapter considers the legendary stories of the Arabs about the fate of Palmyra, which all treat of two important epochs in its history,—its foundation by Solomon and destruction in the time of Zenobia or Az-Zabba. It is remarkable that the personality of **Aurelian** is completely ignored in these **traditions** and he is changed by the Arabian historians into **a certain Amîr, Emperor of Hiza**, and even the legend about the ruin of Zenobia has nothing in common with the historical narrative.

(7) *James Legge. A record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an account by the Chinese Monk Fâ-Hian of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D.* 399-414), *in search of the Buddhist books of Discipline. Translated and annotated with a Corean recension of the Chinese text. Oxford,* 1886. The review does not deal with the translation from the Chinese, but is rather a general discussion on Fâ-Hian's travels. Two questions are treated: (1) Where did Fâ-Hian go? (2) What sort of Buddhism did he see? The work of Fâ-Hian is of a naive character, and the sole object of the pilgrim is religious. He occupies himself with no matters concerning the people he visited:—it was only to see the Buddhist temples and sacred things. The sketch of the life of Fâ-Hian given in the article is mainly taken from Dr. Legge's book, as also is the scope of his travels.

(8) *Chanakya Récension de cinq recueils de stançes morales (Chanakya) Nîtiśataka, (Chanakya) Nîtiśâstra, Laghu-Chanakya Râjanîtiśâstra, Vriddha Châṇakya Rajanîtiśâstra, Chaṇakya slôka, par Eugene Monseur, Paris,* 1887. The careful study of the whole series of manuscripts of the celebrated collection of ethical sayings, made by M. Monseur, appears an excellent addition to the *Indische Sprüche* of Böthlingk. The author divides the manuscripts known to him into five recensions, and their number is continually being increased **Chaṇakya** was a favourite book for elementary instruction, and the texts passing through so many hands became corrupted. In the preface the character of the

collection is discussed, and the manuscripts of which the author has made use. The text of the *Sayings* gives 218 new ones, which are not in Böthlingk. The reviewer calls attention to a small collection of sayings, the manuscript of which is in Paris[6] *Vidura-nîti-sâra*; foll. 9, l. 8. The collection is divided into 8 *adhyâya* in 70 *ślokas* (22, 13, 11, 6, 7, 23); many of them have not yet been published, as far as could be ascertained by a hasty inspection.

(9) *Bibliographie analytique des ouvrages de Monsieur Marie-Félicité Brosset, Membre de l'Academie Imp. des Sciences de S. Pétersbourg*, 1824-1879. *S Pétersbourg*, 1887. The study of the Georgian language may be said to have been founded by M. Brosset. His writings are so numerous and scattered over so many publications that it would be impossible to realise their bulk unless we had a list. The work is by his son, L. M. Brosset, who has given every production of his father. The great scholar was adopted by Russia, and devoted himself to her.

(10) *Orientalische Bibliographie. Unter Mitwirkung der H.H. Prof. Dr. A. Bezzenberger, Prof. Dr. H. L. Strack, Dr. Joh. Müller, &c., herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. A. Müller*. Bd. 1, *Erstes Heft, Berlin*, 1887. The reviewer gives the new work a hearty greeting.

W. R. MORFILL.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 22.

In the Antrôli-Chhârôli copper-plate grant of a Râshṭrakûṭa king Kakka[1] **of Gujarât, from the Surat District**, published, with a Plate, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff., it is recorded that he made a grant of the village of Sthâvarapallikâ — (line 29) vishuva-saṁkrântau, — "at the *saṁkrânti* of the equinox." And at the end we have the date (from the published lithograph; line 36 f.) — Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śata-shaṭkê êk-ôn-âśîty-adhikê Âśvayuja-śuddh-âkatê=pi(*read* śuddhê=ṅkatô=pi) saṁ 600 70 9 tithi[2] 7, — "in six centuries, increased by eighty less by one, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; in the bright fortnight of (the month) Âśvayuja; or, in figures, the year 600 (*and*) 70 (*and*) 9, the *tithi* 7."

This last record might perhaps be taken as referring only to the immediately following words with which the charter ends,—"and (*this charter*), which has the *Râja* Âdityavarman as its *Dûtaka*, has been written by me, the illustrious Bhôḍalla, the son of the *Balâdhikṛita* the illustrious Tatta." The mention, however, of the month Âśvayuja suffices to shew that the equinox mentioned in line 29 is **the autumnal equinox**, which must occur during the lunar month Âśvayuja, and is to be taken as represented by **the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti** or entrance of the sun into Libra. And the result will shew that this record gives the day on which, in celebration of the *saṁkrânti*, the grant was made; whether we are also to understand that the charter was actually written on the same day, or not.

As in some previous instances, whether the given Śaka year 679 is literally indicated as current, or as expired, is not quite certain.[3] But a satisfactory result is obtained only by taking it as **an expired year.**

Thus, in Śaka-Saṁvat 679 current, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables,[4] the given *tithi*, Âśvayuja śukla 7, ended on Sunday, 5th September, A.D. 756, at about 49 *ghaṭîs*, 37 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay);[5] eighteen days before the *Tulâ-Saṁkrânti*, which did not occur till Thursday, 23rd September, at about 32 *gh.* 28 *p.*

But, in **Saka-Saṁvat 680 current (679 expired), the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti occurred on Friday, 23rd September, A.D. 757,** at about 48 *gh.*, or 1·12 A.M. in the night between the

[6] *Bibliothèque Nationale, D.* 240.

[1] The exact position of this Kakka in the Râshṭrakûṭa genealogy has not yet been determined; and consequently he cannot be distinguished by a dynastic number from other kings of the same name.

[2] Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji seems to have been at first rather in doubt as to whether the number of the given *tithi* was 7 or 9; and, in fact, in col. 4 of his Table (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 44) the numerical symbol that is used here has been given as representing 9. But, as pointed out by him in editing the inscription, a distinctly different symbol for 9 is used in the number of the year. And, coupled with this, the coincidence of the ending of the seventh *tithi* on the proper day for the ceremonies of the *saṁkrânti*, shews that he was certainly right in finally deciding to interpret the symbol as 7 here.

[3] See my remarks, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f., on the use of *atîta* in the compound which gives the number of the century.

[4] With the modified Table for the *abdapa*, &c., given *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 268 ff., which will be followed for the future.

[5] The times are for Bombay all through. The exact place for which they should be reduced is not certain; as the camp at which the king was, when he made the grant, is not given in the record. But Sthâvarapallikâ seems to be evidently the modern Chhârôli itself, as suggested by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. And, for any place in Gujarât, the times would differ only by a few *palas* from the times for Bombay; without any difference in the resulting days.

Friday and the Saturday. This actual moment would be coupled with the *tithi* śukla 6, which ended on the Friday, at about 59 *gh.* 37 *p.* But, owing to the late hour at which it occurred, **any rites and ceremonies connected with the saṁkrânti would be performed on the next day**; and the *tithi* ending on that day would be coupled with them. And **the given tithi, Âśvayuja śukla 7, did end on the next day, Saturday, 24th September,** at about 53 *gh.* 54 *p.* This, therefore, is evidently the English equivalent of the given date.

This date is of interest, in giving, as far as I can find, **the earliest reliable instance of the use of the Śaka era in Gujarât, in a date that affords details for calculation.**[6]

No. 23.

In the Bagumrâ copper-plate grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa Mahâsâmantâdhipati Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja III. of Gujarât, from the Nausârî District in the Barôda State, published by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Hultzsch in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 179 ff., the date (from the published text; Plate ii. *b.* line 16 f.) is—Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu êk-ôna-navaty-adhikêshv=aṅkataḥ 789 Jyêshṭh-âmâvâsyâyâm âditya-grahaṇa-parvaṇi, — "in seven centuries, increased by ninety less by one, of the years that have gone by from the time of of the Śaka king; (*or*) in figures, 789 (*years*); on the new-moon *tithi* of (the month) Jyêshṭha; **at the conjunction of an eclipse of the sun.**" And the charter records the grant of a village by Dhruvarâja III., on this occasion, after bathing in the Narmadâ at the Mûlasthâna-tîrtha at Bhṛigukachchha or Broach.

Here a satisfactory result is obtained, whether the given Śaka year 789 is taken as current or as expired. Thus, **in Śaka-Saṁvat 789 current,** the *pûrṇimânta* Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15 ended at about 2 *ghaṭîs*, 2 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Saturday, 18th May, A.D. 866; on which date there was no eclipse of the sun. But **the amânta Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15 ended on Sunday, 16th June, A.D. 866,** at about 20 *gh.* 18 *p.*; **and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,**[7] visible in India.

Again, **in Śaka-Saṁvat 790 current (789 expired),** the *pûrṇimânta* Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15 ended at about 46 *gh.* 28 *p.* on Wednesday, 7th May, A.D. 867; on which date there was no solar eclipse. But **the amânta Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15 ended on Friday, 6th June, A.D. 867,** at about 2 *gh.* 48 *p.*; **and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,** which was perhaps visible in the most northern parts of India.

This last result, obtained by applying the given Śaka year as **an expired year**, is the one that was given, on the authority of Prof. Jacobi and Dr. Burgess, by the editors of the inscription. And, on the analogy of the results for No. 22 above, it is in all probability the correct one. But the point to which attention is to be paid, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses is selected, this record proves that, **by A.D. 866 or 867, the amânta southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights had been applied to the years of the Śaka era in Gujarât.**

J. F. FLEET.

THE DATES OF THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

In the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. pp. 106-123, Dr. Führer has published, with photolithographs, three new copper-plate grants of Gôvindachandradêva of Kanauj. That Dr. Führer has adopted, without a word of acknowledgment, my translations of the grants of Jayachchandra, published *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 6-13, as well as certain suggestions and conjectures of mine, is a matter which concerns only himself. Of more general interest are the dates of these grants.

According to Dr. Führer, **the grant No. I.** " was made on Monday, the full-moon day of the month Mârgaśirsha, in the (Vikrama) year 1180, answering it appears to Monday, the 21st November, 1123 A.D."—In reality, (1) the 21st November, A.D. 1123, was a Wednesday; (2) in A.D. 1123, the full-moon day of Mârgaśîrsha was Tuesday, 4th December; (3) Dr. Führer's photolithograph, if it is worth anything, shows that the grant was made in 1187, *not* in 1180; and (4) Dr. Führer takes no notice whatever of the *saṁkrânti*, mentioned apparently in connection with the date.

---

[6] See a separate note on the spurious Gurjara grants of the Śaka years 400, 415, and 417.

[7] Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 198, 199, and Plate 99.—This eclipse is also mentioned in the Śirûr record, see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 142.

According to Dr. Führer, the grant No. II. "is dated Thursday, the 4th lunar day of the bright half of the month Bhâdrapada of the (Vikrama) year 1181, answering it appears to Thursday, the 9th September 1124 A.D."—Here again, (1) the 9th September, A.D. 1124, was a Tuesday; and (2) in A.D. 1124, the 4th of the bright half of Bhâdrapada 'apparently' corresponds to Friday, 15th August.

And, according to Dr. Führer, the grant No. III. "is dated Friday, the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) year 1185, answering it appears to Friday, the 20th March 1128 A.D."—And here again, (1) the 20th March, A. D. 1128, was a Tuesday; (2) in A.D. 1128, the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra was Sunday, 18th March; and (3) Dr. Führer has nade no reference to the term *manvddau*, mentioned apparently in connection with the date; a term which, indeed, Dr. Führer takes to denote "the sun's entrance into another zodiacal sign after midnight"

Each of the three dates does present certain difficulties, which, using only the photolithographs for which we are indebted to Dr. Führer, I shall try to point out in the following remarks:—

No. I.

The date is contained in the following passage:—

(L. 18.) . . . . . . **saṁvat 1187 Mârgga su di** (L. 19.) **paurṇṇi(rṇṇa)mâsyâṁ tithau Sômadinê ||** ady=êha śrîmad-Vârâṇasyâ[ṁ*] **saṁkrântau** . . . .

What first strikes us here, is that the term *su di* is followed by the expression *paurṇamásyáṁ tithau*, 'on the full-moon *tithi*,' an expression ordinarily made use of when a date is given in words, while, when the date is given in figures, *su di* is employed, followed by a numeral for the day, which, in the present case, might have been expected to be 15. Of this exceptional usage I shall treat on a future occasion. As regards the present inscription, there can be no doubt that the meaning intended to be conveyed is, that the grant was made 'in the year 1187, on the full-moon *tithi* or 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Mârgaśirsha, on a Monday.' On this day the king, when at Benares, made a certain grant, having, we are told, bathed in the Ganges 'on the occasion of a *saṁkrânti*, or entrance of the sun into a sign of the zodiac.' Since, under ordinary circumstances, the *saṁkrânti* here spoken of should coincide with the date mentioned before, we obtain for calculation:—the year 1187 of an unspecified era, the full-moon *tithi* or 15th lunar day of the bright half of Mârgaśirsha, being a **Monday** and also the day of a **saṁkrânti** (or, possibly, the day immediately following or preceding a *saṁkrânti*).

Taking, as for reasons which need not be mentioned here we must do, 1187 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Mârgaśirsha would be:—

for the (northern or southern) year 1187, current,—

Wednesday, 27th November, A. D. 1129, when there was full-moon about 16 h. after mean sunrise; and

for the (northern or southern) year 1187, expired,—

Monday, 17th November, A. D. 1130, when there was full-moon about 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

The second of these two dates does furnish the week-day required, but on neither date was there a *saṁkrânti*; for the nearest *saṅkrânti* took place—

in A D. 1129, on **Monday**, 25th November, which was the 13th of the bright half of Mârgaśirsha; and

in A. D. 1130, on Tuesday, 25th November, which was the 8th of the dark half of a month; while the preceding *saṁkrânti* had taken place on **Monday**, 27th October, which was the 9th of the dark half of a month.

Unless there be some rule concerning *saṁkrântis* which is unknown to me, there appears therefore to be some error in the recorded details of the date; and the possibilities seem to me, either that the grant was made on a Monday, the day of a *saṁkrânti*, the 13th (*not* the 15th) lunar day of the bright half of Mârgaśirsha,—in which case the true date would be Monday, 25th November, A. D. 1129; or, that the word *saṁkrântau* has been wrongly inserted in the grant,—in which case the true date would be Monday, 17th November, A. D. 1130. In the former case the figures 1187 would denote the current year; in the latter, the year expired. In my opinion the probabilities are that the full-moon *tithi* is rightly quoted in the grant, and that the true date therefore is **Monday, 17th November, A.D. 1130;** and I may point to the grant of Chandradêva and Madanapâladêva of the year 1154, as a clear instance in which (similarly to what I suppose to have been done in the present grant) an *uttarâyana-saṁkrânti* has been wrongly quoted, coupled as it is with the 3rd day of the bright half of Mâgha, a day on which the *uttarâyana-saṁkrânti* can never take place.

I may add that of all the years from Vikrama 1180, current, up to Vikrama 1190, expired, the

full-moon day of Mârgaśîrsha was a Monday, only in Vikrama 1187, expired; for that day was equivalent,—

in V. 1180,	current,	to	Wednesday,	15 Nov.,	A.D. 1122;
,, ,, 1181,	,,	,,	Tuesday,	4 Dec.,	A.D. 1123;
,, ,, 1182,	,,	,,	Sunday,	23 Nov.,	A.D. 1124;
,, ,, 1183,	,,	,,	Thursday,	12 Nov.,	A.D. 1125;
,, ,, 1184,	,,	,,	Wednesday,	1 Dec.,	A.D. 1126;
,, ,, 1185,	,,	,,	Sunday,	20 Nov.,	A.D. 1127;
,, ,, 1186,	,,	,,	Saturday,	8 Dec.,	A.D. 1128;
,, ,, 1187,	,,	,,	Wednesday,	27 Nov.,	A.D. 1129;
,, ,, 1188,	,,	,,	Monday,	17 Nov.,	A.D. 1130;
,, ,, 1189,	,,	,,	Sunday,	6 Dec.,	A.D. 1131;
,, ,, 1190,	,,	,,	Thursday,	24 Nov.,	A.D. 1132;
,, ,, 1191,	,,	,,	Tuesday,	14 Nov.,	A.D. 1133.

And in all the years enumerated there was a *saṁkrânti* on 25th November, which was a Monday *only* in A.D. 1129.

No. II.

The date is given as follows:—

(L. 16.) . . . . . **samvat 1181 Bhâdrapada su di [4?] Gurau.**

In the photolithograph, the figure following upon *su di* looks as if, in the original grant, a 3 had been altered into 4, or a 4 into 3; and all that can be said with certainty, is that the grant was made on a **Thursday**, which was either the 3rd or 4th day of the bright half of the month Bhâdrapada, of the year 1181; on the occasion, as we are told in line 21, of making the great gift of the *pañcha-lâṅgala*[1] or 'five ploughs.'

Referring the date, again, to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for the 3rd and 4th days of the bright half of Bhâdrapada would be:—

for the northern year 1181, current,—

Sunday, 26th August, and Monday, 27th August, } A.D. 1123;

for the northern year 1181, expired, or the southern year current,—

Thursday, 14th August, and Friday, 15th August, } A.D. 1124;

and for the southern year 1181, expired,—

Monday, 3rd August, and Tuesday, 4th August, } A.D. 1125.

Of these, Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, which was the 3rd of the bright half of Bhâdrapada, would exactly suit us, if we could be quite sure that the figure following upon the term *su di* of the inscription *were* 3; but that figure *may* be 4, and it must be borne in mind that the *Bhâdrapada-śukla-tritîyâ* is one of the *manvâdi-tithis*, being the anniversary of the fourth Manu Tâmasa, and that this would probably have been stated in the inscription (as it has actually been stated in No. III.), if the grant had been really made on the 3rd.—At the same time, it must be observed that, under certain circumstances, the same particular Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, though civilly the 3rd day of the bright half of Bhâdrapada, might also have been coupled with the fourth *tithi*, if namely (in the absence of any distinct statement on the subject) we were allowed to assume that the donation spoken of in the grant had been made in connection with the *Siddhivinâyaka-vrata*, prescribed for the *Gaṇêśa-chaturthî*, *i.e.* the fourth *tithi* of the bright half of Bhâdrapada. That *tithi*, in the present case, began at Benares 43 m. after midday of the Thursday in question, and it ended 5 m. after midday of Friday, *i.e.* it covered, so to say, a portion of the *madhyâhnakâla* (which lasts 72 m. before and 72 m. after noon)[2] of either day; and, such being the case, any ceremony in honour of Gaṇêśa would necessarily have had to be performed on the **Thursday**, not on the Friday, and the Thursday would, for the purpose of the attending religious ceremonies, have been correctly coupled with the 4th (running) *tithi*.

Under any circumstances, I consider it certain that the date is **Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124**, and that the figures for the year, 1181, accordingly denote the **current** southern Vikrama year.

No. III.

The passage containing the date runs thus:—

(L. 15) . . **paṁchâśi(śî)ty-adhik-aikâdaśa-(śa)-śa(śa)ta-saṁvatsarêshu Chaitrê mâsi śu(śu)kla-pakshê paurṇṇamâsyâṁ tithau Śu(śu)kra-dinê** aṅkê=pi **saṁvat 1185 Chaitra su di 15 Śu(śu)krê** [ady=êha] śrîmad-**Vârâ-**

(L. 16.) **ṇasyâṁ manvâdau Gaṁgâyâṁ snâtvâ.**

The inscription, accordingly, is clearly dated—'in the year 1185, on the full-moon *tithi* or 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Chaitra, on **Friday**.' On that day the king, when at Benares, made a certain grant, having bathed in the Ganges **on a manvâdi**, *i.e.*, apparently, on that particular *manvâdi-tithi* which coincides

[1] On this gift see, *e.g.*, Hêmâdri's *Chaturvarga-chintâmaṇi*, *Dânakhaṇḍa*, p. 287.—The published grant has *paralâṅgala-mahâdânê* "at the occasion of giving the valuable present of a plough to the highest (*i.e.* Brâhmans)," which is of course a mistake. Another more serious error which the editor has fallen into is that, according to him, the grant was made by the king Gôvindachandra "with the consent of the illustrious râjas, feudatory princes (*sâmanta*), and the great lady, the queen, the illustrious *Dâlhaṇadêvî*" (*śrîmad-râja-sâmanta-mahâmâtrî-śrî-Dâlhaṇa-dêvîbhir*); whereas it is quite clear that, in reality, it was made by the queen (whose name Mr. Fleet, I believe rightly, suggests to be Âlhaṇadêvî) with the consent of the king (*śrîmad-râja-sammatyâ*).

[2] Compare, *e.g.*, *Kâlamâdhava*, p. 110: *madhyâhnas-trimuhûrtaḥ syât*.

with the full-moon *tithi* of the month Chaitra, which is the anniversary of the thirteenth Manu Rauchya.

Taking 1185, again, to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Chaitra śukla 15 would be :—

for the current northern year,—
Tuesday, 29th March, A.D. 1127;
for the expired northern or current southern year,—
Sunday, 18th March, A.D. 1128;
and for the expired southern year,—
Saturday, 6th April, A.D. 1129.

Of these, Saturday, 6th April, A.D. 1129, comes nearest the week-day we are in search of, and the question is whether the preceding day, **Friday**, 5th April, A.D. 1129, though civilly the 14th of the bright half of Chaitra, could by any possibility have been coupled with the 15th or full-moon *tithi* of the month. That *tithi*, at Benares, commenced about 40 m. before sunset of the Friday in question, and it ended about 60 m. before sunset of the next day; and if we could show that the religious ceremony with which the grant was connected had been performed very late in the afternoon of Friday, or at any time up to sunrise of Saturday, every difficulty would be removed. The grant having been made on a *manvâdi-tithi*, the ceremony performed on the occasion probably was a *śrâddha*. So far as I understand the somewhat intricate rules accessible to me, a ceremony of this kind *may* be performed late in the afternoon; and assuming this to have been done in the present case, it was right to say that the donation was made on Friday, during the (running) full-moon *tithi* of Chaitra. For the present, I therefore consider **Friday, 5th April, A.D. 1129**, to be the true equivalent of the date; and I accordingly take the figures 1185 to denote the southern **expired** year.

Lest the above should be objected to on the ground that the results in the case of Nos. I. and III. are for expired southern years, while in the case of No. II. the result is for the southern current year, I may add that, similarly, out of four grants of Jayachchandra lately sent to me by Mr. Fleet, three are dated in expired southern years, while one is dated in the current southern year.

Göttingen. F. KIELHORN.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES ON MALACCA FOLK MEDICINE.

(1) Cure for Dropsy.

Pěnyâkit běngkak-běngkak, the illness of swelling, *i.e.*, dropsy.

Mix the leaves of *brîlangan běsar*[1], *kâyu kadok*,[2] *kâchang kâyu*[3] (the domesticated variety called *kâchang kâyu kampong* as distinguished from *kâchang kâyu hûtan*) *kâchang pârang*[4], and *mêngkûdû běsar*[5]: pound and make into an ointment and smear on parts affected. The roots of the above are also boiled, and the decoction is to be drunk, no other drink being allowed for a period of three days. This is for the first stage of the disease, which is called *mambang kûning*, the yellow spirit who causes the illness, and makes the complexion of the patient assume a yellow tinge.

The next stage is called *mambang běrûlang*, when the spirit returns; and now the roots of *sěmběrûas*[6] and *jûang-jûang ranting*[7] are boiled with those of the five ingredients already mentioned and the decoction is drunk, while the ointment prepared for the first stage has added to it the charcoal obtained from the burnt shell of the *lâbu kêmbong*.[8]

Third stage, *mambang sěrau*.[9] If the preceding treatment fails to stop the progress of the illness, and the third stage comes on, a decoction from the roots of *akar tâpak gâjah*[10], and *pûar mêrah*[11] is added to that used in the preceding stages while the leaf and wood of the *kâras*[12] tree are added to the ointment.

Fourth stage, *mambang sâru*. When this super-

---

[1] *Gmelina Asiatica.*

[2] Leaf like the betel-leaf, *chavica sphærostachya.*

[3] Variously given as *cytisus cajan* and *cajanus Indicus.*

[4] This refers to the large curved pod, thought to resemble the Malay woodman's knife called *pârang*, which grows on the tree probably *lablab cultratus.*

[5] *Morinda sp.* probably *M. persicafolia*, of which the root is used to produce a red dye.

[6] *Rûas*, joints as in sugar-cane, and bamboo; there is a timber tree called *běrûas.*

[7] *Ranting*, twig, *jûang-jûang*, opposing, perhaps indicating the way in which the twigs grow.

[8] Sort of gourd. Sansk. *alâbu kěmbong*, swollen, big, round: *lagenaria* sp.? nat. fam. *cucurbitaceæ.*

[9] I have failed to gather the meaning of *sěrau* here; there are several plants so named.

[10] *Akar*, lit. root, but here meaning creeper or liane; *tâpak* sole (of foot), *gâjah* elephant, leaf thought to resemble that animal's footprint.

[11] The red *pûar* (*amomum sp.*) : *pûar* is a term applied to several varieties of *amomum* and also to different plants; the *amomum* varieties spring up like weeds on deserted clearings.

[12] The heart of this tree furnishes the Malay variety of eagle-wood, probably *aquilaria agallocha*, called *gaharu* (cf. Sanskrit *agaru* or *aguru*) by the Malays who recognize four qualities of it, viz., *gaharu lampam* very black, 1st quality; 2nd quality *gaharu tandok* or *g. risik*; 3rd quality *g. wangkang* or *g. buñya*; 4th *g. mědang* unmarketable refuse of last, but used privately. Cambojan variety is *alaxylon agallochum.* For ceremonies used in collecting *gaharu* see *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. IV. note 154

venes, a decoction of the root of the *kûnyet-kûnyet*[13] and the ground (*i.e.* pounded) leaves of it are added to the previous decoctions and ointments, and the following charm is recited :—

Jat namânya âyĕr
Âyér mĕnjâdi bâtu
Bâtu mĕnjâdi amal
Jin kâta Allah
Mînal kâta Muhammad
Bûkan âku yang punya tâwar,
Mâlin Kĕlîmun yang punya tâwar
Mambang kûning, mambang bĕrûlang
Mambang sĕrau, mambang sâru,
Kâbul Allah, Kâbul Muhammad
Kâbul baginda râsul Allah,
La illaha il Allah.

It is difficult to render the foregoing into English with any confidence that the real meaning has been attained, as other changes besides the Muhammadan additions may have taken place in the wording, in the process of handing down from generation to generation. It is probably of Javanese origin. One rendering is—

Jat is the name of the water[14]:
The water becomes stone.
The stone becomes a charm.
Jin stands for God
Mînal for Muhammad

Another rendering is—

Let the water become stone,
And the stone become a charm.[15]
To the Jin I recite the name of God
To Mînal that of Muhammad.
It is not I who make this charm,
It was Mâlin Kĕlîmun[16] who made it.
Yellow spirit, returning spirit,
Sĕrau spirit, Sâru[17] spirit.
Let God be gracious, be gracious Muhammad,
The blessed Apostle of God.
There is no God but God.

(2) Cure for Abscess.

Pĕnyâkit bârah (abscess). The shoots of *kâyu bûluh-bûluh*,[19] *i.e.*, the bamboo tree, are ground and applied to the site of the abscess.

The presence of an internal abscess is ascertained by gazing into a mixture of water, lime, gambier,[20] *sirih*[21] and betel-nut.[22] After using it for this purpose the mixture is *tâwar'd* or charmed, and then smeared over the place.

The *tâwar* is as follows :—

Bismillahi irrahmân irrahîm; bârah di hûlu bârah di hîlir, katiga tampang kladi, bârah di hûlu, bârah di hilir, kĕnâ tâwar, ta' mĕnjâdi. Sîlang sâlun, dâpat bĕlâlang gûlong, bûat mĕnjâmu jĕmbâlang tĕrĕnak tĕrĕni tĕrâju, tinggal di rimba, tĕgoh tĕgoh tĕmas-tĕmas, chĕrĕmin âyĕr, chĕrĕmin bûmi, simînum nâma îbu, sigûdam nâma bâpa, sĕlâkum yang punya bîsa, Che, Pûtih yang punya tâwar. Aku tahu asal ĕngkau bârah dârah asal ĕngkau bârah, bûkannya aku yang punya tâwar, Mâlin Kĕlîmun yang punya tâwar. Kĕbul Allah, kĕbul Muhammad, kĕbul baginda râsul Allah.

In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful! Beginning of the abscess, and end of the abscess[23] and third comes, the *kladi*[24] shoot. Beginning of the abscess, end of the abscess, when charmed develops not. Here and there[25] we find the coiled grass-hoppers[26] and prepare a feast for the *jembâlang*[27] softly[28] and quickly[29]; he dwells in the jungle; firmly we make ready[30] the mirror, the mirror of earth.[31] *Simînum*[32] is thy mother's name, *Sigûdam* (the hammerer) thy father's,

[13] *Kûnyet* proper is the *curcuma*, saffron. The Malays recognize several varieties, viz. *K. padi* (*c. zerumbet*) *K. rimba* (*c. sumatrana*) *K. santan* (*c. purpurascens*) and *K. bĕsar*. The *kunyet kunyet* of the text is a shrub or tree, and is used medicinally in other ways besides those mentioned here.

[14] It was suggested to me that this referred to the spirit of the dropsy, but it would seem more likely to indicate the decoction which is to operate by virtue of the charm.

[15] (عمل *'amal*,) a pious act prayer for aid, charm.

[16] *Mâlin* is probably error for *ma'lim* (Ar. معلم) teacher, master in this case of magic; *Kĕlîmun* his name is possibly a mystic form of *Sulaiman* or *Sĕlĕman* as the Malays call it. These two lines would naturally be held to mean that the word *jin* is substituted for God and *Mînal* for Muhammad, but it seems hardly likely that the charmer would say that, if it were so; and assuming that the words have not been altered, and stand somewhat elliptically, a highly *Malay* practice, the latter rendering seems more reasonable as invoking the name of God and his prophet to exercise some of the powers working with the spirit of sickness and described as *jin* generically and *Mînal* particularly. Another rendering would be '*jin* says God, *Mînal* says Muhammad.'

[17] I can find no meaning for this.

[18] There are two trees of this name, one of the *Artocarpeæ* and the other of the *Euphorbiaceæ*, but I cannot say which this is.

[19] *Uncaria gambir* or *Wanclea inermis*.

[20] *Areca catechu*. [21] *Chavica betel*.

[23] Lit. abscess at the source, abscess at the mouth, as though speaking of a river.

[24] *Colocasia antiquorum*. The first four lines (excluding the invocation) form a sort of *pantun*, of which kind of verse the first two lines have seldom any coherent meaning, but here there is said to be some figurative intention: when the *kladi* stalk is cut close to the ground the shoot is said to be visible, and this reference is said to indicate the discovery of the abscess.

[25] *Sîlang sâlun*, mystic for *sini sôna*.

[26] Mystic term for the seat of the abscess.

[27] The spirit who causes the sickness.

[28] *Tĕrĕnak tĕrĕni*, soothing words, such as are addressed to children.

[29] *Tĕnôju* in the ordinary vocabulary is a word derived from Persian, meaning to weigh in the scales, but here a mystic word for *laju*, swift.

[30] *Tĕmas-tĕmas* mystic for *kĕmas-kĕmas*.

[31] Referring to the combined ingredients mentioned in the second paragraph of this charm.

[32] *Si* is a personal prefix, *mînum* to drink, meaning together, the drinker.

Silákum's[33] was the poison, *Che' Pûtih* devised the remedy; I know thy origin, abscess; blood was thy origin, abscess; not mine is the charm, it is the charm of Mâlin Kĕlîmun.[34] May God be gracious, and Muhammad: may the mighty Apostle of God be gracious.

D. F. A. HARVEY.

NOTE ON NAMES CONNECTED WITH THE TELUGU COUNTRY.

The tract of country commonly spoken of by Europeans in the Madras Presidency as the **Telugû Country** is by the people themselves called **Tenugurâjyamu** or **Tenugusîma**, but to the world at large it is, I think, best known as **Telingânâ**, and for that reason only I use the last term in my notes. Tamil people, and more especially those of **Madras**, often speak of Telugû land as **Gôllêtisîmei**, the Tamil pronunciation of **Kollêtisîma**, *i.e.*, the country of the Kollêru (Colair) Lake, the largest fresh-water lake in India, lying between the Krishnâ and Gôdâvari Districts. That at **Masulipatam** being one of the earliest English factories, the neighbouring people naturally attracted more attention than those that were subsequently come in contact with, and amongst them the **Bestâ Bôyis** (fisherman bearers) of the Kollêtisîma on the borders of the Kollêru were found peculiarly trustworthy servants. When their English masters went on promotion to Madras, they were accompanied by their trusty Bôyîs, and from that day to this Bestâ Bôyis have been employed as attendants in public and mercantile offices in Madras and have continued to maintain their good reputation. Being the most prominent Telugû people in Madras at the time of their immigration, the name they gave their own little tract was naturally assumed to be that of the whole country. From Gollêtisîmei has been derived from **Golleti**, a Telugû man, used as a term of contempt, signifying unsophisticated. The ordinary Tamil name for a Telugû man is Vaduvan, Northerner.

Sir William Hunter, when he was inclined to believe that all South Indian languages were **Kolarian**, adduced as evidence in favour of his theory the frequency of names containing the syllable **Kol**, including the **Kolair Lake** (*sic*). But the name is not Kôlair, but **Kollêru**. *Kollu* is a contraction of *kolanu* or *golanu*, a natural pond or lake, and is found in Pâlakollu, Gundugollu, Kollûri, Kollipara, etc. *Eru* means river. *Kollêru*, therefore, is the lake-river, which receives the innumerable streams between the Krishnâ and the Gôdâvari that do not discharge into those rivers and disembogues itself into the sea by the Upputêru, not far south of the western mouth of the Gôdâvari.

Sima is the most popular word for country on the banks of the Krishnâ and the Gôdâvari rivers. Every little tract with any peculiarity is a *sîma*, *e.g.*, Reddisîma, Jhallisîma, Divisîma, Kâyasîma. Sometimes a tract, surrounded by *sîmas* thus named, but with no peculiarity of its own, is called after its principal village or town, *e g.*, Gudivadasîma. The people of these *sîmas*, from which came the weavers who supplied the East India Company with their famous *salumpores*, *roomaulls*, *madapollums*, etc., seldom use any other word for country, no matter how extensive. In speaking to the early European traders of their country, they would call it "*mî sîma*," for to this day they cannot get their tongues round Portugal, Holland, France, and England, and never attempt to, if they can possibly avoid it. The removal of the emphasis from the possessive pronoun *mî*, your, to the common noun *sîma* would convert the latter into a proper noun, the use of the possessive pronouns with proper nouns being common; and thus **Sima** would come to mean **Europe**. Whether the Tamil *sîmei* is a transliteration of the Têlugû *sîma* or separately derived, I do not know.

Masulipatam. H. G. PRENDERGAST.

TESTS OF VIRGINITY AMONGST THE MALAYS.

Among the Malays **tokens of virginity**, such as are mentioned in *Deuteronomy xxii.* are examined by the parents of the bride the morning after consummation of a marriage. In the State of **Perak** on the occasion of a marriage among the higher classes when the bridegroom is introduced into the bride's chamber, four or five old women are there and remain there.

His mos apud novas nuptas, quae, ante sextum vel septimum diem, ne virorum notitiam habuisse teneantur (quod virgini dedecori maximo habeatur) mariti amplexus pati nolint. Marito instante toties refugientem, toties anus nutricesque lecti custodes captam reducunt. Inde, quum dies prescripti praeterierint, a custodibus admonita in lecto palvinis rite suppositis collocatur. Viro gaudia jamdudum optata tandem rapere licet. At simulac primum raptum sit hymen, nappae albae. in lecto super patinam argenteam ad id paratae, notas tres transversu pene retracto, imprimere necesse est. Nappam, die proximo inspiciunt parentes cognataeque labe rubrissima infici fas est.

The bride and bridegroom salute the bride's parents on the day after the consummation of the

[33] *Lákum* is the name of more than one creeper.

[34] This may be a slip for *Che' Pûtih*, or it may be an *alias* of Mâlin Kĕlîmun.

marriage. If the bridegroom has reason to be dissatisfied with his bride, he indicates this by leaving the handle of his *kris* uncovered or omitting to put on a jacket.

In a Malay household where a **virgin** is about to be married a domestic ceremony called **putus kĕrâjat** is sometimes performed. The girl is laid on her back and a silk cloth placed over her bosom. Seven hairs are selected at the back of the head and are brought down across her face straight across the forehead and along the nose down to the chin. The ends are cut off just below the chin. If when the scissors snap the released hair springs back and parts right and left it is a sign that the girl is not a virgin. If the hair remains straight in its position the omen is satisfactory. Some anxious fathers have been known to forestall fate by stiffening a girl's hair with wax. This is only a test (*per-tanda-an*).

W. E. M.

BOOK NOTICES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF SOUTHERN INDIA.—The Buddhist Stûpas of Amarâvatî and Jaggayapeta in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency, surveyed in 1882, by JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., &c., Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India. With translations of the Asôka Inscriptions at Jaugada and Dhauli, by GEORGE BÜHLER, C I E., &c., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Vienna. Trubner and Co. London, 1887. 4to, pp. ix. and 131; with 69 Plates and 32 Woodcuts.

This magnificent volume, illustrated by numerous woodcuts and sixty-nine full-page autotype, collotype, and engraved plates, is the first production, in a finished shape, of the **archæological Survey of Southern India,** and is fully equal in execution and value to any of the five sumptuous volumes of reports of the Archæological Survey of Western India, which it resembles in external appearance.

The sculptures from the *stûpa* of Amarâvatî have been made famous by the late Mr. J. Fergusson's work on *Tree and Serpent Worship*, half of which is devoted to the illustration and discussion of the marbles then accessible, some of which are exhibited on the walls of the grand staircase of the British Museum. Since Mr. Fergusson wrote, the site has been explored by Mr R. Sewell, M.C.S., and by Dr Burgess, and hundreds of additional sculptures have been exhumed In the work under review. Dr. Burgess describes the principal specimens of the new discoveries, and reproduces numerous beautiful drawings of slabs now lost, which were prepared over seventy years ago under the direction of Colonel Mackenzie Dr. Burgess' work is consequently to be regarded as a supplement to the Amarâvatî section of *Tree and Serpent Worship*. The two books, taken together, give a very full and splendidly illustrated account of the fragmentary remains of the great monument at Amarâvatî, which appears to have equalled or surpassed in magnificence any building erected by the Indian Buddhists.

The *stûpa* itself has been utterly destroyed, and the marbles which now are so closely studied are the disjointed fragments of the casing of the central monument, and pieces of the two highly sculptured railings which surrounded it.

The significance of the **Amarâvatî** sculptures in the history of Indian art and religion has been fully recognized ever sin e the publication of the first edition of *Tree and Serpent Worship* twenty years ago, but their value cannot be correctly appreciated until their date is fixed. Mr. Fergusson, arguing correctly from certain erroneous premises, fixed their **date** in the middle of the fourth century A. D. Dr. Burgess now clearly proves that this date is too late, and that the great rail was erected shortly before A D. 200. The original *stûpa* was built much earlier, and the inner rail a little later.

In the work under review, the arguments determining the chronology, being mixed up with a multitude of topographical and other details are difficult to follow, and therefore, considering the importance of the dates now determined, it seems advisable to state briefly the outline of the arguments used.

Inscriptions of two kings of the **Andhra dynasty**, namely, Pulumâyi-Vâsishthîputra, and Śrî-Yajña-Sâtakarni-Vâsishthîputra, have been discovered at Amarâvatî, and the correct date of the monument has been elicited by the discussion of these documents. But it does not rest upon their interpretation only, and is established by several arguments of cumulative force.

Mr. Fergusson judged that the style of the Amarâvatî marbles is intermediate between that of the sculptures in the Sâtakarṇi-Gautamîputra cave at Nâsik, and of those in the Kânherî *chaitya* cave. This judgment has not been disputed, and fixes correctly the relative age of the great rail at Amarâvatî. For the determination of its absolute age by the style-test, it is necessary to know the dates of Sâtakarni-Gautamîputra and the other Andhra kings. It is impossible, within the limits of a short review, to state fully the arguments which are used to determine the **Andhra chronology**, but I shall try to indicate them briefly. The date of Sâtakarni-Gautamîputra depends on that of the Satrap Nahapâna Kshaharâta of Gujarât, whom he defeated, and whose son-in-law has left

inscriptions, dated 40, 42, and 46 (of the Śaka era). Nahapâna was contemporary with the Satrap Chashṭana of Ujjain, the Tiastanes of Ptolemy, who therefore, lived a little anterior to A.D. 150, and whose date is further fixed by the known date of his grandson Rudradâman in the year 72 (Śaka era). Ptolemy's evidence further shows that Chashṭana was approximately contemporary with Siri Polemaios, *i. e.* the Andhra king, Pulumâyi-Vâsishṭhiputra. Chashṭana's date is thus fixed in three different ways, and Nahapâna's date agrees with his, within very narrow limits of possible variation. The date of the Andhra kings, with the help of the information given in their inscriptions, is thus determined, and we obtain for Pulumâyi-Vâsishṭhîputra's reign the approximate date, A.D. 135-163; and for Śrî-Yajña-Sâtakarṇi-Gautamîputra's reign the approximate date, A.D. 178-200.

The **date of the great rail at Amarâvatî** is thus determined by the combined evidence of style and inscriptions of the Andhra kings.

An independent argument to establish it, is obtained from the statement of the Tibetan historian Târanâtha, that the famous Buddhist patriarch Nâgârjuna, "surrounded the great shrine of Dhânyakaṭaka (= Amarâvatî) with a railing." Nâgârjuna's date rests on that of the Indo-Scythian king Kanishka, whose Buddhist council was presided over by Pârśvika, to whom Nâgârjuna was fourth in succession. Assuming, as is generally admitted, that Kanishka reigned *circa* A.D. 78-100, Nâgârjuna must have built his railing before A.D. 200. The accounts in various Buddhist writings, expressing Nâgârjuna's date in terms of the *nirvaṇa*, may be interpreted in nearly the same sense, but are not as good evidence The same date for Nâgârjuna is supported by the fact that Dr. Eitel, the student of Chinese Buddhism, independently arrived at the conclusion that the patriarch ruled the Buddhist Church between A.D. 137 and 194.

The **palæography of the Amarâvatî inscriptions** confirms the inferences based on the arguments of which a summary has been given above. Consideration of the palæographical argument, supported by numismatic evidence derived from coins of the Andhra kings found at Amarâvatî, long ago led Sir A. Cunningham to adopt substantially the dates for the Andhra kings and the Amarâvatî rail, which Dr. Burgess supports by the distinct arguments that I have endeavoured to summarize. Sir A. Cunningham referred "all the inscriptions of the king Gotamiputra Sâtakarni and his successors Pudumayi and Yâdnya Sri to the first and second centuries A D," and concluded that the Amarâvatî inscriptions in exactly the same character must belong to the same period. He also pointed out that Mr. Fergusson had exaggerated the difference in the style of the sculptures at Amarâvatî and of those on the Sâñchi gates, which are known to belong to the first century A.D.[1]

We may consequently take **the year A.D. 190, as practically the correct date for the great rail at Amarâvatî**, "the richest and most elaborate piece of screen-work in the world."

I have devoted so much space to the examination of the chronological argument that it is impossible to further notice Dr. Burgess's careful and interesting account of the ruins and sculptures of Amarâvatî. The inscriptions from that place, given in the volume, are for the most part edited by Dr. Hultzsch.

A few pages are devoted to the description of the scanty remains of **an early stûpa at Jaggayapeṭa** or Bêtâvolu, thirty miles north-west from Amarâvatî. This monument **appears to have been erected not later than B.C. 100.**

Dr. Bühler's edition of the Aśôka inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugada, which forms the concluding section of the volume, has, of course, no connection with the discussion of the ruins at Amarâvatî and Jaggayapeṭa.

The facsimiles of the inscriptions are photo-lithographed from excellent paper-impressions prepared by Dr. Burgess, and establish the text beyond all possibility of dispute, except in a few most minute details. M. Senart had already edited the separate edicts, addressed to the officials at Tosalî and Samâpâ, from Dr. Burgess's impressions, and Dr. Bühler's readings and versions of these documents naturally differ little from those of the French scholar

Dr. Buhler points out that the revised text proves the error of the supposition that the Dhauli version was ill-engraved and carelessly executed. It is really quite as well engraved as the other texts. The Dhauli and Jaugada versions of the fourteen edicts (Nos XI. to XIII being omitted in both) are copies from one and the same original, and differ from each other only in the quantity of one vowel, and the character of another. Dr. Buhler promises an essay on the palæography of the Aśôka inscriptions, to appear in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsches Morgenlandisches Gesellschaft*. The discovery of the fact that the Dhauli version of the edicts is really as well engraved as the other versions, has elicited from him an emphatic warning that the interpreter of the Aśôka inscriptions "is not entitled to make many and great conjectural changes in the text." The

[1] *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. I. Introd. p. xxiii. published in 1871.

text is itself good, and errors are to be looked for in the copy rather than in the original.

Dr. Burgess has recently prepared a facsimile of the Khâlsî text of the edicts, and the world is already indebted to him for a trustworthy reproduction of the Girnâr version. Before long we may expect to see the text of all the versions authoritatively settled.

25th August 1888. V. A. SMITH.

A MANUAL OF THE ANDAMANESE LANGUAGE. By M. V. PORTMAN, M.R.H.S., etc., Extra Assistant Superintendent, Andamans and Nicobars.

This is one of those works full of pretentious rubbish which deserves plain language. It "has been compiled at the request of Colonel T. Cadell, V.C., Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands." Colonel Cadell has been unfortunate in choosing, as the exponent of the languages of the islands over which he has been placed, an officer whose ignorance of language and grammar in general and of the Andamanese language and grammar in particular, is only equalled by his extraordinary presumption. He commences by saying that there is "no work extant on the various dialects of the Andamanese." Well, there is the *Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island,* 1882, by no less a personage than Mr. A. J. Ellis, F. R. S., then President of the Philological Society. As a matter of fact Mr. Portman must have known of this very valuable *Report* and the work on which it was based, for the simple reason that he has adopted the same spelling, so far as his general ignorance of his subject would let him.

The grammar is given in five duodecimo pages, spaced long primer type!! Of course there is no grammar worthy of the name. The vowel system is hopelessly incomplete,—the most interesting sounds being altogether omitted, and others given wrongly. There is something charming in the *naiveté* that allows the author to say that his system is Hunterian, and then to go on to say "*o* has the sound of *o* in *hot*" (*sic*) and "*au* has the sound of *aw* in *awful*" (*sic*) as specimens of it. The description of an agglutinative language in the following words is quite sublime:—"The roots of the Andamanese speech receive additions by means of prefixes and suffixes, but the roots themselves have also an independent existence as words." He then gives *three* prefixes—all quite wrong—as are *all* his examples, oblivious of Mr. Ellis's fine explanation of this very difficult point in the Andamanese language. The prefixes in Andamanese as a matter of fact are found in almost every word, and grammatically affect every sentence. They have been elaborately and accurately explained by Mr. E. H. Man, and without a comprehension of them no man can ever hope to talk Andamanese in any dialect. Mr. Portman is however apparently ignorant of all this. We can see how he views them. "The Andamanese frequently use particles which are without meaning, and appear principally to serve the purpose of euphony!" Of course, they really serve the purpose of grammar, as Mr. Portman would have known, had he really made grammar a study.

As a specimen of the thoroughly superficial treatment that Mr. Portman's subject has received at his hands, we would commend his six paragraphs on the Pronoun. It is all the more aggravating that he should have been guilty of these, as this point has been so well illustrated by the predecessors he has ignored.

The author seems to have had a notion that his grammar would not teach much, and pinned his faith to his dictionary and dialogues, by the use of which he "ventures to think that any person brought into contact with the Andamanese in any part of the Islands will be able to make himself understood on all ordinary subjects." Will he? Let us see.

The first sentence given is "How hot it is today,"—in Âka Biada (*sic*), *Badiká, uye, káwai.* Query: what does *badíká* mean? What *uye*? and what *káwai*? The Dictionary is English-Andamanese without reverse. So we must try the English. *How* is *pichi kácha, hot* is *uya-da*: *to-day* is not given, so let us try *day* which is also not given, but *daylight* is *bódo-len*,[1] and *this* is *ká-da* and *it is* is also *káda*!! Really an examination of the first sentence makes us wonder at the impudence of the author.

"The sun is very hot" is the next sentence. Perhaps we shall be more fortunate. In Aka Biada it is given as *ká bódö uye dögada. It is* is *ká-da*[2]; *sun* is *bódóda*; *hot* is *uya-da*: *very* is not given, but is *dógada.* It is given as the equivalent of *much* in the dictionary. The sentence is really, "This sun hot much."

Let us take another sentence at random. "I will go if it is fine," is given as *dódonga bedig bódo lédá.* Four words are given in the Dictionary for "to go" but none in the least like any of the above, viz., *katik ké, on ké, mócho ké, jud ke*; *if* is not given at all; *fine* is our old friend *bódo-da,* which seems to do duty for a good deal. So out of the four Andamanese words we can only even guess at one. Like the Christy Minstrel. we 'give it up.'

Mr. Portman has had a very fine opportunity of adding to the world's knowledge, rendered all the better from having been carefully shown the way he should travel by Mr. A. J. Ellis. He might have produced something unique in its lasting value. Instead, he has exhibited an amount of self-assurance which can hardly result from anything but inordinate conceit.

[1] This is really a word + postposition, and means properly "in the sun"; *vide* Mr. Portman's own book!

[2] *Ka-dá* here would really be 'this' or 'to-day.'

EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

No. 1.—EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST TARAMGA.

THE **Râjataraṁgiṇî, or River of Kings, of Kalhaṇa,** has always attracted a great deal of attention, partly because it is the only historical work of its kind in the Sanskṛit language, but more especially because it claims to give a consecutive account of **the Kings of Kaśmîr** from almost the very earliest times.

Until recent years, however, **the text** of it has been available to us only in the not very accurate editions published — **at Calcutta, in 1835, by the Paṇḍits of the Bengal Asiatic Society,** containing the whole eight Taraṁgas; with the *Dvitîyâ Râjataraṁgiṇî* of Jônarâja; the *Tṛitîyâ Jaina-Râjataraṁgiṇî* of Śrîvarapaṇḍita, a pupil of Jônarâja; the *Râjâvali-Patâkâ*, or *Chaturthî Râjataraṁgiṇî*, of Prâjyabhaṭṭa; and the *Râjataraṁgiṇî-Saṁgraha*:— **and at Paris, in 1840, by M. Troyer,** containing the first six Taraṁgas of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* itself.

As regards **translations, in 1825,** in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. pp. 1 to 119, in his "Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir," **Prof. H. H. Wilson** gave an abstract account of the contents of Taraṁgas i. to vi. **In 1852, M. Troyer** completed a French Translation of the whole eight Taraṁgas. **Prof. Lassen** has given an analysis of the entire work in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II. And **in 1879 and 1887, Jogesh Chunder Dutt** published at Calcutta an English translation of Kalhaṇa's work, which is at least useful in helping to facilitate references to the original text.

And, in the matter of **the adjustment of Kalhaṇa's chronology, Prof. H. H. Wilson** considered the subject in the remarks attached to his abstract account; and **Gen. Sir A. Cunningham** has dealt with it in 1843, in his paper on "The Ancient Coinage of Kaśmîr," in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VI. pp. 1 to 38. But no very satisfactory results, at least for the earlier period, have as yet been attained. As good an illustration of this as can be wished for, is to be found in connection with king **Mihirakula.** His initial date, as deduced from the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* itself, is Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 2397 expired, or B. C. 704; and the end of his reign, seventy years later. Prof. H. H. Wilson brought him down to B. C. 200 (*loc. cit.* p. 81). And Gen. Sir A. Cunningham arrived at the conclusion that he should be placed in A.D. 163 (*loc. cit.* p. 18). With the help, however, of newly discovered inscriptions, which are the only really safe guide, **Mr. Fleet** (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 252) has now shewn that **his true date was in the beginning of the sixth century A.D.**; that as nearly as possible the commencement of his career was in A.D. 515; and that A.D. 530, or very soon after, was the year in which his power in India was overthrown, after which he proceeded to Kaśmîr and established himself there. This illustrates very pointedly the extent of the adjustments that will have to be made in Kalhaṇa's earlier details; and furnishes us with **a definite point from which the chronology may be regulated** backwards and forwards for a considerable time. **A similar earlier point** is provided by Kalhaṇa's mention, in Taraṁga i. verse 168, of the Turushka king **Kanishka,** who, according to his account, was anterior by two reigns to B. C. 1182,—the date of the accession of Gônanda III.,—but who is undoubtedly the king Kanishka from the commencement of whose reign in all probability runs the Śaka era, commencing in A.D. 77. And **a still earlier point** is furnished by the mention of king **Aśôka** in Taraṁga i. verse 101. According to Kalhaṇa, he stood five reigns before B. C. 1182. But it can hardly be doubted that he is intended for the great Buddhist king Aśôka, whose accession has now been shewn by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham to have been in B. C. 260 (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.). This question of adjustment is one that I shall not at present enter upon. And I will here only remark that the earliest lists evidently include, as consecutive kings, many persons who, if they existed at all, were only ancestors or other relatives of actual kings of Kaśmîr, and did not themselves occupy the throne; that the introduction of the names of such persons after a break in the direct succession, of course

necessitated forcing back the date of the immediately preceding actual king in each instance to a period long before the true one; and that no completely satisfactory solution can be arrived at, until we are able to determine which of the names have to be eliminated on these grounds.

The first step towards the acquisition of a reliable text of the poem was made by Dr. Bühler, who visited Kaśmîr in 1875, and obtained there a complete Śârada MS. of the *Rájataraṁgiṇí* itself, which is now in the Bombay Government Collection; a collation of another MS., which he has kindly placed at my disposal; some explanatory treatises and abstracts; and some MSS. of the *Nîlamata-Purâṇa* and other connected works. His valuable report was published in 1877, as an Extra Number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. And an extract from it, pp. 52 to 60, referring specially to the *Rájataraṁgiṇí*, and including a translation of verses 1 to 107 of the first Taraṁga, pp lxvi. to lxxxii., has been printed in this Journal, Vol. VI. pp. 264 to 274. From the materials collected by him, with some others obtained by myself during my own visit to Kaśmîr in 1885, I am preparing a new edition of the text. But the completion of it, of course, is a work of time. And meanwhile, at the desire and with the support of Mr. Fleet, I propose giving in this Journal translations of some of the earlier portions of the book.[1]

Kalhaṇa's narrative opens with a fragmentary account of 52 kings, who were supposed to have reigned for 1266 years. The earliest definite starting-point taken by him is the coronation of Yudhishṭhira; his authority for which (verse 56) is a verse given by Varâhamihira in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitá*, xiii. 3, as being according to the opinion of Vṛiddha-Garga:—"When king Yudhishṭhira ruled the earth, the (*seven*) seers (*i.e.* the constellation Ursa Major) were in (*the nakshatra*) Maghâḥ; the Śaka era (*is*) 2526 (*years*) (*after the commencement*) of his reign." Accordingly, the coronation of Yudhishṭhira took place 2526 years before the commencement of the Śaka era, or at the expiration of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 653 (verse 51), and in B.C. 2448. Kalhaṇa himself was writing (verse 52; *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 213) in Śaka-Saṁvat 1071 current, *i.e.* in A.D. 1148-49:—"At this present moment, in the twenty-fourth Laukika year (*of the popular Kaśmîrî reckoning by cycles of a hundred years*), there have gone by one thousand years, increased by seventy, of the Śaka era." And, as an intermediate point, but how arrived at he does not explain, he had the accession of the fifty-third king, Gônanda III., which took place "on the whole," *i.e.* roughly, 2330 years before his own time, *i.e.* in B C. 1182.

He then proceeded thus:—

Coronation of Yudhishṭhira before the Śaka era	2526	years;	verse 56.
Add the years of the Śaka era expired up to the time when Kalhaṇa was writing	1070	,,	,, 52.
	3596		
Deduct the years expired from the accession of Gônanda III up to the same time	2330	,,	,, 53.
Remainder, the duration of the period of the first fifty-two kings ...	1266	,,	,, 54.

He thus obtained 1266 years for the 52 kings in question; his own words (verse 54) being—"Hence I am of opinion that 1266 years are comprised in the sum of the reigns of the 52 kings."[2] And he made the first of these fifty-two kings, Gônanda I., a contemporary of Yudhishṭhira.

---

[1] I shall use the following abbreviations in my notes:—

P = the Śârada MS., No 170 of Dr. Buhler's Kaśmîr Collection, preserved in the Deccan College, Poona. I owe the use of this most important MS to the kindness of Mr. Chatfield, Director of Public Instruction.

C = the Calcutta edition.

T = Troyer's edition.

K. R. = Dr. Bühler's Detailed Report of a Tour in Kaśmîr, &c.; Bombay, 1877.

A. G. = Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I.; London, 1871.

[2] See also Dr. Bühler's Report (quoted hereafter as K R., p. lxxv.), in the note to which the details are explained in a different manner, but with the same result. Verse 54 seems to contain the conclusion which Kalhaṇa drew from verses 51 to 53. I take *tat* in the sense of *tasmât*, 'hence': and I supply *mayâ* with *matâ*, which is the reading of the Śârada MS.

The fifty-two rulers in question are as follows : —

LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASMIR.

I. **Four rulers** whose names are taken from the *Nîlamata-Purâṇa* .... verse 16

1. **Gônanda I.** .... „ 57

He is made by Kalhaṇa a contemporary of Yudhishṭhira in B. C. 2448. At the call of his relative, Jarâsaṁdha, he besieged Mathurâ, the city of Kṛishṇa on the banks of the Kâlindî, *i.e.* the Jamnâ, and vanquished the descendants of Yadu (59, 60). But subsequently he himself was slain by the Yâdava leader Lâṅgaladhvaja, *i.e.* Balarâma (61 to 63).

2. **Dâmôdara I.,** son of the preceding .... „ 64

He, in order to revenge his father's death, attacked the Vṛishṇis (or Yâdavas), who had been invited to a *svayaṁvara* by the Gândhâras (65 to 68), and was killed in battle by Kṛishṇa (69).

3. **Yaśôvatî,** widow of the preceding...................................... „ 70

Dâmôdara I. died before a son was born to him; and Yaśôvatî, being pregnant, was installed at the advice of Kṛishṇa (70), and in due course of time bore a son (74).

4. **Gônanda II.,** son of Dâmôdara I. and Yaśôvatî .... „ 76

He was named after his grandfather (76). He was the contemporary of the Kurus and Pâṇḍavas; but, on account of his infancy, he took no part in the war between them (82).

II. **5 to 39. Thirty-five kings whose names are lost**......................... „ 83

III. **Eight kings** recorded by Padmamihira on the authority of Hêlârâja's *Pârthivâvali* .... „ 17f.

40. **Lava** .... „ 84

He founded the town of Lôlôra (86),—still existent in the Lôlâb Parganâ (K. R. p. lxxix. note),—and gave to Brâhmaṇs the *agrahâra* of Lêvâra on the river Lêdarî (87), *i.e.* the modern Lîdar, the principal northern tributary of the Vitastâ, which it joins near Bîjbihâra (*loc. cit.*)

41. **Kuśa,** son of the preceding .... „ 88

He presented the *agrahâra* of Kuruhâra (88), which is supposed to be the modern Kular in the Dachhinpara Parganâ (*loc. cit.*)

42. **Khagêndra,** son of the preceding .... „ 89

He established the two principal *agrahâras*, Khâgi and Khônamusha (90), *i.e.* the modern Kâkapur and Khunmôh (*loc. cit.*)

43. **Surêndra,** son of the preceding .... „ 91

He founded, on the frontier of the Darad country (or Dardistân), a city named Sôraka and a *vihâra* named Narêndrabhavana (93); also, in his own territory, a *vihâra* named Sôrasa (94).[3] He died without leaving issue (95).

44. **Gôdhara,** of another family.. „ 95

He presented to Brâhmaṇs the *agrahâra* of Hastiśâlâ (96), which seems to be now known as Asthîbil (*loc. cit.*)

45. **Suvarṇa,** son of the preceding .... „ 97

He diverted the Suvarṇamaṇikulyâ, — the modern brook Sunnamayâ in the Âḍhvan Parganâ (*loc. cit.*), — and caused it to flow in (the

[3] P reads सोरक and सोरस, instead of सौ० in C and T.

district of) Karâla (97), which seems intended for the Âḍhvan Pargaṇâ (*loc. cit.*)

46. **Janaka,** son of the preceding .... verse 98

He founded the *vihâra* and *agrahâra* named Jâlôra (98), — identified by the Kaśmîrîs with the modern Zâvur, near Zêvan (*loc. cit.*)

47. **Sachînara,** son of the preceding .... „ 99

He founded the two *agrahâras* of Śamâṅgâsa[4] and Aśanâra, which are supposed to be respectively the modern Śvâṅgas in the Kôṭahâra Pargaṇâ, and Chrâr (*loc. cit.*) He died without leaving any issue (100).

IV. **Five kings** mentioned by the author of the *Śrîchhavillâ* .... „ 19f.

48. **Aśôka,** son of the son's son of Śakuni, and son of the paternal grand-uncle of Śachînara .... „ 101

He adopted the religion of Jina (*i.e.* Buddha), and covered Śushkalêtra and Vitastâtra, — the modern Hoklitr and Vêthvôtr in the Dêvasar Pargaṇâ (*loc. cit.*), — with numerous *stûpas* (102). He built a *chaitya* at the city of Vitastâtrapura, within the precincts of the Dharmâraṇya-vihâra (103). He founded the city of Śrînagarî (104), — apparently not quite identical with the present capital of Kaśmîr (*loc. cit.* p. l xxxi. note). Also he removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Vijayêśa (at Bîjbihâra), and built a new one of stone (105); and within the precincts of that temple, and near it, he built two other temples named Aśôkêśvara (106). Then the country was overrun by the Mlêchchhas; and he obtained from Bhûtêśa a son, the Jalauka of the next verse, in order to destroy them (107).

49. **Jalauka I.,** son of the preceding .... „ 108

He was a constant worshipper at Vijayêśvara, the modern Bîjbihâra (A. G. 98f.), at Nandîśakshêtra, elsewhere called Nandikshêtra, in the Lâr Pargaṇâ (K. R. lxxii. note), and at Jyêshṭhêśa (113). He expelled the Mlêchchhas, breaking their power at a place named Ujjhaṭaḍimba (116). He conquered Kânyakubja, *i.e.* Kanauj (117). He reformed the administration of Kaśmîr, by establishing regular courts of law (118 to 120). He founded Vâravâla and other *agrahâras* (121). At Dvâra,—*i.e.* the Pass of Varâhamûla, the modern Bâramûla,—and at other places, his queen Îśânadêvî established shrines of the Divine Mothers (122). He paid worship to Nandîśa at the spring of Sôdara (123); consecrated the temple of Jyêshṭharudra at Śrînagarî (124); built a stone temple at Nandikshêtra and worshipped Bhûtêśa (148); diverted the river Kanakavâhinî (150); and died at the *tîrtha* of Chîramôchana (151). In connection with him there are allusions to the Nâgas (111, 114). Also to the Bauddhas or Buddhists. The latter, described as being very powerful at that time, were vanquished in his reign by the magician Avadhûta (112). They were subsequently oppressed by the king himself (136), who wantonly destroyed one of their *vihâras* (140). The Bôdhisattvas then deputed the goddess Kṛityâ, one of the (six) Kṛittikâs or Pleiades, who induced him to make reparation by building a

[4] P reads समाङ्गासा°, like C and T.

Buddhist *vihâra*, which he named Krityâśrama, and in which he set up a statue of Kṛityâ (131 to 147).

50. Dâmôdara II. .... verse 153

It is not known whether he belonged to the house of Aśôka, or to another family (153). He was a worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (Śiva) (154). He built a long causeway named Guddasêtu across the swamp called Sûda Dâmôdarîya (156, 157) or Dâmôdarasûda (167), and other stone causeways, to stop inundations (159).

Then there intervened the reigns of Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka .... „ 168

These kings were of the Turushka race; nevertheless they built *maṭhas*, *chaityas*, &c., at Śushkalêtra and other places (170). During their long reigns, Kaśmîr was for the most part in possession of the Bauddhas (171). Each of them built a town, named after himself (168); *i.e.* Hushkapura, Jushkapura, and Kanishkapura,—identified by Sir A. Cunningham with the modern Ushkar, Zukru, and Kâmpur (A. G. 99 ff.); also Jushka, who founded Jushkapura with its *vihâra*, built the town of Jayasvâmipura (169).

51. Nâgârjuna, Bôdhisattva .... „ 173

His connection with any of his predecessors is not explained. His accession was when one hundred and fifty years had expired from the *parinirvâṇa* of Buddha (172); this, however, would really be in B. C. 328, long after the time to which Kalhaṇa refers him, and before the real time of his supposed predecessor, Aśôka. He resided at Shaḍarhadvana, 'the grove of the six Arhats' (173). He encouraged the Bauddhas (177).

52. Abhimanyu .... „ 174

He granted the *agrahâra* of Kaṇṭakôtsa (174), and founded the town of Abhimanyupura, at which he built a temple of Śiva, named after himself (175). In his time, Chandrâchârya and others brought the Mahâbhâshya into use, and composed their own grammar (176). In his reign the Bauddhas became powerful, and stopped the rites ordained by the *Nîla-Purâṇa* (177, 178). Then the Nâgas attacked the Bauddhas, and distressed them by causing every year a heavy fall of snow; until at length a Brâhmaṇ, Chandradêva, practised austerities, the result of which was that Nîla appeared to him, stopped the plague of snow, and re-established his own rites (179 to 184).

As regards **the third part of the above list**, a few words may be added, in order to shew its entire worthlessness for historical purposes. Padmamihira, or Hêlârâja, seems to have tried to connect the name of each of these eight kings with the name of some locality in Kaśmîr that happened to begin with the same initial. Thus, Lava is said to have founded the town of Lôlôra, and to have granted the *agrahâra* of Lêvâra; and Kuśa is mentioned as bestowing the *agrahâra* of Kuruhâra; and so on. The question of **popular etymology** at once suggests itself. And we cannot help suspecting that **the names of the kings are nothing but pure inventions**, taken from, and intended to account for, the names of real localities which otherwise could not be easily explained.

With these preliminary remarks, I will now take up the translation at the point where Dr. Bühler left off :—

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 108) Then this (*son of Aśôka*) **Jalauka (I.)** (*by name*), a (*very*) Indra on earth, who purified the world with the whitewash of his fame, became king. — (109) Verily, even the gods are taught (*for the first time*) to be astonished, when the tales of his divine power reach their ears. — (110) For surely, he would have been able to fill the void of the mundane egg with his gifts of gold, as the magic fluid (*which he possessed*) traced (*i. e.* enabled him to discover) crores (*of hidden treasures*). — (111) Having charmed the water (*i.e.* having attained the magic power of living under water), he entered the lakes of **the Nâgas**, and seduced the youthful daughters of the hooded serpents. — (112) A magician (*named*) Avadhûta, who vanquished the crowd of the votaries of the **Bauddha** (*doctrine*) who were very powerful at that time taught him the knowledge (*of magic*). — (113) This veracious king had made a vow that he would always worship (*at*) **Vijayêśvara, Nandîśakshêtra,** and **Jyêshṭhêśa. — (114) A Nâga,** who was his friend, would not allow (*him*) to travel by (*relays of*) horses which were kept ready in every village, but used to convey him always himself. — (115) After this hero had expelled **the Mlêchchhas,** who obstructed the earth, he conquered the earth whose girdle is the ocean, by victorious expeditions. — (116) Even now the place where **those Mlêchchhas,** who had overrun the country, were deranged (*ujjhaṭita*) by him, is called **Ujjhaṭaḍimba** by the people. — (117) Having conquered **Kânyakubja** and other (*parts of the*) earth, he introduced thence into his own country (*people of*) the four castes and legal practitioners. — (118, 119) Like a common country, **the kingdom (of Kaśmîr)** had not reaped the due benefit of judicial administration, property, &c. For hitherto there had been (*only*) seven departments in this country,—the overseer of justice, the overseer of property, the overseer of the treasure, the commander of the army, the messenger, the domestic priest, and the astrologer. — (120) Establishing eighteen courts of law, the king introduced from that time a state of affairs that was worthy of Yudhishthira. — (121) With the wealth which he had acquired by valour and might, this liberal (*prince*) founded **Vâravâla** and other *agrahâras*. — (122) At **Dvâra** and other places, his noble queen **Îśânadêvî** established powerful circles of the (*divine*) Mothers.—(123) Having heard the *Nandi-Purâṇa* from a pupil of Vyâsa, the king paid worship to **Sôdara,** &c., out of devotion to Nandîśa. — (124) (*Even*) when he consecrated (*the temple of*) Jyêshtharudra at **Srînagarî,** he did not think (*it possible to shew*) devotion to Nandîśa without (*worshipping*) **Sôdara**.—(125, 126) Once upon a time, when the pressure of work had made him forget his daily rites, and while he was distressed by the impossibility of bathing in the distant waters of **Sôdara,** he

[108] सोथ भूभृज्जलौको P. यशःसुधया P T.

[109] आश्चर्याचार्यतां P. [110] हर्तुं P. हेमाण्डस्य P C. [112] °ग्रेद्धबौद्ध° P.

[113] Vijayêśvara is the modern Bîjbihâra; see A. G. p. 98f. Nandîśakshêtra is elsewhere called Nandikshêtra; on its site, see Dr. Bühler's note on verse 36, where P reads हरा° instead of सुरावासप्रासादे. On Jyêshṭhêśa, see note on verse 124, below.

[114] स्वेनावहत्तं P.

[115] Kalhaṇa places the arrival of the Mlêchchhas in the reign of Aśôka; see verse 107.

[116] The readings of P agree with those of T. [117] कान्य° P.

[119] The original titles are *Dharmâdhyaksha, Dhanâdhyaksha, Kôśâdhyaksha, Chamûpati, Dûta, Purôdhas,* and *Daivajña.*

[120] *karmasthâna* seems to mean elsewhere 'a public building:' see iv 587. 588; v. 166; vii. 210, 569 (571 of the Calcutta Edition). The eighteen law-courts (*karmasthânâni dharmyâni*), which Jalauka is supposed to have founded, are probably derived from the eighteen kinds of law-suits mentioned by Manu, viii. 3 to 7

[121] °नुद्दारधीः P.

[122] Dvâra, 'the Gate,' is the pass of Varâhamûla, the modern Bâramûla; see K. R. p. 12 and note on verse 31 The 'circles or rings of the Mothers' (*mâtrichakrâṇi*) are elsewhere mentioned by Kalhana in connection with temples of Śiva; see Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v *mâtrichakra.* The synonym *dêvîchakra* occurs at i. 333.

[123] From the subsequent passage it appears that Sôdara was the name of the holy spring at Nandikshêtra, the shrine of Nandiśa or Nandirudra (verse 127)

[124] Jyêshtharudra is called Jyêshṭhêśa in verse 113. General Cunningham. A. G p 95. identifies it with the temple on the Takht; but see K. R. p. 17

[125] °ग्रावना° P [126] वर्गास्वादा° P

perceived that from a waterless place water was suddenly rising, which agreed with *(the water of)* **Sôdara** in colour, taste, and other qualities. —(127) Then the proud *(king)* was able to satisfy his devotion to Nandirudra, by bathing in that spring which had *(thus)* appeared. — (128, 129) When an empty gold vase, with a lid on its mouth, which he threw into **Sôdara** for the purpose of a test, emerged two and half days later from the water which rose at **Srînagarî**, the doubts of the king were removed. — (130) Surely, it was Nandîśa himself who had come down in order to enjoy the offerings *(of the king)*. Otherwise, such an event, which had, never been seen *(before)*, would not have taken place before *(his)* eyes. — (131) One day, when the king went to **Vijayêśvara**, a woman, who was walking on the road, asked him for food. — (132) After he had promised to give her whatever food she wished, she changed her appearance *(so as to assume the form of a female ghoul)*, and expressed a desire for human flesh. — (133) When he, who had ceased to hurt living beings, gave her permission to eat flesh from his own body, she spoke thus: — (134) "You, O magnanimous king, are a Bôdhisattva, whose vows are strong on account of virtue *(sattva)*, as your compassion with living beings is so great." — (135) The king, who, being a worshipper of Śiva, did not know the language of the **Bauddhas**, said to her,—"Who, sweet mistress, is the Bôdhisattva, for whom you take me?" — (136) She answered the king:—"Hear my message; I am sent by the **Bauddhas**, whom, out of anger, you have oppressed. — (137) "We are the *(six)* Pleiades *(Krittikâh)*, who live on the flank of the Lôkâlôka mountain, who are full of sin *(tamas)*, and who have made the Bôdhisattvas their only refuge, in order to be freed from sin. — (138) "You must know that Bôdhisattvas are certain beings, who, since *(the time of)* the blessed lord of the world (Buddha), have got rid of lust *(kléśa)* in *(this)* world. — (139) "Eager to rescue the universe, they are not angry even with an offender, but benefit him patiently and will guide him to the knowledge *(bôdhi)* of his own self.—(140 to 144) "When, lately, disturbed in your sleep by the noise of the instruments of a *vihâra*, and instigated by wicked persons, you destroyed *(that)* *vihâra* out of anger, I, *(attracted by the power of)* the meditations of the angry **Bauddhas**, had set out to kill you. *(But)* then the Bôdhisattvas, having called me, gave me the following instructions:—'You are unable to hurt that virtuous prince; but at his sight, O happy woman, your sins will be destroyed. In our name ask him, who was led into sin by the wicked, to build a *vihâra*, providing all requisites from his gold. If this were built, no *further)* slaughter at the destruction of *vihâras* would take place; and he and his instigators would have made atonement.' — (145) "Therefore, in this disguise, I have put your great virtue to the test. Now my sins are destroyed. Farewell! I take my departure." — (146) After the king had promised to build a *vihâra*, the goddess Krityâ, whose eyes were beaming with joy, disappeared. — (147) Then, having built a *vihâra* *(called)* **Krityâśrama**, the prince caused *(a statue of)* the goddess Krityâ, whose sins were removed, to be erected on that same spot *(where he had met her.)* — (148) Having built a temple of stone at **Nandikshêtra**, the prince paid to Bhûtêśa worship in the shape of jewels together with *(other)* treasures. — (149, 150) Practising austerities for a series of nights at the *tîrtha* of **Chîramôchana**, sitting in the *(posture called)* *brahmâsana*, his body motionless in meditation, the king accomplished at last his desire of reaching Nandîśa by the pious work *(of conducting the river)* **Kanakavâhinî**. — (151) One hundred of the ladies of his harem, who had risen to dance out of joy, he gave to Jyêshṭharudra at the *(very)* moment of dancing and singing — (152) Having enjoyed supernatural power, and having finally entered **Chîramôchana**, the king, together with his wife, attained union with Śiva.

---

127 पर्याप्ति° P T. 133 °हिंसा° P C. मांसं for दातुं P.

136 ब्युत्थापिता P. 137 °स्तामस्य: P 139 गतक्लेशा PT

140 नेष्यन्ति P C. विश्वोद्धर° P 134 महासत्त्व: P. 144 अनुशिष्य P.

147 कृत्याश्रमं P T. कृत्यां देवीमबन्धयत् P 146 समं P T

150 Kalhana attributes similar works to other kings. Thus Suvarna diverted or conducted *(pravartayati)* the Suvarnamanikulyâ to Karâla (i. 97) and Mihirakula conducted *(avatârayati)* the Chandrakulyâ river (i. 318)

151 °नृत्त° P. 152 प्रविष्टश्चीर° P

(153) Then a prince called **Dâmôdara (II.)**, who was either a descendant of **the race of Aśôka**, or was born of another family, protected the earth. — (154) Even now tales are told of the miraculous power of this (*king*), who was highly resplendent with superhuman faculties, and was the crest-jewel of the worshippers of Śiva. — (155) (*The god*) Kuvêra himself concluded friendship with that happy and virtuous favourite of Śiva. — (156) Being the foremost of kings, like Kuvêra, he ordered the Guhyakas, who obeyed his commands, to build the long (*causeway called*) **Guddasêtu**. — (157) By this causeway he sought to bridge the water at the town which he had built in the (*swamp called*) **Sûda Dâmôdarîya**. — (158) Since the good deeds of men (*in former births*) are limited, obstacles arise — alas! — to a man of lofty mind, who wishes to produce some uncommon beneficial work. — (159) For he strove to cause the Yakshas to build in his country long causeways of stone, in order to stop inundations.—(160) Inconceivable is the power of the austerities of mighty Brâhmaṇs, who will reverse the power even of such (*kings*). — (161) One has seen the fortune of kings rising again, after it had been destroyed by the power of an heir or of others; but if (*lost*) through contempt of Brâhmaṇs it will never return. — (162) Once the king, who was going to bathe on account of a *śrâddha*, was asked by some hungry Brâhmaṇs (*to give them*) food before bathing. — (163) When he, who wished to enter **the (river) Vitastâ**, refused (*to give them food until he had entered it*), they placed that river before him by their (*religious*) power. — (164) Although they told him—"Here is **the Vitastâ; touch her, and feed us!" yet he believed that the river had been brought by (*sinful*) witchcraft (*and not by the righteous power of austerity*). — (165) When he said to them—"I will not give food without having bathed (*in the real river*); depart (*sarpata*), you Brâhmaṇs, at once!" they cursed him—"Become a serpent (*sarpa*)!" — (166) After he had implored them for mercy, they spoke—"Your curse will cease after you have heard the whole *Râmâyaṇa* in a single day, (*and not till then*)." — (167) Even now, when, out of thirst, he is rushing far into the (*swamp called*) **Dâmôdara-sûda**, people recognize him by the smoke of his breath, which is hot in consequence of the curse.

(168) Then there were three princes in that same (*country*), called **Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka**, who built three towns that were designated by their names. — (169) The pure-minded **Jushka**, the founder of **Jushkapura** with its *vihâra*, also built **Jayasvâmipura**.—(170) Though they were descendants of **a Turushka race**, these pious princes built *maṭhas, chaityas*, &c., at **Sushkalêtra** and other places. — (171) During the long period of their reigns, **the country of Kaśmîra** was, for the most part, in the possession of **the Bauddhas**, who had acquired great power by renouncing the world (*pravrajyâ*).

(172, 173) At that time, one hundred and fifty years had passed in this earthly sphere since the complete extinction (*parinirvṛiti*) of the divine Śâkyasiṁha (Buddha); and **a Bôdhisattva** became sole king in this country; this was the glorious **Nâgârjuna**, who resided at **Shaḍarhadvana**.

---

[153] °पात्रेण P.

[156] One of Kuvêra's names is Râjarâja, 'the king of kings'; he is the lord of the Yakshas or Guhyakas. गुद्दसेतु° P.

[160] °योषिन्त्या P T. [161] °बलाभ्रष्टा P.

[164] स्पृष्ट्वैनां P. °दाहातिम् P C. [165] ददामि P. [166] च for ते P.

[169] Hushkapura, Jushkapura and Kanishkapura have been identified by General Cunningham with Ushkar, Zukru, and Kâmpur; see A. G. p 99ff.

[170] पुण्याशया P. शुष्कलेत्रा° P C. On Śushkalêtra, see Dr. Bühler's note on verse 102.

[171] कश्मीर P. स्म for च P.

[172] तदा P. पर° P T. अस्मिन्मही° P.

[173] °त्रेको P. स च P. षडर्हद्वन° P T. According to Schiefner's *Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Śâkyamuni's*, p. 310, Nâgârjuna, the founder of the Mâdhyamika school, was born in the time of Kanishka. Kalhaṇa agrees with this tradition in placing Nâgârjuna just after Kanishka. On the other hand, his report that Nâgârjuna became king of Kaśmîr, seems to be as fanciful as his assertion that he lived only 150 years after Buddha's *parinirvâṇa*.

(174) Then the fearless **Abhimanyu**, who was the donor of the *agrahâra* of **Kaṅṭakôtsa** became a paramount sovereign (*and thus*) appeared to be a second Indra. — (175) After this illustrious (*king*) had caused a (*temple of*) Śiva, which bore his name, to be built, he founded the extremely rich **(town of) Abhimanyupura**. — (176) **Chandrâchârya and others brought into use the Mahâbhâshya**, having obtained its traditional interpretation from another country, and composed their own grammar. — (177) At this juncture, **the Bauddhas**, who had been protected by the wise Bôdhisattva **Nâgârjuna**, became powerful in the country. — (178) Having defeated in controversy all wise disputants, these enemies of tradition stopped the rites proclaimed in the *Nîla-Purâṇa*. — (179) **The Nâgas**, whose oblations had (*thus*, been stopped, caused a heavy fall of snow, and a destruction of the people in the country) where the rules of conduct were disregarded. — (180) As the snow fell every year for the distress of **the Bauddhas**, the king dwelt in the cold season, for six months, at **Dârvâbhisâra** and similar places. — (181) At that time, the performers of oblations possessed a miraculous power, by virtue of which the Brâhmaṇs did not perish, while the **Bauddhas** entered death. — (182) Then a Brâhmaṇ of the Kâśyapa (*gôtra*), **Chandradêva** by name, underwent austerities, in order to please Nîla, the lord of the serpents and protector of the country. — (183) Having appeared to him, Nîla stopped the plague of snow, and pronounced again the rites of his Purâṇa. — (184) As the first Chandradêva removed the plague of Yakshas, thus the second removed the intolerable plague of **Bhikshus** (*or Bauddhas*) in this country.

(To be continued.)

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY M. E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from p. 9*).

FIFTH EDICT.

Prinsep, *l.c.* pp. 590 ff. (cf. p. 965).

TEXT.

1 Dêvânaṁpiyê Piyadasi lâja hêvaṁ ahâ [.] saḍvîsativasa
2 abhisitêna mê imâni jâtâni[1] avadhiyâni kaṭâni sêyatha
3 sukê sâlikâ alunê[2] chakavâkê haṁsê naṁdîmukhê gêlâṭê
4 jatûkâ aṁbâkapilikâ daḍî anaṭhikamachhê vêdavêyakê
5 gaṁgâpupuṭakê saṁkujamachhê kaphaṭasayakê paṁnasasê simalê
6 saṁḍakê ôkapiṁḍê palasatê sêtakapôtê gâmakapôtê
7 savê chatupadê yê paṭibhôgaṁ nô êti[3] na cha khâdiyatî [.] ajakanâ-î[4]
8 êḍakâ châ sûkalî châ gabhinî va pâyamînâ va avadhâya pâtaka(?)
9 pi cha kâni âsaṁmâsikê [.] vadhikukuṭê[5] nô kaṭaviyê [.] tusê(?) sajîvê[6]
10 nô jhâpêtaviyê [.] dâvê anaṭhâyê vâ vihisâyê[7] vâ nô jhâpêtaviyê [.]

---

174 °कोत्सा° P.   175 °माङ्कं शशाङ्कार्धं° P T. विरचय्य P C.

176 The above translation of this important verse is that proposed by Professor Kielhorn, (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 107f.), with whom Dr. Bühler agrees (K. R. p. 71). P reads °लैन्ध्वादेशं तस्मात्तदागमत् for which Kielhorn conjectures °लैन्ध्वा देशान्तरात्तदागमम्. स्वं च व्याकरणं P C.

181 °विधायिनाम् P. For references to the Dârvas and Abhisâras see *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 321, and Böhtlingk and Roth.

183 रक्षितारमहीधरम् P. °देवाहूस्तपस्तेपे हिमहतः P.

184 यक्षविप्लव : P C. The first half of this verse refers to a passage of the *Nîlamata-Purâṇa*, an extract of which has been given by Dr. Bühler, K. R. p. 40. There Kâśyapa-Chandradêva is said to have delivered the country, with Nîla's help, from cold and from the Piśâchas, for whom Kalhaṇa substitutes the Yakshas.

11 jîvêna jîvê nô pusitaviyê [.] tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu[8] tisâyaṁ puṁnamâsiyaṁ
12 tiṁni divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadâyê dhuvâyê châ
13 anupôsathaṁ machhê avadhiyê nô pi vikêtaviyê [.] êtâni yêvâ divasâni
14 nâgavanasi kêvaṭabhôgasi[9] yâni aṁnâni pi jîvanikâyâni
15 nô haṁtaviyâni [.] aṭhamîpakhâyê châvudasâyê paṁnaḍasâyê tisâyê
16 panâvasunê tâsu châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâyê gônê nô nîlakhitaviyê[10]
17 ajakê êḍakê sûkalê êvâpi aṁnê nîlakhiyati nô nîlakhitaviyê [.]
18 tisâyê punâvasunê châtuṁmâsiyê châtuṁmâsipakhâyê asvasâ gônasâ
19 lakhanê nô kaṭaviyê [.] yâva saḍviṁsativasaabhisitêna mê êtâyê
20 aṁtalikâyê paṁnavîsati baṁdhanamôkhâni[11] kaṭâni [.]

NOTES.

1. The neuter *jâtaṁ* can only be taken here in the meaning of *jâti*, 'race,' 'species,' of animals. I have drawn attention elsewhere to another example of this use of the word (*Mahâvastu*, I. 593). *Avadhiyâni kaṭâni*, 'have been established, specified' as not to be slain.

2. This enumeration of names of animals constitutes one of the principal difficulties of the present edict. Several words for which lexicographers provide us with no Sanskrit equivalents, remain obscure, and, as we are dealing with technical terms, etymology, even when it does appear with probable clearness, cannot lend us assistance. Fortunately this ignorance, much though it may be regretted, does not interfere with the general comprehension of the passage; the more exact identification of some of the animals to which we cannot assign names, would be of small importance to us. The future, as it extends the range of our knowledge, will doubtless fill up many of these *lacunæ*. What we are now certain of is that the enumeration which commences with *sêyathâ* includes the words *savê chatupadê—khâdiyati*. It is there only that the general prohibition ceases. What follow are temporary or special interdicts, and accordingly the first word of the next sentence can only be *ajakâ*. We thus find classed under the general heading not only aquatic animals and birds, but also terrestrial animals, quadrupeds. The *śuka* and *śârika* are well known; and it is with *aluna*, *i.e. aruṇa*, that our doubts commence. I do not know what connection Prinsep (p. 965) claims to exist between *aruṇa*, the mythical half-bird charioteer of the Aurora, and the species of crane known to Anglo-Indians as *the adjutant bird*; but I am willingly disposed to admit that his Paṇḍits saw correctly in identifying our *aluna* with this bird to. The St. Petersburg Dictionary only so far recognizes *aruṇa* as an animal, by describing it (after Suśruta) as 'a little poisonous animal.' The names on each side of *aluna* here scarcely allow us to imagine such a meaning, but refer us to some kind of bird. *Nandimukha*, according to Suśruta, appears to be applied to an aquatic bird; I have no means for determining the real ame. *Gêlâṭa* is altogether uncertain, the identification with *gṛidhra*, allowed by Prinsep's paṇḍits, cannot be upheld. The origin of the word, however, does not appear to be particularly obscure. Sanskṛit has many names of birds into the formation of which *aṭa* appears as a second member. Such are *vyâghrâṭa*, *dhâmyâṭa*; and we have in this word probably a new example, which I would transcribe as *gairâṭa*, from *giri*, 'a mountain.' *Jatûkâ* 'a bat,' offers no difficulties. This word appears to wind up for the present the enumeration of birds; not because the word *ambâkapilikâ* (*kipilika*, at Allâhâbâd) is clear, but because the Pâli *kipillika*, the Sanskṛit *pipilikâ*, seems to give us the key to the second member of the compound. With regard to the first member, I cannot agree with Prinsep either in recognising the Sanskṛit *ambâ*, or in adopting, for the whole compound, the meaning "mother-ant," *i.e.* "Queen-ant;" The legislative specification would become, through its minuteness, too difficult to grasp. I am hence driven to choose between *âmra*, 'a mango-tree," (which we shall, by the way, meet subsequently under the feminine form *aṁbâ*), and *ambu*, 'water.' In the latter case, the termination would be a cause of surprise, but the inexactitude of the vocalic notation in our texts gives us some margin, and, subject to correction, I imagine that what is here alluded to is some animal designated by the periphrase 'water-ant.' From one point of view the conjecture is satisfactory, for the name appropriately heads a series of aquatic animals. Thus, the word which immediately follows, and

of which the correct form (cf. M. and A.) is *duḍi*, means "a small species of tortoise." We next have certainly to deal with a fish, *machha*, *i.e.* *matsya*; as for the former part of the compound I would not take it, with Prinsep, as corresponding to *anarthika*, but as the equivalent of *anasthika*. The fish in question is named as "the boneless one," perhaps figuratively, and on account, for example, of its extreme suppleness. The cerebral *ṭh* appears to me to recommend this etymology. I learn from Mr. Grierson that, at the present day, in Magadha, the *prawn* is said to have no bones. It is not eaten by Vaishṇavas. I can imagine only one possible transcription for *vêdavêyaka*,—*vaidarvêyaka*. *Darvi* means the expanded hood of a snake, and we can suppose that *vidarvi*, or, which comes to the same thing, its patronymic form *vaidarvêya*, might allude to some fish as resembling a snake 'less the hood.' It could thus, for example, mean "an eel;" but this is a pure hypothesis, for I do not meet the word in the Sanskṛit dictionaries. From the sense of 'swelling' given for *pupputa*, it is natural to think that *gaṁgâpupuṭaka* is applied to a particular fish of the Ganges, remarkable for some protuberance. The *saṁkujamachha* should be the same as the *śaṅkuchi*, or 'skate-fish' of Sanskṛit lexicographers. There is only between them; a shade of pronunciation which is sufficiently explained by the Prâkṛit weakening of *ch* into *j*. The next word heads the list of terrestrial animals,—at least it does so in its second half, *sayaka*, which is, I think, in Sanskṛit *śalyaka*, 'the porcupine.' The first member is doubtful. We, however, meet in Yâjñavalkya, I. 177, the porcupine (under the form *śallaka*) associated with the tortoise (*kachchhapa*), and one is strongly tempted to search for a similar association here, and to take *kaphaṭa* as equivalent to the Sanskṛit *kamaṭha*. I admit that the phonetic transition is the reverse of regular, but the objection would not be absolute, especially for a kind of proper name, which was in frequent use, and which, even under its classical form, bears all the characteristics of a popular origin. Moreover, these two animals are mentioned in the verse of the Dharmaśâstra above quoted, as being allowed to be eaten, and it is therefore natural that they should not be included here in the final category of *savê chatupadê*, *&c.* The same verse speaks of the hare, *śaśa*, which we also meet in our *paṁnasasê*, whether the latter word is a mere equivalent of *śaśa*, or whether the addition of *parṇa* marks a particular species. For *simala*, I cannot discover any Sanskṛit equivalent, the correspondence of which would be either phonetically regular, or at least justifiable. *Saṁḍaka* is the Sanskṛit *shaṇḍa*, and means a bull living at liberty. For *ôkapiṁḍa* I cannot offer a certain translation. At least the form and the existence of the word are vouched for, for we meet it elsewhere in Pâli. In *Mahâvagga*, vi. 17, 6, it is narrated how the Bhikshus leave outside the monasteries the provisions which have been brought to them, and *ukkapiṇḍakâpi khâdanti chôrâpi haranti*; 'the *ukkapiṇḍakas* eat them, the thieves carry them off.' The two last items in the list, *sêtakapôta* and *gâmakapôta*, which admit of no hesitation, and evidently referring to two species of pigeons, appear to authorise the restoration of *palasatê* to *palapatê*. *i.e.* 'turtle-dove.' The correction of 𑀲 into 𑀧 is very easy, and, no matter how well these inscriptions are engraved, in our reproductions there is no want of clear instances in which corrections are necessary. If the new revisions definitely guaranteed the reading *palasatê*, we should be driven to recognize the Pâli *parasatô*, and to translate it by 'rhinoceros' (cf. Trenckner, *Pâli Miscell.*, I. 50), which would look very singular here.

3. Prinsep, while construing the sentence wrongly, correctly recognized the meaning of the expression *paṭibhôgaṁ êti*, 'to enter into, to serve for consumption.' The king, who wished to restrain as much as possible the slaughter of animals, naturally forbade in general terms the killing of all those which did not serve for urgent needs, and of which therefore the slaughter was not indispensable. I suppose that *paṭibhôga* does not refer exclusively to nourishment, but in general to all the needs which dead animals could serve to satisfy. If it were otherwise, *na cha khâdiyati* would only repeat the idea without adding anything new.

4. After the general and absolute prohibitions come those which are accidental and temporary. *Ajakanâni* gives no sense. We require a feminine singular, and there is no place here for a neuter plural. The slight correction of ⊥ to + gives the reading *ajakâ kâni*

equivalent to *ajaká khu*, which is completely satisfactory (cf. I. 161). The particle *káni* reappears in the next phrase. The paṇḍits of Prinsep, warned by the neighbouring *gabhini*, hit upon the true meaning of the following adjective. We cannot, however, transcribe it as *payasvinî*, but prefer to read *pîyamáná*, which easily gives the meaning of 'in milk, suckling.' We should also read *avadhiyá* and not *avadháya*, and, with R. and M., *pôtaka* instead of *pátaka*. *Ásaṁmásika* is necessarily formed from *á-shaḍ-mása*; and it is therefore, in short, forbidden to slaughter the mothers (goats, ewes, and sows) when they are with young, or when they are suckling, and their young when they are less than six months old.

5. *Vadhri* means 'a eunuch,' and *vadhi-kukkuṭa* can only be taken as a compound signifying, 'capon.'

6. *Tusê sajîvê* has an exact counterpart in the expression *sajîváni práṇakáni* of *Mahávastu*, I. 22, 5, 'one may not roast alive any living thing.'

7. This *vihiṁsá* refers to the destruction of game, brought about by burning down the forest in which it lives.

8. We have here, at the conclusion of the edict, three series of dates, the accurate explanation of which offers more than one difficulty. We shall consider them together. We must first compare them with two parallel indications taken from the detached edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada. Shown in a tabular form these series are :—

A	B	C
tisu chátuṁmásisu	*aṭhamîpakháyê*	*tisáyê*
tisáyaṁ puṁnamásiyaṁ	*chávudasáyê*	*punávasunê*
tiṁni divasáni—	*paṁnaḍasáyê*	*chátuṁmásiye*
chávudasaṁ	*tisáyê*	*chátuṁmásipakháyê*
paṁnaḍasaṁ	*punávasunê*	
paṭipadáyê	*tisu chátuṁmásisu*	
dhuváyê chá anupôsathaṁ	*sudivasáyê*	

With which compare the following in the Detached Edicts :—

I.	II.
anuchátuṁmásaṁ tisêna nakhatêna (Dh.)	*tisanakhatêna* (Dh.)
anuchátuṁmásaṁ tisênaṁ (J.)	*anutisaṁ* (J.)

I must first warn my readers that, in spite of the analogy of the words, the passages in the Detached Edicts do not appear to me to have an exact similarity with those in the above Table. I do not consider that in the two cases the meanings are the same, and moreover, the forms used, differ. But if we begin by comparing between each other the expressions of the two Detached Edicts, we shall find that the second omits the word *anuchátuṁmásaṁ*. As both instances refer to the public recitation of the edicts themselves, it is impossible to imagine any reason for suggesting an intentional difference between the two passages. It appears to me to be indisputable that the *tisanakhatêna* or *anutisaṁ* of the second means exactly the same as the more developed phrase of the first. I first, therefore, conclude that *anuchátuṁmásaṁ* does not restrict the sense, but merely calls attention to the particulars defined by the simple expression *tisêna nakhatêna*. The relation between the two expressions cannot be the same as that which ought to exist here between the first two in our list A., for, as a matter of fact, if the thematic elements are the same in each case, the grammatical forms used are very different. The feminines *chátuṁmásî* and *tisá* can only, conformably to usage, mean 'the full-moon corresponding to each of the festivals called *cháturmásyas* (four-monthly)' and 'the full-moon in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Tishya' (cf. the formation of *Śrávaṇá*, according to Pâṇini, IV. 2, 5); while, on the other hand, *tisêna nakhatêna* cannot mean 'the full moon of Tishya,' but signifies literally 'under the *nakshatra* Tishya.' Again, *anuchátuṁmásaṁ* cannot be analysed as *anuchaturmásaṁ*, and translated 'every four months' for the *á*, in this hypothesis, would be unexplainable. The only possible transcription is *anucháturmásyaṁ*, 'at each of the festivals called *cháturmásyas*,' and so in fact we find the same *anu* actually combined with the name of

an undoubted festival in *anupôsathaṁ*, 'at each *upôsatha.*' After this analogy, and being given the fact that *anutisaṁ* (J.) and *tisanakhatêna* are equivalent terms, we must render all these expressions, *tisêna nakhatêna*, *tisêna*, &c., as 'at the festival of Tishya.' The addition of *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ* proves, in short, that a festival, corresponding in date to that of the three annual sacrifices of the Brâhmaṇs is referred to; and it is clear that the dates of these sacrifices, being fixed by the occurrences of three definite full-moons, could not regularly, in accordance with astronomical rules, correspond with one and the same *nakshatra.* My two-fold conclusion is therefore; (1) that the quotations from the Detached Edicts must be translated 'at the festival of Tishya' and 'at the festival of Tishya, which is celebrated at each of the *châturmâsya* festivals'; and (2) that these data are without importance in regard to our present passage, in the interpretation of which they cannot help us. It is this interpretation which principally interests us at present.

In the series A., a group at first separates itself off by its syntactic form. This is the words *tiṁni divasâni*, &c., that is to say 'three days, the fourteenth, the fifteenth (of the month), and the *pratipad* (or first day of the following half month).' It is evident that this indication must depend on what precedes for the necessary specification of what particular month or months is or are referred to; and regarding this the only doubt which can be raised is whether it depends only on *tisâyaṁ puṁnamâsiyaṁ* (I accept this reading provisionally) or whether also on *tisu châtuṁmâsisu.* If we depended merely on grammar, we might hesitate, but the *data* following, *dhuvâyê châ anupôsathaṁ*, settle the question. These words can only be translated by 'and on the fixed day, each *upôsatha*,' or in other words, 'and, generally, on each day of *upôsatha.*' The use of *dhruva* in the first of the fourteen (rock) Edicts may be compared with this. Now, as each day of the full-moon is necessarily a day of *upôsatha*, to separately mention the three full-moons of the months in which the festival called *châturmâsya* is celebrated, would be merely superfluous, and we must therefore look upon the whole of the first part of the sentence down to *dhuvâyê* as a single compound, and translate 'Besides the full-moons of the months in which the festival *châturmâsya* is celebrated, and the full-moon of Tishya, the fourteenth and fifteenth days, and the day following.' I admit that hitherto the reading *puṁnamâsiyaṁ* has been considered as certain, but I must confess that I am very far myself from thinking it to be so. I shall have more to say about this, after having explained the two last series.

Of these, the third presents scarcely any uncertainty. It includes 'the full-moon in conjunction with Tishya, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasû, and the full-moon which corresponds to each of the *châturmâsya* sacrifices.' As for the last term, *châtuṁmâsipakhâyê*, *châturmâsipaksha* means, according to custom, the half-lunation which follows the full-moon (each full-moon) called *châturmâsî*; and, as here one day in particular is referred to, the feminine *châtuṁmâsipakhâ* (which, of course, is to be construed with *tithi* understood) certainly represents the first day of this half-lunation. It is thus exactly equivalent to the *paṭipadâyê* of the first list, inasmuch as this word depends on *tisu châtuṁmâsisu.* I may add that the difference of form between the singular *châtuṁmâsiyê*, which we have here to designate each of the *châturmâsî* full moons, and the plural *tisu châtuṁmâsisu* of series A., would naturally (if it were necessary) add confirmation to the explanation which I have just given of the latter phrase. It establishes an intentional distinction between the two cases, and, the sense being certain in the present enumeration, we are left no alternative except to adopt for the phrase in series A. the interpretation, which for independent reasons we have already adopted.

The three first terms of series B. give no room for doubt. *Aṭhamîpakhâ* is the equivalent, in a slightly irregular form of construction, of *pakshâshṭamî*, "the eighth day of the half lunation" (cf. e.g. *Dhammap.*, p. 404: *châtuddasî pañchadasî yâva pakkhassa aṭṭhamî*), that is to say, of each lunation. To this the Sinhalese expression *atawaka* (*ashṭapaksha*) (Sp. Hardy, *East. Monach.* p. 236) exactly corresponds. But it is doubtful if the 14 and the 15 refer only to the 14th and 15th of the month, *i.e.* of the first half, thus corresponding to the full-moon, or whether they apply also to the second fortnight of each month. To judge from modern customs

(cf. Sp. Hardy, *loc. cit*), one would be inclined to the first solution; but, as the idea of a triple *upôsatha* in each half lunation is expressly borne witness to by the *Mahâvagga* (II. 4, 2), I have no hesitation in considering that such is also the intention of the king in this passage. It is true that great uncertainty appears to have prevailed in the tradition about the *upôsatha*. The same work, a little further on (II. 14, 1) only admits 'two *upôsathas*, those of the 14th and of the 15th,' but, on the other hand, another passage (II. 34, 3—4) speaks expressly of the *pâṭipada upôsatha*, that is to say, that which corresponds to the first day of the month (the *amawaka* of Sinhalese terminology). I do not doubt, however, that Piyadasi considered this day as hallowed by a religious consecration. It is on this one day that the difference between the generic expression, *dhuvâyê anupôsathaṁ*, of series A., and our series B., depends; if this more concise expression is not repeated here, it must necessarily be so in order to exclude some element which it contains, and that element can only be the *pratipad*. With regard to the rest of the list, I would refer to what has been said about series A. and the plural *tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu*; here again, all the full-moons being comprised in the dates *châvudasâyê* and *paṁnaḍasâyê*, the terms *tisâyê* and *châtuṁmâsîsu* have no use except as determinatives of the last word, *sudivasâyê*. I regret that this last term is obscure to me, for I know of no parallel examples of the technical use of the word. We evidently want here something different from a vague astrological expression corresponding, I suppose, to the Vêdic *sudinatvê ahnâṁ* (cf. Weber, *Die Vêd. Nachrichten von den Naksh.* II. 315). A comparison with the other lists ought to guide us. We shall subsequently see that the acts successively forbidden by the king necessarily constitute a series of decreasing gravity. It is therefore *à priori* more than probable that the lists of reserved days, admitting the fact that there is a distinction) should be reduced in parallel lines: the second should contain less than the first; and the third less again than the second; but all the days excepted in the two last should be included in the first. In a general fashion, this conjecture is at first sight justified. Between list B. and list C. it is verified in detail, provided that *châtuṁmâsipakhâ* can be included under the last head of B.—*tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâ*, for the full-moons of Tishya, Punarvasû and the *châturmâsyas* are included under the two first terms *châvudasâ* and *paṁnaḍasâ*. On the other hand, to establish an analogy between A. and B. the last portion of B., *tisâyê* to *sudivasâ* must be included in A., either in the last term, *dhuvâyê châ anupôsathaṁ*, or in the last but one, *tîsu—pâṭipadâyê*. In the first case, the three first terms of B. include all the days of *upôsatha* except the *pâṭipada upôsatha*, and *sudivasâ* ought to designate the first of the month, the first of the light half (of the month of which the full-moon is in conjunction with Tishya, or Punarvasû, or one of the three months of *châturmâsya*). In the second case, it would designate the first of the dark half which follows (the full-moons in question). To sum up, therefore, C. appears to *require* that *sudivasâ* should designate the 16th of the months above referred, and A. *permits* this interpretation. The conclusion follows that we are driven to admit that B. practically had in view 'the days which come after the full moons in conjunction with Tishya and with Punarvasû, and after the full moons of the months of *châturmâsya*.' It may seem, perhaps, somewhat surprising that the name *sudivasa*, 'lucky day' should be applied to the first of the dark half for in general it is the light half, which is considered as particularly auspicious; but the scruple must necessarily vanish before the positive fact, witnessed by the perfectly clear testimony of our first list, that the day in question, at least in the lunations specified, was considered as having a religious consecration.

This necessary agreement between our three lists upon which I have just insisted, leads us to one last remark. The expression *tisâyaṁ puṁnamâsiyaṁ* of A. should surprise the reader: *tisâyaṁ* alone would be sufficient, as all the following lists attest. We should rather expect to find *puṁnamâsî* added to *tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu*, the first full-moons indicated, if it were added anywhere. On the other hand, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasû plays so important a part in the subsequent lists that it is out of the question that it should not be here also. How could it be permissible to slaughter animals on a day on which it was not permissible even to mark them? I have therefore no hesitation in maintaining that, instead of *puṁnamâsiyaṁ*, *punâvasuyaṁ* should stand here. I do not deny that such a correction may appear bold, in the

face of the agreement, which, at least apparently, exists between different versions dispersed in different places; but nevertheless, whatever the difficulties may be; whether this agreement actually exists; or whether it is less real than the eyes of explorers, led away by a first reading, in appearance very simple, of the Dehli pillar, believed; to whatever medium, to whatever accident it may be due, I cannot prevent myself from seeing in *puṁnamâsiyaṁ* a certain error for *punâvasnyaṁ*. This last word, it may be added, has itself had a very unlucky fate. In the two following lists, our facsimiles give *vasuné*. The first reproduction in the *Asiatic Researches* is the only one which indicates, at least in the second instance, the true reading, and gives *punâvapuyê* for *punâvasuyê*. If need be, the form *punâvasuné* could be explained, but it would be with difficulty; and considering the close resemblance which exists between the signs ⊥ and ⫫, I have little doubt but that we ought to restore the only normal form, *-vasuyê*.

9. The two words *nâgavana* and *kêvaṭabhôga* offer some difficulty. The derivation is clear (*kaivartabhôga*), but neither appears to be used in the literature known to us. They might without violence be treated as proper names, but why should the king mention particularly two specified localities, in the vicinity, for instance, of his capital, in edicts intended to be published over his whole empire? This conjecture is therefore improbable. What does appear to me to be certain is that of these two terms the former relates to hunting, and the latter to fishing. A passage, which is unfortunately corrupt, in the *Mahâvastu* (I. 24 and notes) leads me to think of the kinds of parks in which game was preserved either to protect it from theft or for gradual consumption: *nâgavana* "elephant park," might refer to an enclosure of this description; and *kêvaṭabhôga* might mean a fish-pond, such as exists in all countries. The king would prohibit the slaughter, on certain specified days, of any kind of animal whatever, whether quadrupeds or fishes, even those which their dwelling-place destines to an early death.

10. The only obscure word here is the verb *nîlakhiyati*. Prinsep naturally thought of the verb *raksh*, but I do not see how it is possible to explain a *nîrakshati*, nor, if we elude this difficulty, how to draw any reasonable sense from it. We must try the verb *laksh*. There can be no doubt that the next sentence turns on the prohibition of *lakshaṇa*, which is used in a well-known *sûtra* of Pâṇini (VI. 3, 115) to mean the marks, *svastika*, *maṇi*, &c., which, as the scholiast explains, they make on the ears of cattle to distinguish the owner of each. This meaning exactly suits our word *lakhana*, for bullocks and horses are, in fact, domestic animals, and consequently fitted for receiving marks of this kind. But what are we to do with *nîlakhati* in the present sentence? It is natural to look again for the Sanskrit *laksh* in the root *lakh*; but, on the other hand, it is evident that there is a considerable difference between the two operations successively enumerated. This follows not only from the difference in the terms used, in the prefix added in the first case, and omitted in the second, but also from the circumstance that in both, partly at least, the same animals, bullocks (*gônasa*), are dealt with. The long *î*, which occurs almost consistently throughout all the versions, of *nîlakhiyati*, shows that the true transcription can only be *nirlaksh*, and this analysis does, in fact, admit of a very simple translation. If we refer to a recognized meaning of *lakshaṇa*, 'the sexual parts,' a denominative *nirlakshay* would mean 'to cut,' 'to castrate,' and, as a matter of fact, all the animals mentioned, being domestic ones, are of that class which could be so mutilated. I believe that I can identify the same meaning in *nirlakshaṇa* as opposed to *lakshaṇavant* in a passage in the *Râmâyaṇa* (Gorr., II. 118, 5) which is quoted by the St. Petersburg Dictionary, but interpreted, wrongly as I think, in a much vaguer fashion. It will now be seen why I spoke above of a decreasing gradation in the series of cases dealt with by our edict. The first prohibitions deal with the slaughter of animals; the second series interdicts their castration; and the third, the infliction upon them of a much lighter suffering, which might consist, for example, in slitting the ear.

11. The meaning of this last sentence has, I think, been well defined by Lassen (II.² 272, n.), although I do not adopt the meaning of 'execution' which he claims directly for *bandhana*. *Baṁdhanamôkkha* means literally 'deliverance from bonds,' 'setting at liberty,' but if the king only spoke of setting at liberty twenty-five prisoners in twenty-five years, the royal

clemency would appear but moderate, while, on the other hand, the repetition of twenty-five general amnesties in as many years would be equivalent to the suppression of all punishment. I consider, therefore, remembering the connection in the fourth edict between the words *baṁdhanabadha* and *paṭavadha* while they are nevertheless not synonyms, that Piyadasi here speaks only of important prisoners, and that, as in the last edict, this qualification is here applied exclusively to those condemned to death. This is indeed, also, the only interpretation which would justify the presence of this declaration in this place, at the end of an edict consecrated to recommending a general respect of life.

The following translation results from the preceding observations :—

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :—In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation have I forbidden the slaughter of any of the animals belonging to the following tribes; that is to say,—parrots, *mainas*, *aruṇas*, *chakravâkas*, flamingos, *nandîmukhas*, *gairâṭas*, bats, water-ants(?), the tortoises called *duḍi*, the fishes called *anasthikas*, *vaidarvêyakas*, *pupputas* of the Ganges, the fishes called *saṁkuja*, turtles and porcupines, *parṇaśaśas* (?), *simalas* (?), bulls which wander at liberty, foxes (?), turtle-doves, white pigeons, village pigeons, and all kinds of quadrupeds which do not enter into consumption and which are not articles of food. As for she-goats, ewes, and sows, they may not be slaughtered when they are with young or are in milk, nor their offspring when less than six months old. Caponing fowls is prohibited, nor is it allowed to roast alive any living being. It is forbidden to set fire to a forest either in malice or in order to kill the animals which dwell therein. It is forbidden to make use of living beings in order to feed living beings. At the three full-moons of the *châturmâsyas*, at the full-moon which is in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Tishya, at that which is in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Punarvasû, on the 14th and the 15th and on the day which follows the full-moon, and generally on each day of *upôsatha*, it is forbidden either to kill fish or to offer them for sale. On the same days it is forbidden to kill either animals confined in gameparks or in fishponds or any other kind of living being. On the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th of each lunar fortnight, and on the days which follow the full-moons of Tishya, of Punarvasû and of the three *châturmâsyas*, it is forbidden to castrate ox, he-goat, ram, boar, or any other animal, which is usually castrated. On the day of the full-moon of Tishya, of Punarvasû, of the *châturmâsyas*, and on the first day of the fortnight which follows the full-moon of a *châturmâsya*, it is forbidden to mark either ox or horse. In the course of the twenty-six years which have elapsed since my coronation, I have set at liberty twenty-five [men condemned to death].

(*To be continued.*)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 174.—Copper-Plate Grant of the time of Ajayapala.—Vikrama-Samvat 1231.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in April, 1883, from the Bombay Secretariat. I have no information as to where they were found, or as to the owner of them.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 14¼″ by 9⅞″. The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is well preserved and very legible throughout.—In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second, there are holes for two rings; but only one ring is now forthcoming. It is a plain copper ring, about ¼″ thick and 2¾″ in diameter. It had been cut when the grant came under my notice; but there are no indications of a seal having been attached to this ring and abstracted from it. In the first plate, the ring-holes were originally

made at the top; but they were filled in again with circular pieces of copper. The **seal**, if there was one attached to either of the rings, is not now forthcoming. In the lower proper left corner of the second plate, however, after the end of the inscription, there are engraved the sun and moon, and the figure of a god, seated, and facing full-front. As the god is four-faced, as well as four-armed, and seems to be seated on a water-lily, it must be a representation of Brahman.—The **weight** of the two plates is 10 lbs. 1 oz., and of the ring, 3 oz.; total, 10 lbs. 4 oz. — The **characters** are Nâgarî, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in line 31, the **decimal figures** 1, 2, and 3. The engraving is good; the interiors of the letters are so filled in with rust, that any marks of the working of the tool cannot be observed. The plates are thick and substantial; and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all.—The **language** is Sanskṛit. And the inscription is in prose throughout; except for two invocatory verses at the commencement, and nine benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in lines 14 to 16 and 23 to 31. The text contains some **technical fiscal terms** which require explanation; *talabhêdyâghâṇakamalakavundhaka*, in lines 19-20: and *sarv-âbhyantara-siddhi*, in line 20. And in line 19 we have the word *kankaṭa*, which has been met with in other passages in the sense of 'boundary,' in which it is used here.[1] — In respect of **orthography** the only points that call for notice are—(1) the preferential use of the *anusvâra* instead of the proper nasal, *e. g.* in *paripaṁthayati*, line 7; *daṁḍanâyaka*, line 9; and *aṁgîkṛitya*, line 17; though the proper nasal is used in *maṇḍalam*, line 8, and *vindu*, line 15, and elsewhere; and (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, *e. g.* in *vibhartti*, line 1; *vrâhmaṇapâṭakât*, line 2; and *lavdha*, line 5; except once, in line 23, where a distinct form for *b* seems to be used in the word *bahubhir*.

The **inscription** refers itself **to the reign of the Chaulukya king Ajayapâla of Aṇhilwâḍ**. But the grant recorded in it was made by one of his feudatories, **the Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Vaijalladêva**, who, as we learn from line 17, belonged to **the Châhumâṇa lineage**,—or, as the name is actually written here, **Châhuyâṇa**,—and who had the government of **the maṇḍala or province on the banks of the river Narmadâ**; and the charter was issued from **the city of Brâhmaṇapâṭaka**. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of a village to a *sattrâgâra* or charitable alms-house, for the purpose of feeding Brâhmaṇs.

The **places** mentioned in the inscription are **Aṇahilapâṭaka**, the capital of Ajayapâla and his ancestors; **Brâhmaṇapâṭaka**, the town from which Vaijalladêva issued the charter; **Âlaviḍagâmva**, the village granted, which is defined as being in the group of villages known as **the Mâkhulagâmva Forty-two-villages**, belonging to **the Pûrṇa pathaka**; and **Khaṇḍôhaka**, the village in which was situated the *sattrâgâra* to which the grant was made. **Aṇahilapâṭaka**, or, as the name was sometimes written, **Aṇahillapâṭaka**, is perhaps better known under the somewhat later and slightly corrupted name of **Aṇhilwâḍ or Aṇhilwâḍâpâṭan**. It is said, in the Jain chronicles, and elsewhere, to have been founded in Vikrama-Saṁvat 802 by the Paramâra king Vanarâja;[2] and it appears to have passed from the possession of the Paramâras into that of the Châwaḍa kings; and to have been acquired from the latter by the first Chaulukya king, Mûlarâja, in Vikrama-Saṁvat[3] 997. It was subsequently laid waste; but the date of this event appears not yet to have been properly fixed; for, whereas Col. J. W. Watson[4] seems to attribute the destruction of the city to the armies of Alâ-ud-dîn in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1297, we find it still mentioned, as the capital of Vîsaladêva,[5] in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1317. It is now represented by **the modern town of Pâṭan**,[6] the chief town of a Sub-Division of the same name in the Gaikwâr's Dominions, about sixty-five miles in a north-westerly direction from Ahmadâbâd. The other places remain to be identified.

The record contains **two dates**. In line 11ff., in connection with the making of the grant, we have the details of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1231, expressed fully in words, and not distinctly

[1] *e. g. ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 255, line 23. The only meaning given in Monier-Williams Sanskrit Dictionary are 'mail, defensive armour; an iron hook to goad an elephant.' It is said to be derived from the root *kaṅk*, 'to go.'

[2] *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 253; Vol. IV. pp. 145f., 147.

[3] *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 147f.

[4] *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 148.

[5] *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 212.

[6] The 'Patan, Pattan, Puttun, Anhalwada, Anhalwar Patan, and Anhilwara Pattan,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 21. Lat. 23° 51′ N.; Long. 72° 10′ E.

specified either as current or as expired, the month Kârttika, the bright fortnight, the eleventh *tithi*, and Sômadina or **Monday**; and we are told that, when Vaijalladêva made the grant, he had fasted on this day, and had done worship to the gods Śiva and Vishṇu **at the Kârttik-ôdyâpana festival.** And in line 31 we have the details, for either the writing or the assignment of the charter, of the same month, fortnight, and year, here expressed in decimal figures; and of the thirteenth civil day (and, with it, the thirteenth *tithi*), coupled with Budha, *i e.* Budhavâra or **Wednesday.** The English equivalents ought to be found in A.D. 1173 or 1174, according as the given year, whether referred to the northern or to the southern reckoning of the era, is to be taken as current or as expired. And we have to note that the first of the given *tithis* is the well-known *prabôdhinî* or *utthâna-êkâdaśî*, when Vishṇu wakes up from his four-months' slumber; and that the text distinctly intimates that the grant was made to celebrate this *tithi* and its festival. The results, however, are not altogether satisfactory. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1231 current, Kârttika śukla 11 ended on Thursday, 18th October, A.D. 1173, at about 51 *ghaṭîs* after mean sunrise, for Aṇhilwâḍ;[7] and Kârttika śukla 13 ended on Saturday, 20th October, at about 43 *gh.* 2 *p.*

And in (northern and) southern Vikramà-Saṁvat 1232 current (1231 expired), Kârttika śukla 11 ended on Tuesday, 8th October, A.D. 1174, at about 32 *ghaṭîs*; and Karttika śukla 13 ended on Thursday, 10th October, at about 19 *gh.* 25 *p.* **The tithis began respectively on Monday,** 7th October, at about 38 *gh.* 8 *p.*, **and on Wednesday,** 9th October, at about 25 *gh.* 39 *p.* **And these dates would do, if we could apply the tithis as current tithis.** But there is no justification for the quotation of the current *tithi*, in recording the writing or the assignment of the charter. And both Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit and Prof. Kielhorn have informed me that there is no rule by which the fasting and ceremonies, connected with the *prabôdhinî-êkâdaśî*, can have been performed in this case on the Monday. Accordingly, even the eleventh *tithi* cannot have been quoted here as a current tithi. And the dates thus obtained for the commencement of the two *tithis* are not admissible.

But, in **(northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1233 current (1232 expired), Kârttika śukla 11 ended, as required, on Monday, 27th October, A.D. 1175,** at about 37 *gh.* 23 *p.*; **and Kârttika śukla 13 ended on Wednesday, 29th October,** at about 25 *gh.* 30 *p.* These results satisfy the requirements of the case, *viz.* that both the given *tithis* should have been quoted, and must be applied, as ended *tithis*; and **these seem certainly to be the real days that were intended.** Accordingly, as there is nothing to raise a suspicion that the grant is other than an authentic one, we must conclude that, in spite of the distinct record in words as well as in figures, we have here a **genuine mistake in respect of the given year**; and that 1231 was wrongly written for 1232, which is to be applied as an expired year, and, in consideration of the locality to which the record belongs, is to be referred to the southern reckoning of the era.

TEXT.[8]

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ[9] Svasti II Jayô=bhyudayaś=cha II Jayati[10] Vyômakêśô=sau yaḥ sarggâya vi(bi)bhartti tâm I[*] aiṁdavîṁ śirasâ lêkhâṁ jagad-vij-âṁkur-â-

2 kṛitim II Tanvaṁtu vaḥ Smarârâtêḥ kalyâṇam=aniśaṁ jaṭâḥ I kalp-âṁta-samay-ôddâma-taḍid-valaya-piṁgal[â*]ḥ II Śrî-**Vrâ(brâ)hmaṇapâṭakât** [I*] Srî-**A-**

3 **ṇahilapâṭak**âdhishṭhita-samastarâjâvalîvirâjita-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsva(śva)ra-paramabhaṭṭâraka-**Varvarakajishṇu**-śrî-**Jayasiṁhadêva**-

4 pâdânudhyâta-Umâpativaralavdha(bdha)prasâda-prauḍha-pratâpa-nijabhujavikramaraṇâṅgaṇa-vinirjjta**Śâkaṁbharîbhûpâla**-paramabhaṭṭâ-

[7] The times here are for Aṇhilwâḍ, all through.
[8] From the original plates.
[9] Represented by a symbol.
[10] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.

5 raka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Kumârapâladêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭ**âraka**-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramamâhêśvara[11]-śrî-

6 mad[12]-**Ajayapâladêva**-kalyâṇa-vijaya-râjyê [।*] tat-pâdapadm-ôpajîvini mahâmatya-**śrî-Sômêśvarê** śrî-śrîkaraṇ-âdau samasta-mudrâ-

7 vyâpârân=paripaṁthayati sat=îty=êtasmin=kâlê pravarttamânê [।*] Samadhigatapaṁcha-mahâśavdâ(bdâ)laṁkârôpeta-samastaprakriyâvirâjamâna-mahâ-

8 maṁḍalêśvara-śrî-**Vaijalladêvaḥ** śrîmad-**Ajayapâladêvêna** prasâdîkṛitya **Narmmadâ-taṭa**-maṇḍalam=anuśâsan vijay-ôdayî ॥ **Pûrṇṇa**-pathaka-pra-

9 tiva(ba)ddha-**Mâkhulagâmva**-grâma-dvichatvâriṁśat grâmâṇâṁ[13] madhyât **Âlaviḍa-gâmva**-grâmê samasta-daṁḍanâyaka-dêśaṭhak[k*]ur-âdhishṭhânaka-kara-

10 ṇapurusha-śayyâpâla-bhaṭṭaputra-prabhṛiti-niyukta-râjapurushân vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôttarân pratinivâsi-vishayika-paṭṭakila-janapad-âdîṁś=cha

11 vô(bô)dhayaty=Astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ ॥ Asmâbhiḥ śrî-**Vrâ(brâ)hmaṇapâṭaka-**sthitai[ḥ*] **nṛipa-Vikrama-kâlâd=arvvâk êka-triṁśad-adhika-dvâdaśa-śa-**

12 **ta-saṁvatsar-âṁtarvarttini Kârttikê mâsi śukla-pakshê êkâdaśyâṁ Sômadinê upôshya Kârttik-ôdyâpana-parvvaṇi** char-âchara-guruṁ bhagavaṁ-

13 taṁ Bhavânî-patiṁ **Purushôttamaṁ** cha Lakshmî-patiṁ **samabhyarchchya** saṁsârasy=âsâratâṁ parijñâya nalinî-gata-jala-lava-taralataraṁ jîvi-

14 tam=âkalayya mada-vivaśî(śî)kṛita-kari-karṇṇa-tâla-taralâṁ śriyam=anuchi[ṁ*]tya cha ॥ Tathâ hi [।*] Vât[14]-âbhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-âdhipatyam=âtâpa-[15]

15 mâtra-madhurô vishay-ôpabhôgaṁ(ḥ) prâṇâs=triṇ-âgra-jala-vindu-samâ narâṇâṁ dhar-mmaḥ sakhâ param=ahô paralôka-yânê ॥ Api cha [।*] Bhra-

16 mat[16]-saṁsâra-chakr-âgra-dhâr-âdhârâm=iṁmâṁ[17] śriyaṁ prâpya yê na dadus=têshâṁ paśchât[t*]âpaḥ paraṁ phalaṁ ॥ Iti jagatô vinaśvaraṁ svarûpam=âka-

17 layya dṛisht-âdṛishṭa-phalam=aṁgîkṛitya cha mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê **Châhuyâṇ-ânvayê[na*]** mahâmaṁḍalê-

Second Plate.

18 **śvara-śrî-Vaijalladêvêna**[18] **Khaṁḍôhakê** dakshiṇa-dig-vibhâgê apûrvva-paṁchâśat vrâ(brâ)hmaṇânâṁ[19] bhôjan-[â*]rthaṁ upari likhita **Âla-**

19 **viḍagâṁva-grâmaḥ** sa-vṛiksha-mâlâ-kulaś=chatuḥ-kaṁkaṭa-viśuddhaḥ khany-âkara-nidhi-nikshêpa-sahita[ḥ*] talabhêdyâghâṇakamalaka-

20 vuṁdhaka-daṁḍa-dôsha-prâpt-âdâya[ḥ*] abhinava-mârggaṇaka-prabhṛiti-sarvv-âdâyair=upêtaḥ sarvv-âbhyantara-siddhyâ dêva-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-bhukti-varjjaṁ

21 â-chaṁdr-ârkka-yâvat śâsanîkṛitya **Khaṁḍôhakêtya**-śatrâgârâya[20] udaka-pûrvvakatvêna pradattaḥ ।(॥) Tad=asmin grâmê samutpadyamâna-bhâ-

22 gabhôga-kara-hiraṇy-âdikam=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ bhavadbhir=asmai samupanê-tavyaṁ । sâmânyaṁ ch=aitat=puṇya-phalaṁ vu(bu)ddhvâ asmad-vaṁśa-

23 jair=anyair=api bhâvi-bhôktṛibhir=asmat-pradatta-dharmmâ(rmma)dâyô=yam=anumaṁ-tavyaḥ । pâlanîyaś=cha ।(॥) Uktaṁ cha ॥ Bahubhir[21]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sa-

24 gar-âdibhiḥ । yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ।(॥) Yân[22]=îha dattâni purâ narêndrair=dânâni dharmm-ârtha-yaśas-karâṇi । nirmmâlya-vâṁ-

---

[11] As shewn by other grants of this family, *e.g. ante*, Vol. VI. p. 194, No. 3, line 8, read *mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramamâhêśvara*.

[12] Here, and in line 8, *śrîmat* is used, instead of *śrî*, in conformity with the custom of preferring the use of *śrîmat* before a name commencing with a vowel (see *Corp Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 10, note 4) But *śrî* occurs, and with hiatus instead of junction by *saṁdhi*, in the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1280, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 197, line 13; and in some other places in the same series; and also at the end of line 2 in the present grant.

[13] Read *dvichatvâriṁśad-grâmâṇâṁ*.

[14] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[15] Read *apâtâ*.

[16] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[17] Read *imâṁ*.

[18] After the use of *asmâbhiḥ* in line 11, the introduction of this instrumental singular is unnecessary.

[19] Read *paṁchâśad-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇânâṁ*.

[20] Read *sattrâgârâya*.

[21] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[22] Metre, Indravajrâ.

25 ti(ta)-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhu[ḥ*] punar=âdadîta I(II) Asya[23] kula-kramam=udâram=udâharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dâma(na)m=idam=apy=anumôdanîyam I lakshmyâ-

26 s=taḍid-valaya-vudvuda-chaṁchalâyâ êvaṁ phalaṁ para-yaśaḥ-paripâlanaṁ cha II Sarvvân[24]=êtân bhâvinaḥ pârthivêndrân bhûyô-bhûyô

27 yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ I sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê-kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ I(II) Sva[25] dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta

28 vasuṁdharâṁ shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ I(II) Iha[26] hi jalada-lîlâ-chaṁchalê jîva-lôkê triṇa-lava-la-

29 ghu-sârê sarvva-saṁsâra-saukhyê I apaharatu dur-âśaḥ śâsanaṁ dêvatânâṁ naraka-gahana-gartt-âvartta-pât-ôtsukô yaḥ I(II) Iti[27]

30 kamala-dal-âmvu(mbu)-vindu-lôlâṁ śriyam=anuchi[ṁ*]tya manushya-jîvitaṁ cha sakalam =idam=udâhṛitaṁ cha vudvâ[28] na hi purushaiḥ para-

31 kîrttayô vilôpyâ iti II **Saṁvat 1231 varshê Kârttika śu di 13 Vu(bu)dhê** II Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ II Dû° [29] pratî-

32 hâra-**Sôbhanadêvaḥ** II Sva-hastô=yaṁ mahâmaṁḍalêśvara-śrî-**Vaijalladêvasya** II Uparô° [30] ri° [31] Vâmadêvaḥ II

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After two verses in praise of the god Śiva, under the names of Vyômakêśa (line 1) and Smarârâti (l. 2), the inscription gives the following genealogy :—The *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the glorious **Jayasiṁhadêva** (l. 3), who was established at the famous (**city of**) **Aṇahilapâṭaka** (l. 2), and who was **victorious over the Varvarakas.** His successor (*lit.* 'he who meditated on his feet;' *pâd-ânudhyâta*) was the *M. P. P.*, the glorious **Kumârapâladêva** (l. 5), who acquired the favour of a boon from the god Umâpati (Śiva), and **who conquered in battle the king of Śâkaṁbharî.** And his successor is the *M. P. P.*, the glorious **Ajayapâladêva** (l. 6), a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (Śiva) (l. 5).

In the reign of the last-mentioned king (l. 6), and while his feudatory (*lit.* 'he who subsists like a bee on the water-lilies that are his feet;' *pâdapadm-ôpajîvin*), the *Mahâmâtya*, the illustrious **Sômêśvara** (l. 6), is superintending all the functions connected with the royal seal in the records (*śrîkaraṇa*) and other departments :—

From the famous (**city of**) **Brâhmaṇapâṭaka** (l. 2), the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the illustrious **Vaijalladêva** (l. 7), who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda*, and who through the favour of the glorious **Ajayapâladêva**, is governing **the province on the banks of the river Narmadâ** (l. 8), informs the *Daṇḍanâyaka*, *Dêśaṭhakkura*, *Âdhishṭhânaka*, *Karaṇapurusha*, *Śayyâpâla*, *Bhaṭṭaputra*, and all the other royal officials at **the village of Âlaviḍagâmva** (l. 9) in the middle of the group known as **the Mâkhulagâmva Forty-two-villages,** belonging to **the Pûrṇa pathaka** (l. 8), and the neighbouring *Vishayikas*, *Paṭṭakilas*, and other people, headed by the Brâhmaṇs :—

"Be it known to you (l. 11), that, by Us, while stationed **at Brâhmaṇapâṭaka** (l. 11),—**having fasted on Monday, the eleventh tithi in the bright fortnight in the month Kârttika, in the year twelve hundred, increased by thirty-one, after the time of king Vikrama ; and having done worship, at the festival of the Kârttik-ôdyâpana,** to (Śiva) the divine lord of Bhavânî, the father of all things animate and inanimate, and **to Purushôttama** (Vishṇu), the lord of Lakshmî (l. 13),—for the increase of the religious merit and

[23] Metre, Vasantatilaka.—The metre is faulty here ; and we must correct *asya* into *êshâṁ*.
[24] Metre, Śâlinî.
[25] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[26] Metre, Mâlinî.
[27] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ.
[28] Read *buddhvâ*.
[29] i.e. *dûtakaḥ*.
[30] and [31] What offices are denoted by these two abbreviations, is not apparent. Possibly the two words are a mistake for one word, *upari°*, which would stand for *uparikô*.

the fame of Our parents and of Ourself (l. 17), (by Us, *viz.*) by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the illustrious **Vaijalladêva**[32] (l. 18), **who belongs to the Châhuyâṇa lineage** (l. 17), for the purpose of feeding fifty new Brâhmaṇs[33] in the southern division in **(the village of) Khaṇḍôhaka** (l. 18), the above-mentioned **village of Âlaviḍagâmva**, with certain rights and privileges that are specified, but exclusive of the rights of enjoyment of gods and Brâhmaṇs, is given by this charter to the charitable alms-house (*sattrâgâra*) at **Khaṇḍôhaka** (l. 21).

" [In lines 21 to 31 the grantor gives an injunction to future rulers to continue the grant; and quotes seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And his speech ends with the word *iti*, in line 31.]"

Line 31 contains the date of **the year 1231, the month Kârttika, the bright fortnight, the civil day 13, on Wednesday**; which must denote the day on which the charter was written or assigned.

And the inscription ends with the record that the *Dûtaka* is the *Pratîhâra* **Sôbhanadêva**; followed by the words "this is the sign-manual (*sva-hasta*) of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the illustrious **Vaijalladêva**; and by the mention of an official named Vâmadêva, whose post and connection with the grant are not quite clear.

SUDI AND VADI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

As regards the true signification of **the expressions śu. di. and va. di.**, and their use in ancient records, I, of course, entirely concur in the views expressed by Mr. Fleet, in a note on p. 147 of Vol. XVI of this Journal. But there can, in my opinion, be no doubt that, **in more modern times**, the Hindus have looked upon *śudi* or *sudi*, and *vadi* or *badi*, as *words*, and have taken the former to be equivalent to *śukla-pakshê* 'in the bright half,' and the latter to *kṛishṇa-pakshê* 'in the dark half' of a month.

In grammar, one would naturally look for these terms, if they should have been regarded as independent words, in the gaṇa *svarâdi*; and it is instructive to note that, while in the **Kâśikâ-Vṛitti**, composed about A.D. 650, there occurs neither *śudi* nor *vadi* among the *svarâdi*, the **Gaṇaratnamahôdadhi**, which we know to have been compiled about A.D. 1140, does contain *sudi*, explained by *śukla-pakshê*, in that gaṇa; and the quite modern **Gaṇaratnâvali** enumerates among the *svarâdi* both *śudi* and *vadi*, explained by *śukla-pakshê* and *kṛishṇa-pakshê* respectively.

And I am even able to quote **several dates** in which the terms *sudi* and *vadi* have actually been coupled with a *tithi* or lunar day; a proceeding which may be utterly illogical, but which shows that the writers had altogether forgotten the original meaning of *sudi* and *vadi*, and that, to them, these terms were synonymous with *śukla-pakshê* and *kṛishṇa-pakshê*, and nothing else.

1.—From a photolithograph in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XX. plate xxii., we learn that on the pillar of a temple at 'Dubkund,' about 76 miles south-west of Gwâlior, there is a short inscription, dated—

Saṁvat 1152 Vaiśâsha(kha)-**sudi-paṁchamyâṁ**,—

i.e. 'on the fifth (lunar day) of *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) of Vaiśâkha, of the year 1152.'

2.—In Professor Peterson's valuable *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 156, the date of the completion of a commentary on the *Bhavabhâvanâ* is given in the following verse,—

Saptatyadhik-aikâdaśa-varshaśatair=Vikramâd=atikrâṁtaiḥ ।
nishpannâ vṛittir=iyaṁ Śrâvaṇa-**vadi-paṁchamî**-divasê ॥

---

[32] See note 17 above.
[33] The exact force of *apûrva* is not evident. But it seems to indicate fifty fresh Brâhmaṇs, who had not been fed on any previous occasion, and who perhaps had just come to establish themselves in the village, or at the *sattrâgâra*.

i.e. 'this commentary was completed on the day (on which ended) the fifth (lunar day) of *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half) of Śrâvaṇa, when eleven hundred years increased by seventy had gone by since Vikrama.'

3.—From my own *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 46, it will be seen that a copy of Hêmachandra's *Śabdânuśâsana-laghuvṛitti* was completed, at Stambhatîrtha,—

Saṁvat 1315 varshê Chaitra-**vadi-chaturthî**-dinê Vu(bu)dha-vârê,—

i.e. 'in the year 1315, on the day (on which ended) the fourth (lunar day) of *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half) of Chaitra, on a Wednesday.'

4.—From Śîlaratnasûri's commentary on Mêrutuṅga's *Mêghadûta*, an extract of which is given in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 249, we learn (verse 4) that the author completed his work, at Aṇahillapâṭaka,—

Varshê chaṁdra-nidhâna-pûrva-1491-kalitê śrî-Vikramârkât=tathâ

Chaitr-âṁtar=**vadi-paṁchamî**-Budhadinê śrêshṭh-Ânurâdhâ-yutê | —

i.e. 'in the year, (reckoned) from the glorious Vikramârka, (which is) made up of the moon (1), the treasures (9), and the *Pûrvas* (14, *i.e.* in) 1491; in (the month) Chaitra, on a Wednesday, the fifth (lunar day) of *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half), coupled with the excellent (*nakshatra*) Anurâdhâ.'

5.—In Professor Peterson's *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1882-83, p. 94, we read—

Saṁvad=grah-âśva-muni-bhû-jñâtê mâsê Madhau **sudi** |

trayôdaśyâṁ Sôma-vârê samâptô=yaṁ Sukh-ôdadhiḥ ||

i.e. 'this ocean of pleasure was completed on a Monday, on the thirteenth (lunar day in) *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) in the month Madhu (*i.e.* Chaitra), in the year known by the planets (9), the horses (7), the sages (7), and the earth (1; *i.e.* in 1779).'

These dates, the wording of three of which, at any rate, is proved by the metre to be indisputable (and the number of which might easily be increased), will suffice to show that from about A.D. 1100 *sudi* and *vadi* were really interchangeable with *śukla-pakshê* and *kṛishṇa-pakshê*, and that they were used in these senses both by themselves and also in composition with preceding or following words. And such being the case, we cannot be surprised to find *sudi* and *vadi* also coupled with the new-moon and full-moon *tithis*, and with the *tithi* called *pratipad* or *pratipadâ*, as, *e.g.*, in the following dates:—

6.—A copper-plate grant of Vîrasiṁha, published by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Jour. Americ. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 542, is dated—

Saṁvat 1177 Kârttika-**vadi amâvâsyâṁ**[1] Ravi-dinê,—

i.e. 'on Sunday, on the new-moon (*tithi* or lunar day, in) *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half) of Kârttika, of the year 1177.'

7.—The 'Raiwân' plate of Gôvindachandradêva, published by Dr. Führer in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, is dated, in line 18,—

Saṁvat 1187[2] Mârgga-**sudi paurṇṇi(rṇa)mâsyâṁ tithau** Sôma-dinê,—

i.e. 'on Monday, on the full-moon *tithi* (or lunar day, in) *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) of Mârgaśîrsha, of the year 1187.'

8.—The Alha-Ghaṭ inscription of Narasiṁhadêva, of which a photolithograph is given in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. plate xxviii., and of which I owe a rubbing to Mr. Fleet, is dated—

Saṁvat 1216 Bhâdra-**sudi-pratipadâ** Ravau,—

i.e. 'the first lunar day of *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) of Bhâdrapada of the year 1216, on a Sunday.'

Although dates like these prove that the later grammarians certainly did not invent the meanings which they have assigned to *sudi* and *vadi*, in actual usage the connection of these terms with a *tithi* must nevertheless be regarded as exceptional; for, in the majority of cases *sudi* and *vadi* are even in later dates followed by a numeral figure, while the word denoting a

[1] Dr. Hall has altered *amâvâsyâṁ*, unnecessarily, to *amâvâsyâyâṁ*.

[2] See page 57 above.

tithi is as regularly preceded by *śukla-paksha, krishṇa-paksha, śukla, krishṇa, sita, asita,* or some similar expression. And judging from the large number of dates before me, I feel little hesitation in saying that the two terms retained their original signification, and were felt to be what they really are, abbreviations of two separate words, up to about the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. At any rate, I may be permitted to point out that, if an expression like *sudi-pañchamyâm,* which we have met with in the date No. 1 above, had been habitually employed in *earlier* times, we might certainly expect to read *sudi-pañchamyâm,* instead of *sita-pañchamyâm,* in the following verse, which occurs in my *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 9, and in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 149 :—

Saṁvatsara-śata-navakê dvishashṭi-sahitê=tilaṁghitê ch=âsyâḥ ı
Jyêshṭhê[3] **si(si)ta-paṁchamyâṁ** Punarvvasau Guru-dinê [samâptir=abhût ıı]

i.e. 'and this (work) was completed when nine hundred and sixty-two years had gone by, in (the month) Jyaishṭha, on the fifth (lunar day) of the bright (half), on a Thursday, (the moon being) in (the *nakshatra*) Punarvasu.'

In conclusion, I may add that some of the dates quoted above are of considerable interest, for various reasons, which I shall have occasion to state fully in a separate paper.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

No. 29.

THE JESSAMINE KING.

In a certain country there lived a petty king called the **Jessamine King** (Mallikairâjan), because **when he laughed** the country, for ten *kôs* round, became **fragrant with the scent of jessamines**; provided his laughter was not forced, but came naturally to him. His fame soon spread throughout the world, and **many came to see him,** and to wait for a chance of enjoying the scent he gave out. **The Emperor,** however, to whom the Jessamine King paid his tribute, **sent for him** in the pride of his superiority, and in obedience to the mandate, the Jessamine King went to his master, who tried in several ways to make him laugh, but in vain. After trying all he could the Emperor grew hopeless of success, and thinking that his vassal was impertinent, sent him to prison. So the poor Jessamine King, for no fault of his own, was imprisoned.

Now just opposite the prison there lived a deformed cripple with whom the Emperor's wife had an unlawful intimacy. She was in the habit of going to him at the tenth *ghaṭikâ* of every night with pudding and sweetmeats, and remaining with him the whole night. Several people knew of this, and the Jessamine King was informed of it by the jailor, but he never seemed to take any notice of it.

One night the emperor's wife came rather later than usual, at which the cripple became highly enraged, and kicked and struck her with his deformed legs and hands. She bore it all patiently and without a murmer, and gave him the sweetmeats and other things as before. After eating his fill, the cripple thought within himself :—"What have I been doing to-day! I have severely punished a woman who is my protectress. Notwithstanding my intimacy with her, she is a woman of high rank. Perhaps she will discontinue her visits to me."

Thinking thus he spoke to her :—"My dear! you must excuse my kicks! Were they very severe ?"

"No, my love!" said she. "I am as happy after them, as one who has travelled over the fourteen worlds."

---

[3] Not *Jyêshṭhêsitapaṁchamyâṁ,* i.e., *Jyêshṭhê asita-paṁchamyâṁ,* as given in Professor Peterson's Report. The corresponding day, for the bright half of Jyaishtha, of the southern Vikrama year 962, expired, is Thursday, 1st May, A.D. 906, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon *was* in Punarvasu up to about 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

Now below the verandah in which this conversation was held, there was wandering about a washerman, who had lost an ass some days before. He had searched everywhere, but was not able to find it. After spending the earlier part of the night in looking for it, he rested himself under the verandah for a short time, and there he heard a woman saying that she was as happy as one who had travelled over the fourteen worlds, and he mistook her for a great traveller. "Surely she must have met my ass somewhere or other," thought he, and getting up as once, he fell at her feet with tears in his eyes, saying "Mother! have you seen my lost ass?"

The Jessamine King had been watching all this, and as soon as the washerman fell at the wicked Empress's feet saying "Mother, have you seen my lost ass?" he could not contain his laughter. He laughed till his sides were like to split, and lo! all around the sweet jessamine scent began to play.

The servants of the emperor, who were ordered by his Majesty to rouse him at the first sign of the jessamine scent at whatever time it might appear, now aroused him from his sleep. The emperor got up and thought to himself, "I tried my best to make my vassal laugh, and used all the means I could, but I failed altogether. What can be the reason for his laughter at this hour of the night? I will send for him."

As soon as the Jessamine King was sent for, he made his appearance in due obedience to the Emperor's mandate, and did his best to conceal the reason of his laughter from him. But finding at last that his life was at stake he told the whole story. So the end of it all was that the Emperor sent his wife and the cripple to the gallows, and the Jessamine King to his own country.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.
No. XIV.

Journal-Asiatique for 1887 (Vols. IX. and X).

(1) *January* 1887.—M. Urbain Bouriant describes an interesting find of three leaves of a **Coptic Romance of Alexander.** These were discovered amongst a number of **Theban MSS.** purchased at Akhmîm by M. Maspero for the Bibliothèque Nationale. They are three detached fragments, and the rest of the work cannot be found. This is the first work of fiction of Coptic origin which has been discovered. M. Bouriant gives the text and translation of the fragments. The MS. is doubly interesting because the **Romance of Alexander** appears to have **had its origin in Egypt,** whence it was at least partly borrowed and translated into Greek by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, **from which the various western versions of the legend have sprung. An Oriental version** of the story of Alexander **had its origin in Persia,** and has been recorded by many authors, from Firdûsî downwards. This version is, however, almost certainly, **to be referred ultimately to the western version** of the Pseudo-Callisthenes for its origin. The present Coptic MS. appears to be probably a modernized edition of the ancient Egyptian original of both these versions.

The next paper consists of translated extracts by M. De Harlez of the **Tchou-tze-tsieh-yao-tchuen,** or summary of the essential principles of the philosophy of Tchou-tze.[1] It was written in the year 1602 by a disciple of that philosopher, named K'ao-pen-long. The extracts translated are Chapter III., on the perfecting of instruction, and Chapter V., on the obligation to subdue and correct oneself.

The number concludes with an examination of the text of the **Moabite Stone,** by M. Clermont-Ganneau, with special reference to a recent work on the same subject by MM. Smend and Socin. The paper being one of textual controversy cannot be summarised.

(2) *February-March,* 1887,—opens with an account of another **Coptic MS.** by M. E. Amélineau, of the French Archæological Mission in Egypt. The document is historical, written in the 13th century, and deals with the **martyr John of Phanijôit.** The author was a priest named Mark, a disciple of Michael, Bishop of Bubastis (or Zagazig) and Belbéis. The martyr John was a Christian, who turned Musalmân in order to marry a woman of that faith. On her death he returned to Christianity, and, filled with remorse, endeavoured to persuade 'the king' at Cairo to return him the documents relating to his first apostasy. He was at first treated as a

[1] I spell these words as they are transliterated in French. I have not ventured to spell them in the English fashion.—G. A. G.

madman, but finally made himself so obnoxious, that he was put to death. The king referred to is Muhammad Abû'l-Fatḥ, surnamed Al-Malik al-Kâmil. The paper contains notices of contemporary history and geography, together with the text and translation of the whole work.

Next follows a continuation of M. Abel Bergaigne's **Researches into the history of the Ṛig-Vêda.** These have been already referred to more than once. His main theory may briefly be described as follows:—He takes the well known *adhyâya* division of the *Ṛig-Vêda*. There are 64 of these divisions, all of which should be of about equal length. Some *adhyâyas*, however, exceed the proper length in a degree which cannot be explained in any satisfactory way, and it hence follows that they contain interpolations of later date. By a series of elaborate and ingenious calculations, he is able to point out the passages which he suspects to be interpolated. It would be impossible to give a satisfactory account of his full theory in a summary like the present. I may add here that his conclusions are combated by Dr. H. Oldenberg in the 41st Vol. of the *Zeitsch. des Morgenland. Gesell.* (p. 508 and ff.); and that on p. 488 of Vol. X. of the *Journal Asiatique*, M. Bergaigne replies to Dr. Oldenberg, and also denies that he is indebted for any portion of his theory to Mr. Pincott.

(3) *Volume X.*—commences with an interesting paper by M. J. Darmesteter, on **Points of Contact between the Shâh Nâma and the Mahâbhârata.** He takes for his text the *Mahâprasthânikaparva* of the later work, and the account of the Renunciation of Kai Khusrû in the former. There is a great resemblance between the final scenes of the life of Yudhishṭhira, and of the Persian hero, and M. Darmesteter, after dealing with them in some detail, comes to the conclusion that the portion of the *Mahâbhârata* in which the episode is described is a later addition, and that the original version is the Persian one contained in the *Shâh Nâma*. The legend probably filtered into India between the Scythic invasion and the 6th or 7th century of our era, but nearer to the earlier than the later epoch. The story of the renunciation and the ascent into heaven of Kai Khusrû, has not only travelled eastwards from Persia, but has also been adopted in the East. We find it, in the 12th century, attached to the patriarch Enoch, in a Jewish work, the Book of the Just (*Sefer Hayyashar*), which collects all the legends formed round the *Book of Genesis*.

The next article, by M. Victor Loret, deals with the **Sacred Perfume of the ancient Egyptians,** called *kyphi*. The Greek authors Dioscorides, Plutarch, and Galen, have transmitted to us *recipes* for its composition; and similar formulæ have also of late been discovered in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, dating from the reign of Ptolemy VII. The author utilizes these two sets of directions for the identification of a number of Egyptian names of plants and drugs.

A note by M. Clément Huart on the Musalmân religious movement called **Bâbism,** and another by M. de Rochemonteix on the identification of some **Egyptian place-names,** conclude the number.

(4) The second number of Vol. X. commences with a study on the **Arabic dialect of Damascus,** by Mgr. David, Syrian archbishop of that city. The article is supplementary to one written on the same subject by M. Huart in 1883. It includes notes on pronunciation, orthography, inflexion, and vocabulary.

The next article is a summing up by M. H. Sauvaire of his series of papers on the **numismatics and metrology of the Musalmâns.** The article principally consists of valuable lists of prices of necessaries from the 7th to the 17th centuries A. D.

This is followed by the text and translation of the **History of King Na'amân of Khurasân,** an Arab tale in the vulgar dialect of Syria. It is communicated by M. A. Barthélemy. It is a story worthy of the Arabian Nights.

M. Urbain Bouriant next gives us some further fragments of the **Theban Romance of Alexander** already mentioned. Three more leaves of the MS. have been discovered at Akhmîm, by the author, who gives text, translation, and notes.

Two reviews conclude the number. One refers to Dr. W. Radloff's examples of the popular **literature of the North Turkish tribes,** and the other deals with two **grammars of the dialect of Algeria.**

(5). *Part III. of Vol. X.*—commences with three **vocabularies of Dialects of Berber by M.** René Basset. They were collected in the course of two missions on which the author was sent by the Governor-General of Algeria. The first dialect is that spoken in Gourara and Touat. The second is the *argot* of Mzab, and the third the dialect of the Youaregs Anelimmiden.[2]

This is followed by notes by M. Barthélemy, principally on Grammar, on the **Arabic Story of Na'amân** dealt with by him in the previous number.

In the next paper, as already mentioned, M. Abel Bergaigne, writes a postscript to his paper on the division of the *Ṛig-Vêda* into *adhyâyas*

[2] These words are spelt as in the original.—G. A. G.

in which he replies to the criticisms of Prof. Oldenberg, and rejects the claims to the discovery put forward by Mr. Pincott in *J. R. A. S.*, Vols. XVI. and XIX.

M. Clermont Ganneau gives a fourth instalment of his notes on **Arab Epigraphy and History.** The present paper contains a critique of Dr. Gildemeister's article on an Arabic inscription found at Bâniâs, the ancient Paneas, in Galilee, which appeared in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. X., pp. 168 and ff., and a note on the bridge constructed at Lydda by Sultân Baibars.

A transcription and translation by M. Oppert, of **a Babylonian contract concerning a slave,** is the most interesting portion of the miscellaneous notes which conclude the volume.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 24.

In the Bagumrâ copper-plate grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa Mahâsâmantâdhipati Kṛishṇarâja II. of Gujarât, published, with a Plate, by Dr. Hultzsch in this Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 65 ff., the date (from the published text and lithograph; Plate ii. *b*, line 11 f.) is — Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-savatchhara (*read* saṁvatsara)-śatêshv=ashṭasu dah-ôtarêshu (*read* daś-ôttarêshu) Chaitrê amâvâsyâ(*read* Chaitr-âmâvâsyâ)-sûryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi, — "in eight centuries, increased by ten, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; **at the conjunction of an eclipse of the sun** on the new-moon *tithi* of (the month) Chaitra." And the charter records a grant of the village of Kavithasâḍhi, — which has been identified[1] with the modern Kôsâḍ in the Ôlpâḍ Tâlukâ of the Surat District, — by Kṛishṇarâja II., on this occasion, after bathing in the Narmadâ at the Bhagavat-tîrtha.

Here, again, a correct result can be obtained only by taking the given year 810 **as an expired year.**

Thus in Śaka-Saṁvat 810 current, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 ended on Sunday, 26th February, A.D. 887, at about 40 *ghaṭîs*, 4 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and the *amânta tithi*, on Tuesday, 28th March, at about 22 *gh.* 30 *p.* And on neither of these days was there an eclipse of the sun.

But, in **Śaka-Saṁvat 811 current (810 expired)**, while the *pûrṇimânta tithi* ended at about 24 *gh.* 11 *p.* on Saturday, 16th March, A. D. 888, on which day there was no solar eclipse, the **amânta Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 ended on Monday, 15th April, A.D. 888,** at about 5 *gh.*; **and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,**[2] which seems to have been visible in the south of India.

This result corroborates that obtained under No. 22 of these Calculations; and shews that **by this period the amânta southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights had permanently superseded the pûrṇimânta arrangement with the years of the Śaka era in Gujarât.**

No. 25.

In the Haḍḍâlâ copperplate grant of the Châpa Mahâsâmantâdhipati Dharaṇîvarâha, the feudatory of a king named Mahîpâladêva, **from the eastern part of Kâṭhiâwâḍ,** published by Dr. Bühler in this Journal, Vol. XII. page 190 ff., it is recorded that Dharaṇîvarâha, who was residing (Plate ii. line 1 f.) at Vardhamâna, which has been identified by Dr. Bühler with the modern Waḍhwâṇ in the Jhâlâwâḍ Prânt in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, granted the village of Viṅkala to a Brâhmaṇ, — (Plate ii. line 12) udagayana-mahâparvaṇi,—"**at the great festival or conjunction of the udagayana,**" *i.e.* at the winter solstice, which is to be taken as represented by **the Makara-saṁkrânti** or entrance of the Sun into Capricornus. And towards the end, we have the full details (Plate ii. line 21) of — Śaka-Saṁvat 836 Pausha śu di 4 uttarâyaṇê,—"the Śaka year 836; (the month) Pausha; the bright fortnight; the (civil) day 4, (and, with it, the fourth *tithi*); **at the uttarâyaṇa,**" *i.e.*, again, at (the festival of) the winter solstice.

Here, again, a correct result can be obtained only by taking the given year **as an expired year.**

Thus, in Śaka-Saṁvat 836 current, Pausha śukla 4 ended at about 45 *ghaṭîs*, 45 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Saturday, 4th December, A.D. 913; eighteen days before the *Makara-saṁkrânti*, which occurred at about 52 *gh.* 31 *p.* on Wednesday, 22nd December.

[1] *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 100 f.

[2] Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 200, 201, and Plate 100.

But, in **Saka-Samvat 837 current (836 expired), Pausha sukla 4 ended on Friday, 23rd December, A.D. 914,** at about 36 *gh.* 58 *p.*; **and the Makara-saṁkrânti occurred on the same day,** at about 8 *gh.* 4 *p.*; and any rites and ceremonies connected with it would be performed on that same day.

Dr. Bühler's published text gives the year 839; which is also quoted in his introductory remarks; though in his translation the year is given as 836. For the year 839. however, whether it is taken as current or as expired, correct results cannot be obtained. Thus, in Śaka-Saṁvat 839 current, Pausha śukla 4 ended at about 34 *gh.* 22 *p.* on Saturday, 30th November, A.D. 916; twenty-two days before the *Makara-saṁkrânti*, which occurred at about 39 *gh.* 7 *p.* on Sunday, 22nd December. And in Śaka-Saṁvat 840 current (839 expired), Pausha śukla 4 ended at about 41 *gh* 59 *p.* on Saturday, 20th December, A.D. 917; two days before the *Makara-saṁkrânti*, which occurred at about 54 *gh.* 39 *p.* on Monday, 22nd December, and the rites and ceremonies of which, moreover, would not be celebrated till the following day, Tuesday. The published text fortunately includes a reproduction of the original figures; of which the last seemed to me, at first sight, clearly to mean 6, and to be a transitional form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure. And the results shew that **the real reading undoubtedly is the year 836.**

No. 26.

In the **Surat copper-plate grant of the Chaulukya prince Trilôchanapâla of Lâṭadêśa,** published with a Plate, by Mr. H. H. Dhruva in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 196 ff., the date (from the published lithograph; Plate iii. line 3 f.) is — Śâkê nava-śatair yuktê dvi-saptaty-adhikê tathâ Vikritê vatsarê Paushê mâsê pakshê cha tâmasê amâvâsyâ-tithau sûrya-parvaṇy=Aṅgâravârakê, — "in the Śaka (*year*) that is possessed of (*the number of*) nine centuries and is increased by seventy-two; **in the year Vikṛita**; in the month Pausha, and in the dark fortnight, on the new-moon *tithi*; **at the conjunction (of an eclipse) of the sun; on Aṅgaravâraka, or Tuesday."** And the charter records a grant of the village of Erathâṇa, — identical, as pointed out by Mr. H. H. Dhruva, with the modern Erthâṇ in the Ôlpâḍ Tâlukâ of the Surat District, — to a Brâhmaṇ, on this occasion, by Trilôchanapâla, who was then at the Agastya-tîrtha on the shore of the western ocean.

That the given Śaka year 972 is to be applied as **an expired year,** is shewn by the mention of **the Vikṛita saṁvatsara** of the Sixty-year Cycle of Jupiter, which by the mean-sign system of the cycle was current at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 971 current, but **by the southern luni-solar system** was coincident with Śaka-Saṁvat 973 current (A.D. 1050-51). In this year, the *pûrṇimânta* Pausha kṛishna 15 ended, not on a Tuesday, but on Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1050, at about 52 *ghaṭis*, 49 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and on this day there was no eclipse of the sun. But, in accordance with what we have now found to be the regular arrangement of the lunar fortnights for the years of the Śaka era in Gujarât, in this period, **the amânta Pausha kṛishṇa 15 ended, as required, on Tuesday, 15th January, A.D. 1051,** at about 24 *gh.* 28 *p.*; **and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,**[3] which seems to have been visible in the south of India.

In publishing this inscription, **Mr. H. H. Dhruva translated** the words *amâvâsyâ-tithau sûrya-parvaṇi* by "on the day of the new-moon, that of the solstitial festival." But, that this is not correct, and that *sûrya-parvaṇi* is only used, under metrical necessities, for the more complete and more customary expression *sûrya-grahaṇa-parvaṇi*, is shewn by the fact that in the same year the winter solstice, as represented by the *Makara-saṁkrânti* or entrance of the sun into Capricornus, occurred at about 19 *gh.* 31 *p.* on Monday, 24th December, A.D. 1050; which day is not in agreement with the given *tithi* by either the *amânta* or the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

J. F. FLEET.

THE SPURIOUS GURJARA GRANTS OF THE SAKA YEARS 400, 415, AND 417.

At page 56 above. I have stamped the Ântrôli-Chhârôli grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 679 (expired) as giving the earliest reliable instance, that I can

[3] Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 216, 217 and Plate 108.

find. of the use of the Śaka era in Gujarât, in a date that affords details for calculation.

In doing so, I excluded intentionally **the Bagumrâ grant of Dadda-Prasântarâga,** which purports to be dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 415 (*ante,* Vol. XVII p. 183 ff.), and **the Ilâô grant of the** same person, which purports to be dated in Śaka-Samvat 417 (*ante,* Vol. XIII. p. 115 ff). For, even after full consideration of the arguments put forward by Dr. Bühler in his article on the Bagumrâ grant, I cannot see my way clear to admitting the genuineness of these records; and of **the Umêtâ grant of the same person** (*ante,* Vol VII. p. 61 ff.), which purports to be dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 400, but with no details that can be tested.

I have, however, no leisure to consider this matter from all the points of view that are concerned. And therefore, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji being now deceased, I hope that someone else will take up the general question. Meanwhile, I would draw attention to **the following points :—**

(1) There was no solar eclipse at all, visible or invisible, on the date, Jyêshṭha kṛishna 15, mentioned in **the Bagumrâ grant** of Śaka-Saṁvat 415, whether the year is applied as current, or as expired.

In the year 415 current, the given *tithi* corresponds, either to Tuesday, the 12th May, or to Wednesday, the 10th June, A.D. 492, according as the *pûrṇimânta* or the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights is applied. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 10th July;[1] which date corresponds to the *pûrṇimânta* Śrâvaṇa, or the *amânta* Âshâdha, kṛishṇa 15.

In the year 416 current (415 expired), the given *tithi* corresponds in the same way, either to Saturday, the 1st May. or to Monday, the 31st May, A.D. 493. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 29th June;[2] which date corresponds again to the *pûrṇimânta* Śrâvana, or the *amânta* Âshâdha, kṛishṇa 15. And this eclipse was taken by Dr. Bühler as the one that is probably intended; with the suggestion that "the discrepancy in the name of the month "may have been caused by a mistake of the "writer, or by an erroneous intercalation." This suggestion would apply equally well to the eclipse of the 10th July, A.D. 492. But there was no intercalary month either in Śaka-Saṁvat 415 current, or in 416. And therefore it is difficult to see how the mistake can be justified, for either year, on that score at any rate; unless by some backward calculation, such as I shall suggest further on.

(2) As regards the date, again Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15, and again with an eclipse of the sun, mentioned in **the Ilâô grant** of Śaka-Saṁvat 417:—

In the year 417 current, the given *tithi* corresponds in the same way, either to Thursday, the 21st April. or to Friday, the 20th May, A.D. 494 On neither of these days was there an eclipse of the sun, visible or invisible. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 19th June;[3] which date corresponds to the *pûrṇimânta* and *amânta* intercalated Âshâḍha krishṇa 15.

If the intercalary month could be placed before Âshâḍha, this date would then correspond, in the same way, either to the *pûrṇimânta* natural Âshâḍha, or to the *amânta* natural Jyêshṭha, Kṛishṇa 15. But, as a matter of fact, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, by actual calculation of the places of the sun and the moon according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta,* and also by the rule for mean intercalations, that the intercalary month was Âshâḍha, and no other; and that the intercalated fortnights must have been named Âshâḍha, as according to the present practice. Only by the verse *Mêsh-âdi-sthê savitari* &c., could they receive the name of Jyêshṭha; and then the 19th June would be the new-moon day of Jyêshṭha by the *amânta* arrangement, and by that only. By no means whatever can the date in question be made to correspond to the new-moon day of the *pûrṇimânta* Jyêshṭha.

In the year 418 current (417 expired), the given *tithi* corresponds, in the same way, either to the 10th May, or to the 8th June, A.D. 495. On each of these days there was an eclipse of the sun.[4] And, subject to the question as to whether an eclipse should be visible or need not be so, either of these eclipses might be accepted as the one intended, according as we apply the *pûrṇimânta* or the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

(3) But, **a uniform process must be followed in respect of the two grants;** considering that the charters purport to be issued by the same person, and that there is only an interval of two years between them. And we must also see how they can be made to harmonise, **without any change in the name of the given month,** which is the point in respect of which there is the least likelihood of a mistake.

[1] See von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse,* pp. 162, 163.—It was not visible in India. But this point need not, for the present, be taken into consideration.

[2] This eclipse, also, was not visible in India: see von Oppolzer's *Canon,* pp. 162, 163, and Plate 81.

[3] This eclipse was visible in Gujarât, and in other parts of India.

[4] Neither of these eclipses was visible in India.

If the year 417 of the Ilâô grant is taken as expired, we have either the eclipse of the 10th May, A.D. 495, which day corresponds quite regularly to the *pûrṇimânta* Jyêshṭha kṛishna 15; or that of the 8th June, A.D. 495, which day corresponds quite regularly to the *amânta* Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15. But, to match it, **taking the year 415 of the Bagumrâ grant as expired,** we have only one eclipse, that of the 29th June, A.D. 493. And if, by the introduction of an erroneous intercalation, the new-moon of Jyêshṭha is brought to this date, this can only be effected by using the *amânta* month.

Again, **if the year 417 of the Ilâô grant is taken as current,** we have only one eclipse, that of the 19th June, A. D. 494. If, by assuming an erroneous intercalation, or by adopting the more ancient rule of the *Brahma-Siddhânta* for naming the intercalated fortnights, the new-moon of Jyêshṭha is brought to this date, this again can only be effected by using the *amânta* month. And, to match it, **taking the year 415 of the Bagumrâ grant as current,** we have only one eclipse, that of the 10th July, A. D. 492. And, if the new-moon of Jyêshṭha is brought to this date, this can only be effected again by introducing an erroneous intercalation, and again by using the *amânta* month.

(4) **Thus,** whether the years are taken as current or as expired, **the possibility of obtaining uniform results rests entirely upon the use of the amânta arrangement of the lunar fortnights,** for a period in which it is not at all likely that this arrangement was used with the years of the Śaka era, even in Gujarât: supposing that the era itself was then used there, which I do not believe to be possible.

(5) On the other hand, **the amânta arrangement** is the one that, irrespective of the scheme of the year for the civil reckoning in any particular part of the country, **was habitually used by Hindu astronomers for purposes of calculation.** This is the arrangement that would, as a matter of course, be applied by the calculator, employed by the forger of a grant, to reckon back for a real, or possibly real, eclipse. And so, **if we only refer the fabrication of these grants to the period when the amânta arrangement had permanently superseded the pûrṇimânta arrangement for the Saka years,** everywhere except in Northern India and in those parts of Central India in which the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement is still preserved,—in consequence of which fact, even if he had any means of ascertaining that the arrangement had been different in the period, and in the particular part of the country, for which he was calculating, **the calculator might easily forget to substitute the pûrṇimânta for the amânta months in his results,**—then, admitting, **in respect of the Bagumrâ grant, an erroneous intercalation, or even a mistake of a month,** either of which would be quite possible in calculating back for so long a time, **we have a very simple explanation of the circumstances under which these grants were fabricated** with a plausible approach to accuracy.

J. F. FLEET.

THE YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

Some time ago,[1] I heard from **Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar,** of Bhaunagar, that, in the western part of Kâthiâwâḍ, there is current **a year commencing with the Âshâḍha sukla 1** that precedes the Kârttika śukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences; and that this year is called **the Hâlâri year,** as belonging specially to the Hâlâr Prânt or Sub-Division of Kâṭhiâwâḍ.

Since then, **Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit** has ascertained from a merchant of the Hâlâr Prânt, now resident at Bârsî, that, in addition to that part of the country, **this year is at present in use** at Amrêlî, Dâmnagar, and Jaitpur or Jêtpur, in **Kâṭhiâwâḍ.** And he has seen letters from Kâṭhiâwaḍ, addressed to the same merchant, in which, before the month of Âshâḍha of Śaka-Saṁvat 1810 (expired) (A.D. 1888-89), the Vikrama year is quoted as 1944 (expired); and after Âshâdha śukla 1, as 1945 (expired). He has also ascertained **that the same year is in use at Îḍar in the Mahi-Kâṇṭhâ Agency,** about sixty-four miles north-east of Ahmadâbâd, and within a radius of about fifty miles round that place; but that there **the year commences,** according to one informant, **with the amânta Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 2,** and according to another, with **Âshâḍha sukla 2.** And in a *Pañchâṅg* for A.D. 1888-89, printed at the Union Press, **Ahmadâbâd,** he has found in the *saṁvatsara-phala* the passage — saṁvat 1944 **Âshâḍh-âdi-saṁvat 1945** Śaka 1810 asmin varshê Śârvari-nâma-saṁvatsaraḥ agrê . . . . . . Kârttika-śu-12-Guruvâsarê Plava-samvatsara-pravêśaḥ,—"the (*southern Vikrama*) year 1944 (*expired*), **the (Vikrama) year, beginning with Âshâḍha, 1945** (*expired*); Śaka 1810 (*expired*); in this year (*i.e. on Chaitra śukla* 1), (*there is*) the *saṁvatsara* named Śârvarî [by the mean-sign system]: later on, ... on Thursday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kârttika, there commences the Plava *saṁvatsara*."

These notes are now issued in the hope that they may lead to the collection of **additional**

[1] See *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 79, note 1.

information regarding the origin and use of this curious year; its initial day in different parts of the country, and the reason for any differences in that respect; and whether the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights is anywhere used in connection with it.

J. F. FLEET.

THE AMBARNATH INSCRIPTION OF MAMVANI.

In the stone inscription of the Mahâmaṇḍalêsvara Mâmvâṇirâjadêva, at the temple of Ambarnâth[1] near Kalyâṇ in the Ṭhâṇâ District, the details of the date, according to **Dr. Bhau Daji's published text** (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, line 1) are — Śaka-Saṁvat 782 (in decimal figures), not specified either as current or as expired; Jyêshṭha śukla 9; on Śukra, *i. e.* Śukravâra or Friday. And according to his translation, altering only the name of the other *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* mentioned in line 6, which he misread, the inscription records that, on this day, certain officials of Mâmvâṇi constructed a house of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâjadêva; the concluding words being *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara - śrîma* [*ch**] - *Chhittarâjadêvasya bhavanaṁ saṁpâditaṁ*.

While, according to **Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's published text** (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 329), the details are—Śaka-Saṁvat 982 (in decimal figures); Śrâvaṇa śukla 9; on Śukra, *i.e.* Sukravâra or Friday. And, according to his translation, with the reading in line 6 which I have given above, on the day in question there was constructed a temple of the god of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâja.

Thus, while agreeing in respect of the lunar fortnight, the *tithi*, and the **week-day, Friday,** all of which items were quite certain,—**the two versions of this record differ in respect of the month, and, by two centuries, in respect of the year.**

By calculation, from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In Śaka-Saṁvat 782 current, the *tithi* Jyêshṭha śukla 9 ended on Sunday, 14th May, A.D. 859, at about 35 *ghaṭîs*, 1 *pala*, after mean sunrise, for Kalyâṇ;[2] and Śrâvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Wednesday, 12th July, at about 25 *gh.* 12 *p.*

In Śaka-Saṁvat 783 current (782 expired), Jyêshṭha śukla 9 ended, as required, on Friday, 3rd May, A.D. 860, at about 16 *gh.* 34 p.; with the month Âshâḍha intercalary, as entered in the Tables, Śrâvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Tuesday, 30th July, at about 15 *gh.* 42 *p.*; and, with Śrâvaṇa itself intercalary, or any subsequent month, instead of Âshâḍha, Śrâvaṇa śukla 9, of the intercalated or of the ordinary month as the case may be, ended on Sunday, 30th June, at about 52 *gh.* 8 *p.*

In Śaka-Saṁvat 982 current, Jyêshṭha śukla 9 ended on Sunday, 23rd May, A.D. 1059, at about 45 *gh.* 29 *p.*; and Śrâvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Wednesday, 21st July, at about 52 *gh.* 43 *p.*

And in Śaka-Saṁvat 983 current (982 expired), Jyêshṭha śukla 9 ended on Thursday, 11th May, A.D. 1060, at about 48 *gh.* 27 *p.*; and Śrâvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Monday, 10th July, at about 3 *gh.* 33 *p.*

Now, as regards **the merits of the published readings of this date,** each of which is accompanied by a lithograph,—Dr. Bhau Daji read the name of the month as Jêṭha, *i.e.* Jyêshṭha; and, in reading it as Śrâvaṇa, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji marked the second and third syllables as doubtful. But both the lithographs shew distinctly that, where the former read *ṭha* and the latter *vaṇa*, there is only one *akshara*, and that it is *shṭha*. And it follows that the preceding *akshara* can only be *jyê* or *jyai*; formed rather carelessly or anomalously in the original, or else not represented properly in the lithographs. As to the given year, the second and third figures are undoubtedly 8 and 2. The first figure is represented in both of the lithographs without any essential difference; except that in Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's it is rather more square and upright than in Dr. Bhau Daji's. And, in altering the interpretation of it from 7 to 9, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, while admitting that it closely resembles the modern Nâgarî 7,[3] relied on the arguments (1) that a similar "figure" occurs in the Valabhî grants and in them represents 9; and (2) that a very similar figure is to be found in the record of the year in an inscription of Bhôjadêva of Gwâlior,[4] dated in the (Vikrama) year 933, in which its value is distinctly given in words as 9. To these he might have added (3) that, in lines 4 and 5 of the same inscription of Bhôjadêva, in the details of the lands that were granted, we have forms of

---

[1] This is the modern name of the temple, as given, for instance, in *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, p. 29. In Dr. Bhau Daji's text, line 5, and in his translation, the name of the god is given as Âmranâtha. In his lithograph, it is rather doubtful whether the first two syllables are *âmra* or *âmva*. In Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's text, the name is given as Âmvanâtha; and in his translation as Ambanâtha; while, in his lithograph, the first two syllables are *amva*. It is evident that from every point of view, we require a proper mechanical facsimile, and a critical edition, of this inscription.

[2] The times here are for Kalyâṇ all through.

[3] The whole inscription is in Nâgarî characters; and it is of interest in furnishing one of the earliest instances of the use of those characters in Southern India.

[4] The reference is to the Gwâlior inscription, dated (Vikrama)-Saṁvat 933, Mâgha śukla and śu di 2; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 407 f., and Plate ii. No. 4 (see *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 108, notes 24, 25.

the figure 7, explained in words, which cannot be taken as closely resembling the first figure as given in either lithograph of the date now under discussion; though they do belong to the general type of the Nâgarî figure 7 of the period, and resemble pretty closely the figure 7 as it occurs in the date of the Sâmângaḍ grant of Dantidurga, of Śaka-Saṁvat 675 expired, *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 112, line 30, and Plate. But, omitting this last point, his conclusion, on the grounds actually put forward by him, was that "the date can be inferred to be 982;" the only difficulty,—which he sought to explain away by the supposition that, at this time, there were two figures in use for the same number,—being, that a totally different figure, to which no value but that of 9 can be assigned, is used in this record to denote the number of the *tithi*.

In the Valabhî grants, however, we are concerned with numerical symbols; not with decimal figures, as in the present record; and no analogy can be founded on them, beyond the general fact that the decimal figures were developed from the numerical symbols. Further, in the process of this development, the decimal figures that were arrived at, were not absolutely identical in different parts of the country; and we are dealing with very different parts, in respect of the Ambarnâth and Gwâlior inscriptions. Also, not one of the lithographs of the three inscriptions is a reliable mechanical reproduction; so that we do not know what are the exact forms, differing perhaps very slightly, though certainly in some detail of vital importance, which we have to compare or to contrast. Again, even if two forms of one and the same figure were ultimately arrived at, and were used, in one and the same part of the country, it is still impossible to believe that the risk of confusion would be incurred, by employing them in one and the same record. And finally, whatever may turn out to be the exact form of the figure now under discussion in the Ambarnâth inscription, both the lithographs, even as they stand, distinctly shew that it belongs to the general type of the Nâgarî 7, and not to that of the Nâgarî 9.

With the calculated results before us, which shew that a Friday cannot be obtained for Śrâvaṇa śukla 9 in any of the four years, even if the *tithi* were used as a current *tithi*,—for which application of it, however, there is in this case no justification,—on a consideration of all the facts of the case, it cannot be doubted that **Friday, 3rd May, A.D. 860,** is the proper English date; and that **the real reading of the text is** Śaka-saṁvata(t) 782 Jyêshṭha-śuddha-9-Su(śu)krê.

With his own reading of the date, **Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,**—relying also on the fact that the Ambarnâth inscription mentions a certain *Mahâpradhâna* Nâgaṇaiya as an officer of Mâmvâṇi, while the other record, now to be referred to, gives the name of a *Sarvâdhikârin* Nâgaṇaiya as an officer of Chhittarâja,—proceeded to identify these two officials as one, and to suggest that, "if this reading of the date be correct," the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâja of this inscription might be identified with the Śilâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâja who issued the Bhâṇḍûp grant,[5] dated in Saka-Saṁvat 948; and that Mâmvâṇi was probably his son or successor. And, in publishing the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of the Śilâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Anantadêva,[6] dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1016, **Mr. K. T. Telang** identified Mâmvâṇi with the Mummuṇi who is given in that record as a younger brother of the Chhittarâja by whom the Bhâṇḍûp charter was issued. The similarity in the names of Mâmvâṇi and Mummuṇi,[7] coupled in each instance with the proximity of the name of Chhittarâja, was sufficiently tempting to justify this identification; on the facts of the case, as they were then understood. **But we must now abandon these identifications;** the first two of which plainly were in reality factors that helped to induce Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's alteration in the interpretation of the Ambarnâth date, rather than deductions from that interpretation. And, if Mâmvâṇi belonged to the Śilâhâra family at all, he must be placed very much earlier in the genealogy; and perhaps before Kapardin I., with whom the list given in the Bhâṇḍûp grant commences, and who was eight generations anterior to Śaka-Samvat 948.

J. F. FLEET.

BOOK NOTICES.

COLLECTIONS SCIENTIFIQUES de L'INSTITUT des LANGUES ORIENTALES DU MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGÈRES. III. Manuscrits Persans, décrits par le Baron Victor Rosen. St. Petersburg, Eggers and Co. 1886. 8vo. pp. IV., and 369, with 3 photolithographs.

References to this work will have been met with more than once in the pages of this Journal in the notes on the Progress of European Scholarship. The Catalogue, it is hardly necessary to repeat, is a work of immense industry and learning, and in every way worthy of its author. It describes

[5] Published by Dr. Bühler, *ante*, Vol. V. p. 276 ff.

[6] *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 33.

[7] It may be noted that Dr. Bühler (*Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1877, p. 52) preferred to read the name in the Ambarnâth inscription as simply Vâṇi; *viz.* by taking *śrîmân=Vâṇi*, instead of *śrî-Mâmvâṇi*. But I think that, taking into consideration the construction in the text, both the lithographs are sufficiently reliable to shew that the real name is undoubtedly Mâmvâṇi.

minutely, with many an interesting *excursus*, the contents of 132 MSS., several of which are of great value. Most interesting of all is a copy of the *Divân* of Jâmî, believed to be in the poet's own handwriting, and three illuminated specimens of celebrated works remarkable for their exquisite caligraphy. Of the latter may be mentioned a copy of Nizâmî's five poems, which is adorned with several frontispieces, and twenty-four vignettes. Five of the latter have the remarkable peculiarity that the rocks, stones, trees, &c., are designed so as to present at the same time pictures of men and of animals. The effect is said to be most comical. No. 130, a small collection of *ghazals* by different authors, is noteworthy as being a perfect specimen of the handwriting of Mîr 'Alî Al-Husainî, one of the most celebrated scribes of the 10th century. The collection of Bâbî MSS. is complete, and gives Baron Rosen an excellent opportunity for a full description (with extracts) of their contents.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

DIE HANDSCHRIFTEN VERZEICHNISSE DER KÖNIGLICHEN BIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN. Fünfter Band, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prâkrit-Handschriften, von A. Weber. Zweiter Band, Zweite Abtheilung. Berlin, A. Asher & Co. 1888. 4to. pp. i-x., 355-827.

The second section of the second volume of **Prof. A. Weber's Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prâkrit MSS. in the Berlin Library,** follows the first after a short interval. It is in every way worthy of its predecessors. The present work deals with **Jaina Literature** falling under the head of **Siddhânta** : Full particulars will be found in Vols. XVI. and XVII. of the *Indische Studien*, and *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 279 and ff. The third section of the volume, which deals with **non-Siddhânta Jaina Literature,** and which will contain the Indices to the whole catalogue, is in the press, and will be looked forward to with interest as completing this great work. The section now under consideration describes 155 MSS. with all the care and minuteness which distinguishes previous volumes. The twelve *angas* occupy one-hundred and eighty-one pages, the twelve *upângas* seventy-two, the ten *painnas* (*prakîrnas*) fifteen, the six *chhêdasûtras* forty-nine, the *nandî* and the *annôgaddra-suttaṁ* (*anuyôgadvârasûtram*) forty-four, the four *mûlasûtras* one hundred, and miscellaneous texts five pages. Notices are also given of texts which form part of the *Siddhânta*, but which are not in the Berlin Library, and of the *Siddhânta* of the Digambaras. The greater portion of the work has been read in proof by Prof. Leumann, whom the author thanks not only for the correction of several misprints, but also for many suggestions.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. XXIII. Report of a Tour in the Pañjâb and Râjputânâ in 1883-84. By H. B. W. GARRICK, Assistant, Archæological Survey of India, under the Superintendence of of Major-General Sir A. Cunningham, K.C.I.E., &c., Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1887. Royal 8vo. pp. IV. and 142; with 28 plates.

This twenty-third volume of the **Reports of the Archæological Survey of India** closes the series edited by Sir A. Cunningham. It is altogether the work of Mr. Garrick, and does not contain a line written by his late chief, and it is, therefore, hardly necessary to add that the volume is of very slight value or interest. It is, perhaps, not quite so bad as the notorious Volume XIX. by the same writer. Still, it is so bad that it is almost impossible to pick out from the text any fact or observation deserving of notice.

The following passage, however, if the facts are correctly reported, is of some interest to students of **rude stone monuments** :—

" At Kûchêra, about two marches from Nâgaur (in Jôdhpur State), I observed some stone circles which measured from 12 to 15 feet in diameter, but the peasants informed me that their occurrence was due to a favourite recreation of the Râjput youth called *tâhar* or *ewârs*. This game—the mention of which quickly divested these circles of a mystical, or indeed any other significance, and which may perhaps account for the origin of such circles in other parts of India—is played in the following manner:—A sufficient number of large stone boulders (some of which would take a strong man to lift) are first arranged in a circle, and this circus is called *dhânnî*, 'a small village.' The young shepherds then heave smaller stones into this mock village, and he whose stone falls nearest the centre of the circle, where, it is said, the fattest cattle of the village are kept, gains a certain advantage over his fellows. I understand that the game is of very early origin, and it is locally said to be one of the *lîlâ*, or field sports, of the pastoral incarnation, Krishna."

This note is curious, but it obviously affords no explanation of megalithic circles, the sepulchral character of which has been abundantly proved.

I can find nothing else in the text which is worth quoting. The Plates are of some value, and include fairly good representations of buildings, both Muhammadan and Hindu, and a few inscriptions. Plate xxviii. gives a photographic reproduction of a squeeze of the rock-cut inscription at Tusâm in the Hisâr District, which is included in Mr. Fleet's volume on the inscriptions of the Gupta period. An imperfect inscription of late date from Bhatindâ, badly reproduced in Plate xxvii., is wrongly labelled as a Gupta inscription. The scale of the Chitôr inscriptions, given in Plates xx., xxi., and xxv., is inconveniently small.

25th August 1888. V. A. SMITH.

EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

(*Continued from* p. 73.)

No. 2.—EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST TARAMGA; CONCLUDED.

THE remainder of the first Taramga treats of **the dynasty of Gônanda III., and introduces** us to what purports to be a much more definite history, inasmuch as from this point there is given the duration of the reign of each king, and we have also the assumed starting-point of the accession of Gônanda III. in Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 1919 (expired), or B. C. 1182. For the period commencing with this point, Kalhaṇa does not quote any particular previous writers as his authority; and probably we come now to the details which, as he tells us in verse 15, were put together from his examination of the charters (*śâsana*) of previous kings recording the consecration of temples and grants to them, the laudatory inscriptions (*praśasti-paṭṭa*), and manuscripts (*śâstra*).

I subjoin a list of **the twenty-one kings of this dynasty,** with the supposed duration of the reign of each of them, and,—without at present entering on the question of adjustment,—with the year of the accession of each of them as deduced from the starting-point of the commencement of the reign of Gônanda III.

CONTINUATION OF LIST OF THE KINGS OF KAŚMÎR.

	Length of reign. y.	m.	d.
V. The Dynasty of Gônanda III.			
1. **Gônanda III.**; B.C. 1182; verses 185 to 191	35	0	0
His connection with his predecessor, Abhimanyu, is not stated. He continued the worship of the Nâgas (185), and restored the rites proclaimed by Nîla, thereby breaking the power of the *Bhikshus* or Bauddhas (186). He is mentioned (190) as an ancestor of Pravarasêna I., who will be introduced in Taraṁga iii. verse 97.			
2. **Vibhîshaṇa I.,** son of the preceding; B.C. 1147; verse 192	53	6	0
3. **Indrajit**; B.C. 1094; verse 193	35	0	0
His connection with his predecessor is not explained.			
4. **Râvaṇa,** son of the preceding; B.C. 1059; verses 193 to 195	30	6	0
He set up the *liṅga* called Vaṭêśvara (194), and endowed it with the whole country of Kaśmîr (195).			
5. **Vibhîshaṇa II.,** son of the preceding; B.C. 1028; verse 196	35	6	0
6. **Nara I., also called Kiṁnara,** son of the preceding; B.C. 993; verses 197 to 274	40	9	0
He was a wicked king, and brought much misfortune on the country (198). In consequence of his mistress being carried away by a *Śramaṇa,* who dwelt at the village of Kiṁnaragrâma (199), he burnt thousands of *vihâras,* and gave to the Brâhmaṇs the villages that had belonged to them (200). He built a town, which was called after him Narapura (244) or Kiṁnarapura (274), on the bank of the Vitastâ (202 and 260). This town was situated near Chakradhara (261 and 270), a Vaishṇava temple, whose name survives in the mound of Châkhdhar near Bîjbihâra (K. R. 18). King Nara fell in love with Chandralêkhâ, the daughter of the Nâga Suśravas, and the wife of a Brâhmaṇ named Viśâkha, who dwelt at the town of Narapura (203 to 253). Failing in his attempts to seduce her, he tried to take her by force from her husband (254 to 256). The Brâhmaṇ and his wife escaped and fled for protection to Suśravas, who destroyed the king and his town by thunderbolts (257 to 259). After the destruction of the city, the Khaśas became powerful (317).			

	Length of reign. y. m. d.
7. **Siddha,** son of the preceding; B.C. 952; verses 275 to 285	60 0 0
8. **Utpalâksha,** son of the preceding; B.C. 892; verse 286	30 6 0
9. **Hiraṇyâksha,** son of the preceding; B.C. 861; verse 287	37 7 0
He built a town named after himself, *i.e.* Hiraṇyâkshapura (287).	
10. **Hiraṇyakula,** son of the preceding; B.C. 824; verse 288	60 0 0
He founded (the town of) Hiraṇyôtsa (288).	
11. **Vasukula,** son of the preceding; B.C. 764; verse 288	60 0 0
12. **Mihirakula,** son of the preceding; B.C. 704; verses 289 to 324	70 0 0
[He was in reality the son of a king named Tôramâṇa, belonged to the Hûṇa tribe, and came to Kaśmîr and finally established himself there, about A.D. 530, after a career in India that was terminated by Bâlâditya of Magadha and by Yaśôdharman, see *ante*, Vol. XV., pp. 245 to 252]. He was a cruel and vindictive king. During his reign, the country was overrun by the Mlêchchhas (289). He invaded Siṁhala, *i.e.* Ceylon, and overthrew the king of that country (294 to 299). On the way back, he put to flight the Chôla, Karṇâṭa, Lâṭa, and other kings, and ruined their cities (300, 301). He installed the god Mihirêśvara at Śrînagarî; and in (the district of) Hôlâḍâ he built a great city named Mihirapura (306). He gave *agrahâras* to outcaste Brâhmaṇs from the Gândhâra country (307). He diverted the river Chandrakulyâ (318). So hateful was he, that it was only the power of the gods that prevented his subjects from rising and slaying him (324). And yet he was not altogether wicked; for, even when the country was overrun by the Dâradas and Bhauṭṭas, and the national religion was destroyed, he still insured the maintenance of pious observances (312); and at Vijayêśvara he granted a thousand *agrahâras* to the Gândhâra Brâhmaṇs (314). Finally, in his old age, he became much afflicted with disease (309); and eventually he atoned for all his sins and acts of cruelty, by immolating himself in the flames, on a plank studded with razors, swords, and knives (315).	
13. **Baka,** son of the preceding; B.C. 634; verses 325 to 335	63 0 13
He restored justice and security (328). He founded the temple of Bakêśa, diverted the river Bakavatî, and built the town of Lavaṇôtsa (329), where he reigned (330). His death was caused by the witch Bhaṭṭâ, who slew him, with a hundred sons and grandsons, as a human sacrifice to the Divine Mothers at Khêrî (331 to 335).	
14. **Kshitinanda,** son of the preceding; B.C. 571; verse 336	30 0 0
15. **Vasunanda,** son of the preceding; B.C. 541; verse 337	52 2 0
He was the author of a *Kâmaśâstra* or work on the science of love (337).	
16. **Nara II.,** son of the preceding; B.C. 489; verse 338	60 0 0
17. **Aksha,** son of the preceding; B.C. 429; verse 338	60 0 0
He established the village of Akshavâla (338).	
18. **Gôpâditya,** son of the preceding; B.C. 369; verses 339 to 345	60 6 0
He bestowed Sakhôla, Khâgi, Kâhâḍigrâma, Skandapura, Śamâṅgâsa, and other *agrahâras* (340). He consecrated the temple of Jyêshṭhêśvara on the Gôpâdri hill, and granted the Gôpa *agrahâras* (341). He banished neglectful Brâhmaṇs to Bhûkshîravâṭikâ and Khâsaṭâ (342); and induced others, of purer habits, to immigrate, and settled them in Vaśchika and other *agrahâras* (343).	
19. **Gôkarṇa,** son of the preceding; B.C. 308; verse 346	57 11 0
He founded the temple of Gôkarṇêśvara (346).	

	Length of reign. y.	m.	d.
20. Narêndrâditya I., also called Khiṅkhila, son of the preceding; B.C. 250; verses 347 to 349	36	3	10
He consecrated the temple of Bhûtêśvara, and diverted the river Akshayiṇî (347). His *Guru* Ugra built the temple of Ugrêśa and a circle of the Divine Mothers (348).			
21. Yudhishṭhira I., also called Andha-Yudhishṭhira, son of the preceding; B.C. 214; verses 350 to 373	(Not stated)		
He lost the throne and was exiled through a conspiracy of his ministers with some neighbouring kings (360 to 373).			
TOTAL.....	968y.	2m.	23d.

Thus, from the beginning of the reign of Gônanda III. to the end of that of Narêndrâditya I., the text purports to account for a period of 968 years, 2 months, 23 days. In the explanation of Taraṁga i. verses 48, 49, I venture to agree with M. Troyer against Dr. Bühler, and to translate :—" Misled by the tradition that the Bhârata (*war*) took place at the end of the Dvâpara (*yuga*), some have considered as wrong the sum of years (*contained in the statement that*) in the Kaliyuga the kings, beginning with Gônanda (I.), ruled over the Kaśmîras for 2268 years." Kalhaṇa does not really doubt the correctness of this number. What he seeks to do, is, to prove, with its help, that the great war took place in Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 653 (expired), or B. C. 2448. Taking this number, and deducting from it the 1266 years during which there reigned the fifty-two kings from Gônanda I. to Abhimanyu,[1] there remain 1002 years as the period of the dynasty of Gônanda III.; and further deducting the 968 years, 2 months, 23 days, made out above, there remain 33 years, 9 months, 7 days, as **the supposed length of the reign of Yudhishṭhira I. or Andha-Yudhishṭhira.**

These numbers admit of being controlled in the following manner :—According to Kalhaṇa's own statement (i. 53), a rough number of 2330 years had elapsed from the accession of Gônanda III. up to the time of the author himself. Deducting from these 2330 years the 1002 years from Gônanda III. to Yudhishṭhira I., there remain 1328 years to be accounted for. An addition of the figures, which are mentioned in the seven later Taraṁgas, gives a slightly different result :—

	y.	m.	d.
Total of the reigns of the second Taraṁga..........	192	0	0
" third " [2]..........	589	10	1
" fourth " from (1). Durlabhavardhana to (14). Bṛihaspati[3]	212	5	27
Add the period from the death of Bṛihaspati, Saptarshi-Saṁvat [38]89 (iv. 702), to the date of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, Saptarshi-Saṁvat [42]24 (i. 52)	335	0	0
Total	1329	3	28

In order to reconcile this total with the result of the first calculation, we have the choice between two ways of procedure. Firstly, the reign of Yudhishṭhira I., which was made out above as amounting to 33 years, 9 months, 7 days, might be shortened by 1 year, 3 months,

[1] See my previous paper.

[2] At the end of the third Taraṁga, P has the following verse :— सैकोननवतिश्चात्र वर्षाणां शतपञ्चकः । दश मासाश्च सैकाहा गता दशसु राजसु ॥. In order to obtain this total, read चत्वारिंशतं in verse 379 and चतुर्भिर्मासैरूनां in verse 520 of the Paris edition.

[3] The length of these 14 reigns is correctly given in M. Troyer's table, Vol. II. p. 366, besides that of the 9th king, Saṁgrâmâpiḍa, who ruled only for 7 days (सप्त वासरान्), and not for 7 years.

28 days, the difference between both totals. This would, however, necessitate an identical deduction from the 2268 years of the first Taraṁga (verse 48), which seem to have been one of the bases of Kalhaṇa's chronology. Therefore, it will be necessary to assume the second alternative, that Kalhaṇa gained his 'rough' number of 2330 years by disregarding the odd months and days which are found in the totals of the reigns of the third and fourth Taraṁga. If the extra 10 months and 1 day of the third, and the extra 5 months and 27 days of the fourth Taraṁga, are left out of consideration, the result of the second series of items will be 1328 years, as it ought to be theoretically according to the first calculation. To sum up, it seems very probable that Kalhaṇa placed the end of the reign of **Yudhishṭhira I.** and the accession of **Pratâpâditya I.** in Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 2921 (expired), or B. C. 180.

TRANSLATION.

(185) King **Gônanda III.**, who obtained the kingdom at this juncture, caused the processions, sacrifices, &c., to **the Nâgas** to take place just as before. — (186) After this king had restored the rites proclaimed by Nîla, the *Bhikshus* and the detrimental effects of the snow passed altogether away. — (187) Whenever there is a time of need, the good deeds of subjects produce kings who re-organize the far-decayed country. — (188) Those who strive to oppress the people, perish together with their lineage; but prosperity attends the race of those who will repair the loss. — (189) Having observed this (*foreboding*) sign at every event (*which has happened*) in this country, the wise are able to foresee the good or bad luck of future kings. — (190) **Pravarasêna (I.) and other virtuous and immortal descendants of this (king)** who renewed the country, enjoyed this earth for a long time. — (191) This prince **(Gônanda III.)**, who was **the first of the race of Gônanda**, just as Raghu was the first of the race of Raghu, ruled over the earth for **thirty-five years.**

(192) The son of Gônanda, called **Vibhîshaṇa (I.)**, protected the earth for **sixty years, diminished by six years and six months.**

(193) There ruled successively **Indrajit and Râvaṇa**, father and son, for **thirty-five** and for **thirty and a half years.** — (194) The *liṅga* (*called*) **Vaṭêśvara, which Râvaṇa** (*founded*) for the purposes of worship, is (*still*) resplendent; the colour of its line of dots has been observed to foretell coming events. — (195) That prince gave the whole country of **Kaśmîra** to Vaṭêśvara, whom he had placed in a *maṭha* with four halls.

(196) The long-armed **Vibhîshaṇa II.**, the son of king **Râvaṇa**, enjoyed the earth for **thirty-five and a half years.**

(197) Then **Vibhîshaṇa's son**, called **Nara**, whose other name was **Kiṁnara**, and whose prowess was praised in song by the Kiṁnaras, became king. — (198) Though (*at first*) of good conduct, this prince produced a series of great misfortunes, through the bad luck of his subjects, and through the vice of sensuality. — (199) An ascetic (*śramaṇa*), who dwelt alone in a *vihâra*, which was situated at **Kiṁnaragrâma**, carried off his (*the king's*) mistress by the power of magic. — (200) Angry on account of this (*act*), he (*the king*) burnt thousands of *vihâras*, and bestowed their villages on Brâhmaṇs, who resided in the *maṭhas* (*which were situated in their*) midst. — (201, 202) On the bank of the **Vitastâ**, he built, with the riches which he had acquired by conquering the world, a town, which appeared to be a synonym of "Heaven" and surpassed the town of Kuvêra. Its market was full of roads; its river resplendent with navigation; and its gardens teeming with flowers and fruits. —

185 Here, and in 191, 192, P reads गोनन्द, as opposed to the गोनर्द of C and T. This mistake of the Calcutta Paṇḍits was first rectified by Dr. Bühler, K. R. p. 54.

186 हिमदोषाश्च P T.

189 देशे P T.

190 वंश्यैरियं T. Pravarasêna was the name of two kings of Kaśmîr; it is here mentioned as a representative of the restored line of Gônanda III., *viz.*, of the kings from Mêghavâhana to Bâlâditya (see Taraṁga iii.).

193 °त्सहार्धांश्च P.

195 कश्मीर° P.

196 °क्षोणि° P. साधांमन्यो P T.

199 °श्रेक: P.

203 °ज्ज्वितम् P; °ज्ज्वित: C T; read चितम्. Instead of नाम्नो, which is also the reading of P, read नाम्ना.

(203) In a garden at that (*town*) there was a lake filled with clear and sweet water, the dwelling-place of **a Nâga, Suśravas** by name. — [(204 to 253) The Brâhmaṇ Viśâkha marries **Chandralêkhâ,** the younger daughter of **the Nâga Suśravas,** and lives with her at **Narapura. King Nara** falls in love with **Chandralêkhâ**]. — (254) Having cast off the fetter of shame, **he frightened** that woman by trying to seduce her through messengers, who pleaded (*his*) **desire.** — (255) When (*he found that*) she was not to be persuaded by any means, the libidinous (*king*) asked even her husband, the Brâhmaṇ, for her. Of what are those ashamed, who are blinded by passion? — (256) After the king had been repeatedly rebuked also by **that** (*Brâhmaṇ*), he despatched soldiers, to carry her away by force. — (257) Attacked by these **from** the front of the house, the Brâhmaṇ escaped with his wife by another way, and fled to the palace of **the Nâga** for protection. — (258) When the two had arrived and reported **that** event, the lord of snakes, who was blind with rage, rose from the lake. — (259) Having produced dense darkness by roaring and lowering clouds, he burnt the king with his town by a shower of terrible thunder-bolts. — (260) Carrying away the oily fat and blood, which dropped from the burnt human bodies, **the Vitastâ** became, as it were, marked with the eyes of a peacock's tail. — (261) Thousands of frightened people, who entered for refuge the presence of (*the god*) **Chakradhara** (Vishṇu), were burnt in an instant. — (262) Just as formerly the **fat** of the thighs of (*the demons*) Madhu and Kaitabha, thus many bodies of burnt people then covered Chakrin (Vishṇu). — (263) At that time the sister of **Suśravas, a Nâgî called Ramaṇî,** came from a cave in the hills, to help (*her brother*), carrying heaps of rocks.— (264) When more than a *yôjana* of the way remained, and she perceived from afar that her brother had been successful, she pelted a shower of rocks on the villages. — (265) Then the ground of the villages became stony for five *yôjanas.* This (*ground*), called **"the forest of Ramaṇî,"** is even now covered with huge rocks. — (266) Having produced a terrible destruction of people, the snake (Suśravas), filled with remorse and depressed by the censure of the world, left that place next morning and went away. — (267) A lake, white as the milk-ocean, which he created on a distant mountain, is even now seen by the people at the procession to **Amarêśvara.** — (268) At the same place, another lake, (*viz.* that) of the Brâhmaṇ, who had become a Nâga by the favour of his father-in-law, is known by the name of "the lake of the son-in-law." — (269) Fiendish (*kings*), who fearlessly produce destruction under the pretext of protecting their subjects, suddenly fare thus. — (270) Even now people remember this story, when they behold, near **Chakradhara** that town which was burnt and that lake which became a (*dry*) hole. — (271) How great a vice must passion be considered in short-sighted kings! Through it there happened to him that which has never happened to another. — (272) We hear that even the three worlds were lost in every case through the anger of even a single virtuous wife, deity, or Brâhmaṇ. — (273) Having enjoyed the earth for **forty-one years less by three months,** that king perished through his bad conduct. — (274) That **town of Kiṁnara,** the circle of whose walls and watch-towers had been visible (*only*) for a very short time, became similar to the town of the Gandharvas (*i.e.* it faded away like a mirage).

---

267 सजानि: P C.

261 Chakradhara was the name of a temple of Vishṇu near Bîjbihâra (Vijayêśvara). Its site has been identified with the mound of Châkhdhar by Dr. Bühler, K. R. p. 18. See also *Journal of the German Oriental Society,* Vol. XL. p. 7.

262 °मेंद: P T. Madhu and Kaitabha are the names of two demons, who were killed by Vishṇu.

264 सा P T.

270 भ्रश्रीभूतं P. The town referred to is Narapura (244) or Kiṁnarapura (274), which king Nara or Kiṁnara had built on the bank of the Vitastâ (202) and which was burnt by the Nâga Suśravas (259). The dried-up lake is that, in which the latter was originally living (203). The present verse shows, that Narapura was situated near the temple of Chakradhara (see note on verse 261). It appears to have been destroyed by one of the earthquakes which are frequent in Kaśmîr.

271 मत: P. °भूत्कापि P T. 273 मासैश्चोनां, भुक्ता and दुर्नयेन P. 274 अत्यल्प° P.

(275) Through the wonderful diversity of the course of fate, his only son, who had been brought to **Vijayakshêtra** by his nurse, did not lose his life. — (276) This king, called **Siddha**, refreshed the exhausted people, just as the cloud a mountain, which is parched by a forest-fire. — (277) Thus the strange fate of his father became to this magnanimous one a beneficial instruction in the knowledge of the vanity of the world. — (278) Though in the midst of enjoyment, he could not be led into sin by it, just as the spotless image of the moon remains undefiled, though it is reflected in a quagmire. — (279) In the midst of princes, who were hot with the fever of pride, he alone recovered (*from it*) by meditating incessantly on Śiva. — (280) Abandoning gems like trifles, this virtuous one found (*the only*) perfect ornament in the worship of Śiva. — (281) The royal splendour of this king followed him to another world, because he cunningly combined it with unfailing virtue. — (282) Having ruled over the earth for **sixty years**, he, accompanied by his near attendants, ascended with his body to the worlds of Śiva. — (283) Having sought refuge with (*the preceding king*) **Nara**, the servants had got into a deplorable state; but, depending on his son (**Siddha**) as their lord, they became worthy of praise in the world. — (284) A dependant shares the fate of his lord, be it blamed in the world or praised by all men. A rope of straw descends, if it is attached to the bucket of a well; if it is tied to flowers, it ascends on the head of a god. — (285) "Here is **Siddha**, (*who has become*) a demi-god (*Siddha*) with his body;" this announcement was proclaimed by the gods in heaven, with beating of the drum, for seven days.

(286) His son, who received the name **Utpalâksha** (*i.e.* the lotus-eyed) on account of his lovely eyes, ruled over the earth for **thirty and a half years.**

(287) His son **Hiraṇyâksha**, who enjoyed the earth for **thirty-seven years and seven months**, built a town, which was designated by his name.

(288) His son **Hiraṇyakula**, who founded **Hiraṇyôtsa**, was (*king*) for **sixty**, (*and*) his son **Vasukula** (*likewise*) for **sixty years.**

(289) Then, when the country was (*again*) overrun by a **Mlêchchha tribe**, his son **Mihirakula**, who was of cruel deeds and resembled Kâla (or Death) (*in destructiveness*), became king. — (290) In him the northern region possessed another Antaka (or Death), thus rivalling the southern region, the regent of which is (*the god*) Antaka. — (291) His approach was always heralded by the flights of vultures, crows, &c., that flew before him, eager to devour those who were being slain among his troops. — (292) He was a very ghoul of a king, surrounded day and night by thousands of slaughtered beings even in his pleasure-houses. — (293) This cruel murderer had no pity or respect for children or women or aged men. — (294 to 299) One day he noticed that the breasts of his queen, who wore a muslin bodice from **Siṁhala** (or Ceylon), were marked with golden foot-prints. Burning with wrath, he questioned the chamberlain, and was told that, in **the Siṁhala country**, it was customary to impress the material with the stamp of the king's foot. This explanation failed to appease him; and he set out on a campaign as far as **the southern ocean**, and ousted **the king of Siṁhala.** Instead of him, he set up another king; and he brought away a woven cloth called *yamushadêva*, stamped with an image of the sun. — (300, 301) On his way back, he put to flight the **Chôla, Karṇâṭa, Lâṭa and other kings**, whose ruined cities announced their

[275] वैचित्र्या° and स्वधात्र्या P. [277] पित्र्यं PT. °ताशाने P.

[279] °ज्वरोष्म° and °तोषयौ P. [281] °दूर्तो P. [285] माघोषयंस्ताडयन्त: P.

[286] सार्धा P. [288] हिरण्योत्सकृदात्मज: and वसुकुल° P.

[289] to [294]. I use here Mr. Fleet's abridged translation, from the Calcutta edition, published *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 247 ff.; altering some details and the numbering of the verses according to the Śârada MS.

[295] °मदात्तत: P.

[299] °शक्तिरपा° T; °शातिरुपा° P; °शक्तिमपा° C. As the first part of the king's name, Mihira, is doubtlessly of Îrânian origin. The term *yamusha* might be derived from the same source; perhaps it is a corruption of *amesha*, 'immortal,' which occurs in the Avesta as an attribute of the sun.

[300] °लाटार्दीश P. गन्धेमो PT. व्यधारयत् PC.

capture to their rulers when these returned into them on his departure. — (302, 303) **As he came to the "Gate" of Kaśmîra (Kâśmîra-Dvâra),** he heard the terrified cries of an elephant that had fallen into a chasm; and the sounds gave him such exquisite pleasure, that he caused a hundred other elephants to be wantonly destroyed in the same way. — (304) As the touch of the sinful defiles the body, so does a description of them defile the speech; accordingly, all his other cruel deeds are not detailed, (*lest they should pollute the narrator*). — (305) But who can fully comprehend the behaviour of men whose minds are uncultivated, and who do evil deeds? for even he made an assumption of religion, for the sake of acquiring merit. — (306) Thus, evil-minded as he was, he installed (the god) **Mihirêśvara at Śrînagarî, and in Hôlâḍâ** he built **a great city named Mihirapura.** — (307) And he gave *agrahâras* to **Brâhmaṇs of the Gândhâra country,** the lowest of the twice-born, resembling himself in character. — (309, 310) At length when he, a very Bhairava incarnate, had reigned for **seventy years,** he became afflicted with much disease, and immolated himself in the flames; and a voice from the sky was heard to proclaim that, though he had slain three crores of people, yet he had attained final emancipation, in consequence of the disregard that he had shewn for his own sufferings also. — (311) Those, who report this, consider that he made amends for his cruelty, by his gifts of *agrahâras*, and similar deeds. — (312 to 316) For, even when the country was overrun by **the Dâradas** (and) **Bhauṭṭas,** (*who were*) **Mlêchchhas of impure** rites, and all (*the national*) religion was destroyed, yet he insured the maintenance of pious observances. And he firmly established the countries of **the Âryas,** and then performed a terrible penance, ordaining, as expiation for his sins, the burning of himself; in accordance with which he bestowed a thousand *agrahâras* at **Vijayêśvara** on Brâhmaṇs born in **the Gândhâra country,** and then gave his body to the flames, on a pyre which was a flat plank studded with razors, swords, and knives, and thus atoned for all his cruelty. — (317) Others excuse all his cruel acts by asserting that he performed them only in order to destroy **the Khaśas,** who had become powerful when the city was burned by the Nâga. — (318 to 324) As a final instance of his cruelty, one day, when he was diverting the river **Chandrakulyâ,** the work was hindered by a large rock that could not be uprooted and removed. Having performed austerities, he was told by the gods in a dream that a powerful Yaksha dwelt in the rock, observing the vow of chastity, and that the obstacle could be removed only by the touch of a chaste woman. Next day he had his dream put to the test; but no woman was found who could prevail against the rock, until a potter's wife, named Chandravatî, touched it and displaced it. Whereupon, filled with anger, he caused three crores of virtuous women to be slain, with their husbands and brothers and sons. It was only the power of the gods, who caused him to do this act, that prevented his subjects from rising of one accord and slaying him.

(325) When at length he **(Mihirakula)** had perished through the good luck of his subjects, the citizens anointed his virtuous son **Baka.** — (326) Through the influence of (*their*) previous (*experiences*), which (I) have told, the people were afraid even of his rule, as of a pleasure-house built on a cemetery. — (327) Begotten by one who had caused excessive pain, he became a bestower of delight on men, just like a downpour of water, which follows on a cloudy day of the rainy season. — (328) Then people fancied that justice had arrived from another world, and that safety had returned from an inaccessible exile. — (329) Having founded (*the temple of*) **Bakêśa** and (*having conducted*) **the river Bakavatî** to a (*dry*) valley, the illustrious **Baka** built a town called **Lavaṇôtsa.** — (330) There the prince passed **sixty-three years and**

305 को वेत्सुद्वृत्तचेष्टानां कृत्यां P. 306 होलाडायां P.

307 गान्धारा P After this verse, C and T insert two spurious verses which are omitted in P.

312 दारदैर्भौट्टै° P. The Dâradas are the inhabitants of Dârdistân, and the Bhauṭṭas are the Tibetans.

315 क्षुरखड्गासिधेन्वादि° P.

317 The reference is to the story of Nara I. and the Nâga Suśravas, verses 203 to 274 above.

319 यक्षः PT. 320 न स P. 325 बकस्त° P. 326 °राद्दुष्काद्यासं दधे P. जनः P.T.

327 °मात्तपात्यय° P. 329 बकेशं PC. 330 °वासरा

thirteen days, ruling the earth. — (331) Then, having assumed the appearance of a beautiful woman, a witch, called **Bhaṭṭâ**, approached the king at nightfall. — (332) Having weakened his memory by various pleasing words, she invited him, who was delighted, to witness the greatness of the festival of sacrifice. — (333) When the emperor, accompanied by his hundred sons and grandsons, went there next morning, she made him an offering to **the circle of the goddesses**. — (334) Even now there are visible on a rock the impressions of two knees, which **mark** the ascension to heaven of her, who became a demi-goddess in consequence of that action. — (335) Even now the god **Satakapâlêsa**, the circle of the (*divine*) Mothers, that rock, and that story, are remembered in the *maṭhas* of **Khêrî**.

(336) Then his son **Kshitinanda**, who, (*like*) a bulb of the family-tree, had been spared by the goddess, ruled over the earth for **thirty years**.

(337) His son, called **Vasunanda, the author of a celebrated Kâmaśâstra**, ruled over the earth for **fifty-two years and two months.**

(338) His son **Nara (II.)** was king for **sixty (years)**; and his son **Aksha**, who caused the village of **Akshavâla** to be built, for **the same number of years**.

(339) Thereon his son **Gôpâditya**, who exhibited the return of the primitive age by his care for the castes and orders, ruled over the earth together with the islands. — (340) He gave away **Sakhôla, Khâgi, Kâhâḍigrâma, Skandapura, Samâṅgâsa**, and other *agrahâras*. — (341) Having consecrated (*the temple of*) **Jyêshṭhêśvara** on (*the hill called*) **Gôpâdri**, this virtuous (*king*) granted the **Gôpa** *agrahâras* to Brâhmaṇs born in **the countries of the Âryas**. — (342, 343) Having banished to **Bhûkshîravâṭikâ** those who ate garlic, he placed at **Khâsaṭâ** those Brâhmaṇs who neglected their rules of conduct; and, having imported other holy Brâhmaṇs from pure countries, he caused them to settle in **Vaśchika** and other *agrahâras*. — (344) He, who obtained the title of "the uppermost guardian of the world" in panegyrical poems, did not permit the slaughter of animals except at a sacrifice. — (345) Having ruled over the earth for **sixty years and six months**, he went to the worlds of the virtuous, in order to enjoy the results of his good deeds.

(346) His son **Gôkarṇa**, who founded (*the temple of*) **Gôkarṇêśvara**, held the earth for **fifty-eight years diminished by thirty days.**

(347) His son was **Narêndrâditya (I.)**, whose other name was **Khiṅkhila**, and who caused the consecration of (*the temple of*) **Bhûtêśvara** and (*the conducting of*) the **Akshayiṇî**. — (348) His *Guru*, Ugra by name, who possessed the divine favour, and whose appearance was full of splendour, built (*the temple of*) **Ugrêśa and a circle of the (divine) Mothers.** — (349) Having been the lord of the earth for **thirty-six years and a hundred days**, the virtuous (*king*) obtained the sinless worlds in consequence of his prolonged good conduct.

(350) Then his son, **Yudhishṭhira (I.)**, whom people called **"the blind (Andha)-Yudhishṭhira"** on account of his small eyes, became king. —.[(351-372) He loses the throne

332 °ग्लीपित° P.

333 On *dêvîchakra* and *mâtṛichakra* (verse 335) see note on verse 122.

334 दृषयथापि T.

335 खेरी° P. It appears from this verse that the Śaiva temple at Khêrî was called Śatakapâlêśa, "the lord of a hundred skulls," and that tradition explained that name by the sacrifice of king Baka and of his hundred sons and grandsons (verse 333).

338 भुम्रोमं PT.

340 °काहाडिग्राम° PT. शसाङ्गाम° P; शमाङ्गादि° C T; read शमाङ्गास°. On Khâgi (the modern Kâkapur) and Śamâṅgâsa, see K. R. verses 90 and 100.

341 On Jyêshṭhêśvara see note on verse 124, on Gôpâdri, K. R. p. 17.

343 व्यधान्वि° P; व्ययान्वि° C T; read व्यधाद्दि°:

344 According to i. 15, panegyrical poems (*praśasti*) were used by Kalhaṇa as correctives of his narrative. On *praśasti* see now Dr. Bühler's remarks in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. II. p. 86.

345 सषण्मासां P. °परीपाकं P C.

346 क्षोर्णी P. °दधे P T. °त्याह्नां P.

347 °प्रतिष्ठायामक्ष° P; °प्रातिष्ठनामक्ष° C T; read °प्रतिष्ठाया अक्ष°. A temple of Bhûtêśvara or Bhûtêśa was already existing at the times of Aśôka and Jalauka I.; see i. 107, 148. In ii. 123 and v. 46, it is mentioned along with Vijayêśa. Akshayiṇî must have been the name of a river; compare note on verse 150, and Bakavatî in verse 329.

through a conspiracy of his ministers with neighbouring kings and has to leave the country with his wives.] — (373) Some benevolent kings, whose country the king visited, kindly alleviated his grief for the loss of his kingdom by various acts of courtesy, (*which appeared*) important (*as they were accompanied by*) strict obedience to his orders, (*and*) by hinting the cessation of his sorrow in words, which were pleasing through friendliness and earnestness.

Thus ends the first Taramga of the Râjataramgiṇî, the work of Kalhaṇa, the son of the lord Chaṇpaka who was the great minister of Kaśmîra.

REMARK.

In the Calcutta and Paris editions, the first Taraṁga contains 375 verses. Deducting the two spurious verses 308 and 309, which are omitted by P, there remain 373 verses. This actual number differs only by one from the colophon of P, according to which the first Taraṁga consists of 372 verses.

(To be continued.)

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY É. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from p.* 80.)

SIXTH EDICT.

Prinsep, *l. c.* pp. 596 ff.; Kern, p. 92 ff.

TEXT.

1 Dêvânaṁpiyê piyadasi lâja hêvaṁ ahâ [.] duvâḍasa
2 vasa-abhisitêna mê dhaṁmalipi[1] likhâpitâ lôkasâ
3 hitasukhâyê [.] sê taṁ[2] apahaṭâ taṁtaṁ dhaṁmavaḍhi pâpôvâ
4 hêvaṁ lôkasâ hitasukhêti paṭivêkhâmi atha iyaṁ
5 nâtisu hêvaṁ patiyâsaṁnêsu hêvaṁ apakaṭhêsu
6 kimaṁ kâni[3] sukhaṁ avahâmîti tatha cha vidahâmi [.] hêmêvâ
7 savanikâyêsu[4] paṭivêkhâmi [.] savapâsaṁḍâ pi mê pûjitâ
8 vividhâya pûjâyâ [.] ê chu iyâṁ atanâ pachûpagamanê[5]
9 sê mê môkhyamatê [.] saḍvîsativasa abhisitêna mê
10 iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi likhâpitâ [.]

NOTES.

1. Misled by the following sentence, the meaning of which he completely failed to grasp, Prinsep interpreted the absence of the pronoun *iyaṁ* from beside *dhaṁmalipi*, as indicating that the edict of the thirteenth year must have been conceived in terms opposed to those of the present one, and inspired by doctrines which the king now repudiates. Lassen (II[2] 276 n. 2) adopts this strange idea with some reserve. The text in no way authorises such an explanation. Translated literally, the sentence gives this meaning and no other :—'It was in the thirteenth year after my coronation that I had an edict engraved for the welfare and happiness of the people,' that is to say, plainly, 'I had engraved *for the first time.*' Such an idea being aimed at, can alone explain the introduction of the sentence here. We shall see that this very simple observation has a conclusion at once extremely unexpected, and very important.

[373] °स्थैर्यरुचित° P. °शात्स्या P T. इति काश्मीरिकमहामात्यचण्पकप्रभुसूनोः कल्हणस्य कृतौ राजतरंगिण्यां प्रथमस्तरंगः P. The form Kâśmîrika occurs in all the colophons, while Kâśmîraka is used throughout the text. Kalhaṇa's father, Chaṇpaka, is erroneously called Champaka in the Calcutta and Paris editions. It is a curious coincidence that, in Tamil, the two forms *śaṇbaga* and *śeṇbaga* are used besides *śambaga*, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *champaka* (Michelia Champaca, L.).

It will be remembered that the concluding words of the 12th (Rock) edict are immediately followed at Khâlsi by characters which I have been able to correct with certainty into *aṭhavâsâbhisitasa*, the certain equivalent of which, though greatly altered, reappears at Kapur-di-Giri (I. 253). Deceived by the divisions introduced into the reproductions of the *Corpus*, which I supposed to depend on positive traces preserved by the rock itself, I connected these words with the 12th edict; but a kind communication from Dr. Kern allows me to rectify this passage so as to leave no further doubt. We must, according to his ingenious conjecture, separate the words in question from the 12th edict and transfer them to the commencement of the 13th, the genitive *-abhisitasa*, being in agreement with *Piyadasisa*. The words in brackets should therefore be struck out from the end of my translation of the 12th (Rock) edict, and the commencement of the 13th should be modified in the following manner :—' In the ninth year of his coronation, the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas, conquered the immense territory of Kaliṅga.' Now, it will have been seen from my translation, that it was to this conquest, and to the horrors of which it had been the occasion, that the king attributes his religious conversion. We have, therefore, two facts :—(1) that the conversion of the king dated from the *ninth* year of his coronation, and (2) that he only commenced to have the edicts which were inspired by his new opinions engraved in the *thirteenth*. This, I may add, very well agrees with the statement in the 5th edict of Girnâr, according to which the creation of *Dharmamahâmâtras* dates from his *fourteenth* year. Now let us compare the commencement of the edicts of Sahasrâm and of Rûpnâth with these two facts. According to the version of this passage, as corrected by Dr. Oldenberg (*Mahâvagga*, I. p. xxxviii. note, *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, xxxv., 473) the king, who speaks, declares that he had passed 'more than two years and a half after his conversion without showing his zeal actively, but that, at the moment when he was speaking, he had manifested such zeal a year ago.' If we add these figures together, we find, on the one hand, that Piyadasi passed eight years and a fraction, say eight years and a half, after his coronation, before he was converted ; and that he was then more than two years and a half, say two years and three-quarters, before giving effective proofs of his religious zeal. This makes an approximate total of eleven years, plus a fraction, of religious coldness : and it was accordingly only in the twelfth or thirteenth year of his reign that his zeal became outwardly manifest. It is exactly at this period that his evidence in the present passage fixes his first religious edicts. This is a coincidence which no one could consider to be accidental, and there follows this important conclusion that, contrary to the doubts expressed in various quarters and to the theory so ably upheld by Dr. Oldenberg (*Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges., loc. cit.*) the author of the inscriptions of Sahasrâm and of Rûpnâth was indisputably the same Piyadasi as he who published the rock tables of Girnâr, and the Columnar edicts, and that, in dealing with these inscriptions, we are certainly on Buddhist ground. It follows, moreover, that the edicts of Sahasrâm and of Rûpnâth, belonging, as they do, to the thirteenth year after his coronation, are certainly amongst the first which he had engraved, and probably the very same as those to which he makes allusion in the passage before us.

2. This phrase contains two difficult words. One is *pâpôvâ*, which has been definitely explained by Dr. Kern as equivalent to *prâpnuyât*. With regard to the first, *apahaṭâ*, I think that the learned Leyden professor has been less happy in his suggestions. He takes it as equivalent to *a-prahartâ*, from the verbal noun *prahartar*, with *taṁ* for its direct object. But, besides such a construction, awkward enough under any circumstances, being repugnant to the style of our monuments, it does not give a very satisfactory sense. Not mutilating these edicts is too small a thing to cause one to acquire, as the sequel shows, various virtues. In the first place, I think that the phrase runs down to *-sukhêti*. The *cha*, which in line 6 follows *tatha*, proves that the entire sentence is to be divided into two parallel halves, the former part of each forming the thoughts of the king, marked and completed by an *iti*, the latter being the two verbs *paṭivêkhâmi*, and *tatha vidahâmi*. This construction makes the explanation of the initial *sê* more simple. It refers necessarily to *lôkê* understood from the preceding *lôkasa*. This being settled. the general sense to be expected from the entire proposition is something to the

effect that, by instructing themselves by these edicts, men will practise certain virtues, and will be happier and better. It appears to me that we shall easily arrive at this translation by taking *apahaṭá* as the participle absolute, for *apahṛitya* or even *apahṛitvá* (we might venture to correct the reading to *apaháṭi*, cf. above I. 53, or even to *apahaṭu*). The meaning 'to carry off for one's own appropriation,' which *apa-har* exactly expresses, could, it appears to me, be applied without too great boldness in the king's ideas to the fact that passers-by might carry away in their memories some scraps of his exhortations, and would improve in such and such a way. (The distributive idiom *taṁ-taṁ* will be noticed). In this manner the meaning appears to me to be much more natural.

3. To *atha iyaṁ* corresponds exactly the Pâli idiom *yathayidaṁ*, which is also known in Buddhist Sanskṛit. For the characters *kimaṁkáni*, it is unnecessary to have recourse to the really desperate correction *kámakálí*. The conjunction *káni* is now familiar to us, and the next edict (l. 18) affords another instance of its association with an interrogative pronoun; *kimaṁ* may remain. As observed on a former occasion (I. 18-19) we are authorised to understand it as *kim u*, a common strongly interrogative formula. If we reject this reading, the only other alternative which I see, is to admit that *kiṁ*, degraded to the *rôle* of a simple particle, has in some way doubled its final letter by the addition of a neuter adverbial termination, so that we obtain *kimaṁ*, very much as the Pâli has *sudaṁ* for *svidaṁ*, *i.e. svid*. I must avow my preference for the former solution.

4. A comparison with the 12th (Rock) edict appears to me to fix the meaning of *nikáya* for the present passage, where it is, as in the other, closely connected with *pásaṁḍa*. *Nikáyas* form the body of functionaries or royal officers over whom Piyadasi exercises a supervision, the personal character of which we have just seen the 4th (Columnar) edict emphasizing.

5. The 12th (Rock) edict again helps us to arrive at the exact meaning of this last phrase. The obscurity consists in the words *ataná pachupagamané*, although the substantive *pachupagamana* does not lend itself to much uncertainty. It can hardly mean anything except the action of approaching with respect, and while we admit that *prati* adds a distributive or individual shade of meaning, it can easily be translated as 'personal adherence to.' But what is the relation between the two words? Dr. Kern transcribes the first word as *atana* and sees in it a genitive. In that case we should except *atané*, but if we pass over this difficulty, the translation which he proposes, 'my own belief' (*mijne eigene belijdenis*) supposes a very peculiar meaning for *pachupagamana*, which is a bold deviation from the etymological sense in a word for which we have no proof of any technical use. In the 12th (Rock) edict, we have a thought altogether analogous to the passage under review :—'Piyadasi . . . . honours all sects . . . . by honours of different kinds.' Then follows a sentence which the particle *tu* at first sight places in a certain antithesis to what precedes :—'But less importance is attached to that than to the desire of seeing their essence (the virtues which constitute their essentials) reign.' Now, here also, the particle *chu* gives a shade of antithesis to the second member of the sentence. If we take the form *ataná* as correct, and translate literally, we get, 'but it is the personal adherence (to the sects) which I consider as the essential requisite.' The deliberate personal adherence to the doctrines of the various religions is evidently the necessary condition of their *sáravaḍhi*, as the 12th edict expresses it. This explanation, therefore, without touching the text as handed down to us, leads us directly and without violence to a thought which makes a fitting supplement to the idea of the 12th edict. This consideration appears to me to be of such a nature as strongly to recommend it, above all in a text which, like ours, is far from avoiding repetitions, as we shall be better able to judge in dealing with the 8th edict.

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :—In the thirteenth year after my coronation did I [for the first time] have edicts engraved for the welfare and happiness of the people. I trust that they will carry away something from them, and thus, in such and such

respects, will make progress in the religion, so that this will be for the welfare and happiness of the people. I also make such arrangements as I believe suited to provide for happiness, whether amongst my distant subjects or amongst those who are near to me and amongst my relations. Hence it is I who watch over the whole body of my officers. All sects receive from me honours of different kinds, but it is the personal adherence [to their doctrines which] I consider to be the essential requisite. In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation had I this edict engraved.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 175.—BOMBAY ASIATIC SOCIETY'S COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF BHIMADEVA II. SIMHA-SAMVAT 93.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1878, from the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. I have no information as to where they were found. A lithograph of the inscription will be published hereafter, in *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 17.

The **plates**, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number; each measuring about $9\frac{1}{4}''$ by $6\frac{1}{8}''$. The edges of them were slightly raised into rims, to protect the writing; and though the surfaces of the plates are a good deal corroded by rust, the inscription is legible, without any points of doubt, throughout. — In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second, there are holes for two **rings** to connect them. The rings are plain copper rings, each about $\frac{1}{3}''$ thick and $2\frac{3}{8}''$ in diameter. They had both been cut, when the grant came under my notice. There are no indications of a **seal** having been attached to either of them, and abstracted from it. And the seal of this grant, if there was one, is not now forthcoming. — The **characters** are Nâgarî, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in line 1, the **decimal figures** 1, 3, and 9. The average **size of the letters** is about $\frac{5}{16}''$. The engraving is bold and good. — The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the whole record is in prose, except for one benedictive and imprecatory verse quoted in line 13-14. In line 6 we have the **Prâkṛit word** *vachchha*, for the Sanskṛit *vatsa*. — In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the constant use of the *anusvâra* instead of the proper nasal, *e.g.* in *maṁḍal-âṁtaḥpâti*, line 3; (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *vrâhmaṇa*, lines 4 and 8, and in *vôdhayaty*, line 4; and (3) the use of *ś* for *s*, in *śva*, line 3; *nivâśi*, line 4; and *sahaśrâṇi śvargê*, line 13.

The **inscription** is one of **the Chaulukya king Bhîmadêva II. of Aṇhilwâḍ.** It is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of some land to a Brâhmaṇ.

The **places** mentioned in the inscription are, the city of **Aṇahilapâṭaka**, where Bhîmadêva II. was, when he notified this grant; **Sahasachâṇâ**, the village in which the land granted was situated; **Vêkariyâ**, a village mentioned in defining the boundaries of the land; and **Prasannapura**, the town from which the family of the grantee came. And, as we learn from the preamble, **Sahasachâṇâ and Vêkariyâ** are to be looked for in **the Kachchha maṇḍala or province of Kachchha**; which must have been more or less identical with **the modern 'Cutch' State**; and which the record describes as being enjoyed by Bhîmadêva II. himself, as if the province were private property of his, assigned to him apart from the general revenues of the kingdom.

As regards the **date** of this record, in line 1 we have the details of the year 93, in decimal figures, of an unspecified era; the month Chaitra; the bright fortnight; the civil day 11 (and with it the eleventh *tithi*); and Ravi, *i. e.* Râvivâra or **Sunday.** And from line 5 we learn that the grant was made **on that day, at the festival of a saṁkrânti,** which can only be **the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti** or entrance of the Sun into Aries. The era that is quoted, is **the Siṁha era;** which is mentioned under that name in the Verâwal inscription of Arjunadêva of Aṇhilwâḍ,[1]

[1] See *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 242, Text, line 3; and Vol. XVI. p. 147.

dated in Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, and again in No. 176 below. The exact epoch of this era, and the scheme of its years, as also its historical starting-point, have not yet been properly considered. To these points I will revert on another occasion. And meanwhile it is sufficient to state that the month of Chaitra in Siṁha-Saṁvat 93 should be coupled with Vikrama-Saṁvat 1262 or 1263 ; and that the English equivalent of the given date is to be found in A. D. 1204, 1205, 1206, or 1207, according as the Vikrama year is treated as a northern or as a southern year, and is applied as current or as expired. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1262 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Saturday, 13th March, A.D. 1204, at about 44 *ghaṭîs*, 45 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Aṇhilwâḍ ;[2] eleven days before the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, which occurred on Wednesday, 24th March, at about 31 *gh.* 37 *p.*

In northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1263 current (1262 expired) and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1262 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Friday, 1st April, A.D. 1205, at about 47 *gh.* 58 *p.* ; seven days after the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, which occurred on Thursday, 24th March, at about 47 *gh.* 8 *p.*

In northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1264 current (1263 expired) and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1263 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Wednesday, 22nd March, A.D. 1206, at about 29 *gh.* 52 *p.* ; three days before the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, which occurred on Saturday, 25th March, at about 2 *gh.* 40 *p.*, and would be celebrated on the same day.

And finally, in **southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1264 current (1263 expired), Chaitra śukla 11** ended, as required, on **Sunday,** 11th March, A.D. 1207, at about 59 *gh.* 5 *p.* But this was **fourteen days before the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, which occurred on Sunday, 25th March,** at about 18 *gh.* 11 *p.*, and would be celebrated on that day. This calculation, of course, is for the *nirayaṇa* or non precessional *saṁkrânti*. And the discrepancy cannot be adjusted by assuming that this record intends to quote the *sâyana* or precessional *saṁkrânti ;* for, the *sâyana* Mêsha-Saṁkrânti occurred, roughly, either very late on Tuesday, 13th March, or very early on Wednesday, 14th March. There seems, therefore, no room for doubting that **this day, Sunday, 25th March, A.D. 1207, is the one that is intended.** But the *tithi* which ended on this day, at about 55 *gh.* 58 *p.*, was the eleventh *tithi* of the *dark* fortnight of Chaitra, by the *amânta* arrangement, which is the proper one for this locality and period. And, to reconcile the results, **we must assume a genuine mistake in the preparation of the record ;** and, though *śu*, 'the bright fortnight,' is distinctly the reading in the text, we must alter it into *ba*, ' the dark fortnight.'

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[4] Râjâvalî pûrvva-vat ‖ **Saṁvat 93 Chaitra śu di 11 Ravau ady=êha** śrîmad-**A-**

2 **ṇahilapâṭakê** samasta - râjâvalî - virâjita - mahârâjâdhirâja - śrî-

3 **Bhîmadêvaḥ** śva(sva)-bhujyamâna-**Kachchha**-maṁḍal-âṁtaḥpâti-samasta-râjapurushâ-

4 n vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôttarân taṁ(n)-nivâśi(si)-janapadâ[ṁ*]ś=cha vô(bô)dhayaty= Astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ

5 yathâ ‖ **Adya saṁkrâṁti-parvvaṇi** char-âchara-guruṁ bhagavaṁtaṁ Bhavânî-patim=abhya-

6 rchya saṁsârasy=âsâratâṁ vichiṁtya **Prasaṁnna**[5]**pura**-sthâna-vinirgatâyaḥ[6] Vachchha(tsa)-sa-

[2] The times here are for Aṇhilwâḍ, all through.

[3] From the original plates.

[4] Represented by a symbol.

[5] Read *prasanna*.

[6] Read *vinirgatâya*.

7 gôtrâya Dâmôdara-suta-Gôvimdâya **Sahasachâṇâ**-grâmê[7] vâpî-puṭakê bhûmi-halavâh[â*] 1
8 êkâ śulkêna sahâ(ha) śâsanê pradattâ [II*] Asyâś=cha pûrvvatô vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-Dâmô-
9 dara-satka-vâpî dakshiṇatô **Vêkariyâ**-kshêtra[ṁ*] paśchimê mahaṁ[8]-Kêśa-

Second Plate.

10 va-satka-vâpî uttaratô mârgaḥ iti chatur-âghâṭ-ôpalakshitâ[9] II Bhû-
11 mim=ênâm=avagamya asmadu(d)-vaṁśa-jair=anyair=api bhâvi-bhôktṛibhiḥ a-
12 smat-pradattâh[10] va(dha)rma-dâyô=[ya*]m=anumaṁtavyaḥ pâlanîyaś=cha II Uktaṁ cha bhagava-
13 tâ Vyâsêna [I*] Shavyir[11]-vvarva[12]-sahaśrâ(srâ)ṇi śva(sva)rgê tishṭa(shṭha)ti bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ
14 ch=ânumaṁtâ cha tâṁny[13]=êva nacha(ra)kaṁ vasêt II Likhitam=idaṁ kâyastha-
15 Kâṁchana-suta-Vatêśvarêṇa II Dûtakô=tra na(ma)hâsâṁdhivigrahika-śrî-
16 **Chaṁḍaśarmmaḥ(rmmâ)** II **Śrî-Bhîmadêvasya**[14] II

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After the words "the line of kings (*is*) as on previous occasions," which refer to the full genealogy as given in, for instance, No. 176 below, the inscription proceeds to record that: — **In the year 93 (line 1), in the month Chaitra, in the bright fortnight, on the civil day 11, and on Sunday, to-day,** and here at the famous **(city of) Aṇahilapâṭaka,** the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Bhîmadêva (II.)** (l. 3), informs all the king's servants, and the people, headed by the Brâhmaṇs, in **the Kachchha maṇḍala,** which is being enjoyed by himself:—

"Be it known to you (l. 4) that **to-day, at the festival of a saṁkranti** (l. 5), having done worship to (Śiva) the divine lord of Bhavânî, the father of all things animate and inanimate, one plough (*halavâhâ*) of land, in the hollow ground below an irrigation-well (*vâpîpuṭaka*), at **the village of Sahasachâṇâ** (l. 7), is given by this charter, to Gôvinda, the son of Dâmôdara, of the Vatsa *gôtra*, who came from **the locality of Prasannapura.**

"The boundaries of this land (l. 8) are: — On the east, an irrigation-well in the holding (*satka*) of the Brâhmaṇ Dâmôdara; on the south, the fields of the **(the village of) Vêkariyâ**;[15] on the west, an irrigation-tank in the holding of the *Mahattara*, or *Mahattama*, Kêśava; and on the north, a road.

"[In lines 11 to 14, the grantor gives an injunction to future rulers, to continue this grant; and quotes one of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which is allotted to the venerable Vyâsa. And his speech apparently ends with the word *vasêt*, in line 14.]"

Lines 14 to 16 record that the charter was written by the Kâyastha Vaṭêśvara, the son of Kâñchana; and that the *Dûtaka* was the *Mahâsâṁdhivigrahika* **Chaṇḍaśarman.**

And the inscription ends with the words "of the glorious **Bhîmadêva**;" referring to his sign-manual, which is supposed to be attached here.

No. 176.—ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE TIME OF BHIMADEVA II. VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1266, AND SIMHA-SAMVAT 96.

This inscription again, which has not previously been published, I edit from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1879, from the Library of the Royal Asiatic

7 This word, *sahaschônâ-grâmê*, was omitted here, and stands below line 9, with marks at both places to indicate its proper position in the Text.

8 i. e. *mahattara*, or *mahattama*. Instead of using the *anusvâra*, the word would more properly have been written *maha°*.

9 Read *âghôtâ upalakshitâh*.

10 Read *pradattô*.

11 Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

12 Read *shashṭi-varsha*.

13 Read *tâny*.

14 The words *sva-hastô=yaṁ* are understood here.

15 This village-name still exists in the Sôrath Prânt of Kâṭhiâwâd, in the Mahî-Kâṇṭhâ State, and in the Viramgaum Tâlukâ of the Ahmadâbâd District. Also, the names of Vêkra and Vêkrâ exist in Kachchh.

Society. I have no information as to where they were found. A lithograph of the inscription will be published hereafter, in *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 11.

The **plates**, of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number; each measuring about $11\frac{3}{16}''$ by $7\frac{5}{8}''$. They are quite smooth; the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. But they are in an excellent state of preservation; and the inscription is perfectly legible throughout. The plates are numbered, in the margin after the end of the writing on the first and third plates, and on the second side of the second plate.—In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the other two, there are holes for a **ring** to connect them. The ring is a plain copper ring, about $\frac{5}{16}''$ thick and $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. It had been cut when the grant came under my notice. There are no indications of a **seal** having been attached to it, and abstracted from it. And the seal of this grant, if there was one, is not now forthcoming.—The **characters** are Nâgarî, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include in lines 2 and 29, and in the numbering of the plates, the **decimal figures** 1 to 6, and 9. The average **size of the letters** is about $\frac{1}{4}''$; but it is not preserved very uniformly. The engraving is good and clear. — The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the whole record is in prose, except for one benedictive and imprecatory verse quoted in line 47-48. There are a good many mistakes; but, curiously enough, in mentioning Nâgârjuna, the king of Kâvi, in line 17, this inscription supplies a satisfactory reading, which has not been found in the previously published grants of this dynasty. The text contains, in lines 2, 3, 23 ff., many **abbreviated words**, not all of which are recognisable; and in some instances, as in *suta*°, *paṁḍita*°, and *śrêshṭi*°, in lines 52-54, the mark of abbreviation seems to be used unnecessarily. It also contains some **words that require explanation**; *palladikâ*, in line 43; *kasthaka*,[1] in line 55, which probably stands for *kachchhaka*, since in line 43 we have *kachhaka*[2] or more properly *kachchhaka*; and *vahaṇi*, in lines 35, 38, 41, 42, which, from the mention in line 41 of "the *vahaṇi* of the village (of Bhûharaḍâ)" and in line 41-42 of "the *vahaṇi* of (the village of) Sîvalîyâ," seems to be not a village-name, as otherwise it might have been understood.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the constant use of the *anusvâra* instead of the proper nasal, *e.g.* in *châmuṁḍa*, line 6; *âvaṁti*, line 10; and *raṇâṁgaṇa*, line 12; (2) the omission, throughout, to double consonants after *r*, except in *karṇṇa*, line 9; *dharmmêṇa*, line 44; and *dharmm-ârtha*, line 48; and (3) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *prativaddha*, line 28; *vrahmajâ*, line 50; and *vrahmapurîya* and *vrâhmaṇa*, line 52.

The **inscription** refers itself to **the reign of the Chaulukya king Bhîmadêva II. of Aṇhilwâḍ.** But the charter contained in it refers only to certain arrangements made by some subordinate persons. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record some grants of land for the maintenance of an irrigation-well and a watering-trough attached to it.

The **places** mentioned in this inscription, in addition to **Aṇahilapâṭaka,** or, as the name is written here and in some other records, **Aṇahillapâṭaka,** at which city the record was drawn up in writing, are, **Ghaṇṭelâṇâ,** the village in which were situated the irrigation-well and the watering-trough; the villages of **Âkavalîyâ, Bhûharaḍâ, Sâkalî, Samaḍîyâ, Sîvalîyâ,** and **Varaḍî,** and the river **Sôshaḍî,** mentioned in connection with the details of the grants; **the village or hamlet of Brahmapurî,** mentioned in the list of witnesses; and **Dharmavarhikâ,** apparently a town or village, at which place the written charter was delivered by the *Dûtaka*, and was engrossed on copper-plates. And the neighbourhood in which they are to be found, is indicated by the mention, in the preamble, of **the Surâshṭrâḥ maṇḍala,** which is **the modern province of Kâṭhiâwâḍ,** and of **the city of Vâmanasthalî,** which is **the modern**

[1] *chchh* is frequently represented by *sth*. But it must be noted that the proper *chchh* is used in *gachchhamâna*, line 38.

[2] This, at least, is the word that I think is intended. But the sign which I interpret here as *chh*, and which does represent *chh* in *gachchhamâna*, line 38, is used for *th* in *sthânâ*, line 51 and other places; though not in *atr-ârthê*, line 49. It also occurs in *chhêḍa*, line 52, where it is rather differently formed; and in *machhitya* (unless we should here read *mathitya*) by mistake for *maṭhêtya*, line 50.

Wanthali[3] in the Junàgaḍh State in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. **Dharmavarhikâ,** however, may possibly be another name of **Aṇhilwâḍ itself.** Of the places mentioned in the genealogical passage, **Avanti** is another name of **Ujjain,** in Mâlwa; **Sâkambhari** is supposed to be **the modern Sambhar or Sâmbhar,** in the Jaipur State, Râjputânâ (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 59, note 6; and Vol. X. p. 161); **the Sapâdalaksha country** has been identified by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji with **the region of the Sivâlik Hills,** in the Pañjâb (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 345); and **Kâvi** is evidently **the modern Kâvi,** in the Broach District.

The **date** of this record, in lines 1 to 4, is given fully in words and in decimal figures; and the details are Vikrama-Saṁvat 1266, not distinctly specified either as current or as expired,[4] and Siṁha-Saṁvat 96; the month Mârga, *i.e.* Mârgaśîrsha; the bright fortnight; the fourteenth *tithi* and civil day; and Gurudina or **Thursday.** And the English equivalent is to be found in A.D. 1208 or 1209, according as the given Vikrama year, whether referred to the northern or to the southern reckoning of the era, is to be taken as current or as expired. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that —

In (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1266, current, Mârgaśîrsha śukla 14 ended on Sunday, 23rd November, A.D. 1208, at about 5 *ghaṭis*, 58 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Aṇhilwâḍ.

And **in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1267 current (1266 expired), Mârgasîrsha śukla 14 ended, as required, on Thursday, 12th November, A.D. 1209,** at about 22 *gh.* 31 *p.* And this, therefore, is the proper English equivalent of the given date.

TEXT.[5]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[6] Svasti **Śrîmad-Vikrama-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara[7]-śatêshu dvâdaśasu shaṭa shashty[8]=âdhikê-**

2 **shu laukika°[9] Mârgga-mâsasya śukla-paksha-chaturdaśyâṁ Guru-dinê atr=âṁkatôḥ=pi[10] śrî-**

3 **Vikrama-saṁvat 1266 varshê srî-Siṁha-saṁvat 96 varshê lauki° Mârgga śu di[11] 14 Gurâv=a-**

4 syâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-dina-vâra-pûrvâyâṁ tithâv=**ady=**êha śrîmad-**Aṇahilla-pâṭakê** sama-

5 sta - râjâvalî - virâjita - paramabhaṭṭâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja - paramêśvara - śrî - **Mûlarâja-**

6 **dêva** - pâd - ânudhyâta - paramabhaṭṭâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja - paramêśvara-śrî-**Châmu-[ṁ*]-ḍarâjadêva-**

7 pâd - ânudhyâta - paramabhaṭṭâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja - paramêśvara - śrî - **Durlabharâja-dêva**-pâd-â-

8 nudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî**Bhîmadêva**-pâd-ânudhyâta-pa-

9 ramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-**Trailôkyamalla**-śrî- **Karṇṇadêva** - pâd - ânu-

10 dhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvar - **Âvaṁtînâtha** - **Varvaraka** - jishṇu-**Siddhacha-**

11 **kravartti**-śrîmaj-[**J***]**ayasiṁhadêva**-pâd- ânudhyâta - paramabhaṭṭâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja-paramê-

[3] The 'Banthly, Vanathali, Vanthli, and Wanthali,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 13, Lat. 21° 28' N.; Long. 70° 22' E.

[4] The expression that is used is analogous to one of constant use for the Śaka era, on which I have commented, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f.

[5] From the original plates.

[6] Represented by a symbol; so also at the end; but the symbol there is not the same as here.

[7] This letter, *ra*, was omitted: and was then inserted above the line, with a mark, which has run into the following *śa*, to indicate the omission.

[8] Read *shaṭ-shashṭy*.

[9] This word, with the mark attached to it, seems to stand for some such expression as *laukika-gaṇanayâ*.

[10] Read *âṁkatô=pi*.

[11] The form that is used here for *d*, might ordinarily represent *dh*. Almost the same form occurs in the second syllable of *dvâdaśasu*, line 1.

12 śvara-praudhapratâpa- Chaturbhujavikrama - raṇâṁgaṇa - vijita - **Nakaṁrarî**[12]**bhûpâla** - śrî-
13 **Kum[â*]rapâladêva** - pâd - ânudhyâta - paramabhaṭṭâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja - paramêśva-
14 ra-Kalikâla-nikva(shka)laṁk- âvatârita - Rânva(ma) - râjya - prâptâ(pta) - karadîkṛita - **Sapâ**-

Second Plate; First Side.

15 **dalaksha** - **Lakshmâpâla** - śrîmad[13] - **Ajayapâladêva** - pâd - ânudhyâta - paramabha-
16 ṭṭâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja - paramêśvara - paramabhaṭṭâraka[14] - âhava[15] - parâ-
17 bhûta - durjaya - **Nâgârjuna** - **Kâvirâja**[16] - śrî - **Mûlarâjadêva** - pâd - ânudhyâ-
18 ta - paramabhaṭṭâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja - paramêśvar - **Âbhinava** - **Siddharâja**-
19 **dêva** - Vôla[17] - Nârâyaṇ - âvatâra - śrî - **Bhîmadêva** - kalyâṇa - vijaya - râjyê [I*]
20 Tat - pâdapadm - ôpajîvini mahâmâtya - śrî - **Ratanapâlê** śrî - śrîkaraṇ - â-
21 dau samasta-mudrâ-vyâpârân=upari-paṁthayat=îty=êvaṁ kâlê pravarttamânê
22 asya prabhôḥ prasâd-âvâpta-pattalayâ[18] bhujyamâna-śrî **Surâshṭrâ**-maṁḍalê
23 mahâ°-prati°[19]-śrî-**Sômarâjadêvê** kṛi(ta)n-niyukta-**Vâmanasthal**-**î**śrîka-
24 raṇê mahaṁ°[20]-śrî-Sô(Sô)bhanadêva-prabhṛiti-paṁcha-kula-pratipattau śâsanam=a-
25 bhilikhyatê yathâ I Prâgvâṭ - jñâtîya[21]- mahaṁ° - Vâlaharâ - suta - mahaṁ°-

Second Plate; Second Side.

26 Mahipâlêna **Ghaṁṭelâṇâ**-grâmê dakshiṇa-diśu(śâ)-bhâgê kârâpit[â*] vâpî tathâ
27 prapâyâṁ cha saṁjâta-bharitâyâṁ tithau Nâgara-jñâtîya-du°[22]-Pârâsa(śa)ra-suta-du°-
28 Mâdhavâya **Ghaṁṭelâṇâ**-grâmê vâpî-prativa(ba)ddha-kshêtraṁ bhûmi-pâśa-vṛi°[23] saṁkhyâ-
29 yâṁ pâśa 50 paṁchâśata(t) pâśâ[ḥ*] I asy=âghâṭâ [yathâ*] I pûrvatô jyô°[24]-Sumachaṁḍa-kshêtra[ṁ*] I
30 tathâ **Sôshaḍî**-nâma-nadî sîmâ[I*] dakshiṇatô=pi **Sôshaḍî**-nâma-nadî sîmâ I paśchima-
31 tô râu°[25]-Vêdagarbha-sakta(tka)-kshêtra[ṁ*] sîmâ I uttaratô râja-mârgga[ḥ*] sîmâ I(II) Tathâ prapâ-kshê-
32 traṁ dvitîyaṁ tathâ grâmê ut[t*]ara-diśâyâṁ vâ[ya*]vya-kôṇ-âśrita-bhûmi-pâśa-vṛi° saṁkhyâ-
33 yâṁ pâśa 100 śataṁ=êkaṁ I asya cha âghâṭâ yathâ I pûrvatô râjakîya-bhûmî sîmâ I
34 dakshiṇatô Mêha°[26]-Sôlûyâ-kshêtra-bhûmî sîmâ I paśchimatô **Bhûharaḍâ**-grâma-sîmâ-
35 yâṁ sîmâ I ut[t*]aratô vahaṇi-sîmâyâṁ sîmâ I(II) Tathâ **Âkavalîyâ**-grâmê grâmât
36 ut[t*]ara-diśi(śâ)-bhâgê bhûmi-khaṁḍa 1 saṁkhyâyâṁ vṛi° pâśa 100 śatam=êkaṁ I asya cha
37 âghâṭâ [yathâ*] I pûrvvatô **Sâkalî**-grâma-sîmâyâṁ sîmâ I dakshiṇatô **Varaḍi**-sîmâ I pa-
38 śchimatô **Ghaṁṭelâṇâ**-grâmasy=ôpari gachchhamâna-mârgga[ḥ*] sîmâ I ut[t*]aratô vahaṇi-sîmâ [II*]
39 Tatha **Bhûharaḍâ**-grâmô(mê)=pi bhûmi-kha[ṁ*]ḍa 1 saṁkhyâyâṁ vṛi° pâśa 100 śatam=êkaṁ I asya

---

12 Read *śâkaṁbharî*.

13 See page 83 above, note 12.

14 This title has already occurred, and is unnecessarily repeated here.

15 Read *bhaṭṭârak-âhava*; subject, however, to the preceding note.

16 In the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1263, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 194, line 10-11, and elsewhere, Dr. Buhler's published reading and translation are *garjjanak-âdhirâja*, 'the ruler of the Garjanakas.' The reading given by me is quite distinct in the present grant.

17 This should probably be corrected into *vâla* for *bâla*. Perhaps the mark before the *vâ*, which turns it into *vô*, is only due to a slip of the engraver's tool.

18 We should probably correct this into *pattalâyâṁ*. But it is possible that the word is here used in a different sense, and that the instrumental case is correct; the meaning then being "in the province of Surâshtrâh *maṇḍala*, which is being enjoyed by him under a patent obtained through the favour of his lord."

19 It is doubtful whether we have here the abbreviation of one official title, *mahâpratîhâra*; or whether two titles, such as *mahâmâtya-pratîhâra*, are intended.

20 i.e. *mahattara* or *mahattama*.

21 Read *prâgvâṭ-jñâtîya*.

22 Or perhaps *dû*°, or possibly *hu*°; so also in lines 45-46. I do not know what the abbreviation stands for.

23 i.e. *vṛittiḥ*, or *vṛittaṁ*.

24 *i.e.*, probably, *jyôtisha*.

25 i.e. *râuta*.

26 *i.e.*, possibly, *mêhara*.

Third Plate.

40 cha âghâṭâ [yathâ*] I pûrvatô **Ghaṁṭelâṇâ**-grâma-sîmâyâṁ sîmâ I dakshiṇatô **Samaḍîyâ**-grâma sî-

41 mây[â*]ṁ [sîmâ*] I paśchimatô tathâ grâmîya-vahaṇi-sîmâyâṁ sîmâ I ut[t*]aratô **Sîvalîyâ**-

42 vahaṇi-sîmâyâ[ṁ*] sîmâ I êvaṁ chatur-âghâṭa-viśuddhâ bhûmî sva-sîmâ-paryaṁta[ṁ*] ya-

43 thâ-prasiddha-paribhôjyâ gṛihâṇâ[ṁ*] palladikâ-samêtâ khalaka-ka[ch*]chhaka-bhûmî

44 sahitâḥ[27] a-karâ nirmalâ gôpatha-gôprachâra-samêtâ udaka-pûrva-dharmmêṇa prada-

45 ttâ I(II) Êshâ vâpî tathâ prapâ cha du°-Mâdhavêna sad=aiva bharaṇîyâ I vâpî[ṁ*] tathâ prapâ[ṁ*] cha

46 du°-Mâdhavêna bharamâṇêna satâ êshâ bhûmî sha(kha)ṁḍa-chatushṭaya-saṁkhyâkâ â-chaṁ-

47 dr-ârka-kâlaṁ yâvata(t) saṁtâna-paraṁparayâ bhôktavyâ bhôktâraṇîyâś=cha[28] II Jânîhi[29] dattâni

48 purâ naraiṁdrai dânâni[30] dharmm-ârtha-yasa(śa)s-karâṇi I nimâlya-vaṁtê[31]-pratimâni tâni kô nâma

49 sâdhu[ḥ*] punar=âdadîta[32] II Atr=ârthê sâkshi II Vâma[33]-śrî-Sômanâthadêvîya-sthânâ°[34]-Durvâsu II Śrî-

50 Visaḍhêśvaradêva-machhi(ṭhê)tya-sthânâ(na)pati-Vimvalaja II Śrî-Kêdâra-maṭhêtya-sthânâ°-Vra(bra)hmajâ I Dê-

51 vî-śrî-Kapâlêśvarî-stâ(sthâ)nîya-sthânâ°-Kshadajâ sthâna°-yô°[35]-Lâshâ-suta-yô°-Vêdâ Î(?)kshâ Â-

52 lâ-suta-Î(?)kshâ Sâvadêva I **Vra(bra)hmapurîya**-Î(?)kshâ I Disikêsi-suta°-Î(?)kshâ°[36] Chhêḍâ I Tathâ vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-

53 **Mada**(dhu)sûdana-suta-paṁḍita°-Sômaravi mahâjana-Môḍha śrêshṭi°[37]-Nâna-suta°-śrêshṭi°-Sûmâ I Kalya°-śrê-

54 shṭi°-Khêtâ I Prâgvâ°[38]-śrêshṭi-Dharaṇiga śrêshṭi°-Kudâ-suta°-Gâṁgadêva I Gûrja°[39]-mahâjana-śr[ê*]shṭi-

55 Yajakê II Kûpaṁ khalakaṁ kastha(chchha)kaṁ gô-pathaṁ gô-prachâraṁ bhôkta-vyaṁ cha II Dûtakaḥ[40] svayaṁ II **Dharmavarhi-**

56 **kâyâṁ** saṁcharitaṁ ch=âjñâtaṁ II Chha II Śrîḥ II Ôm II

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The inscription commences with the date, **in twelve centuries, increased by sixty-six (years), of the years that have gone by from the time of the glorious king Vikrama, and, by the popular reckoning, on the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Mârga, on Thursday; or, in figures the Vikrama year 1266, in (this) year, the Siṁha year 96, in (this) year, by the popular reckoning, (the month) Mârga, the bright fortnight, the (civil) day 14, on Thursday**; on this *tithi*, (*specified*) as above by the year, month, fortnight, (civil) day, and week-day; **to-day**; here at the famous **(city of) Aṇahillapâṭaka** (line 4).[41] And it then gives the following genealogy :—

The *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Mûlarâjadêva (I.)** (l. 5). His successor (*pâd-ânudhyâta*) was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Châmuṇḍarâjadêva**

[27] Read *sahitâ*. [28] What was intended to be the reading here, is not apparent.

[29] Metre, Indravajrâ.—The usual reading here is *yân=îha*. But there is no inherent objection to the present reading, which is the 2nd pers. sing. imper. par. [30] Read *narêṁdrair=dânâni*.

[31] Read *nirmâlya-vâṁta*. [32] First *na* was engraved here; and then it was corrected into *ta*.

[33] Here *vâma* is perhaps an abbreviation for *vâmanasthalî*.

[34] i.e. *sthânâdhikâri*; or else *sthânâpati*, for *sthânapati*, as in the next line. [35] *i.e.*, perhaps, *yôgin*.

[36] The mark of abbreviation here seems to be a mistake.

[37] Here, and in the following instances, read *śrêshṭhi°*.

[38] i.e. *prâgvâṭ*. [39] i.e. *gûrjara*; or more properly *gurjara*.

[40] This *visarga* is imperfect; only the lower part of it having been formed.

[41] The context is "a charter is written, to the following effect," in line 25. And this, with the wording of line 55-56, suggests the possibility of Dharmavarhikâ being another name of Aṇhilwâḍ.

(l. 6). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Durlabharâjadêva** (l. 7). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Bhîmadêva (I.)** (l. 8). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Karṇadêva**, who had the *biruda* or secondary name of **Trailôkyamalla** (l. 9). His successor was the *P. M P.*, the glorious **Jayasiṁhadêva** (l. 11), who was **victorious over the lord of Avantî and over the Varvarakas,** and who had the *biruda* of **Siddhachakravartin** (l. 10). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Kumârapâladêva** (l. 13), who was equal in prowess to the god Chaturbhuja (Vishṇu), and **who conquered in battle the king of Sâkaṁbharî** (l. 12). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Ajayapâladêva** (l. 15); who reproduced in this Kali age the spotless reign of Râma; and **who levied tribute from Lakshmâpâla, (the king) of the Sapâdalaksha (country).** His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Mularâjadêva (II.)** (l. 17); **who overcame in war Nâgârjuna, the king of Kâvi,** difficult to be conquered. And his successor is the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Bhîmadêva (II.)** (l. 19); who has the *biruda* of **Abhinava-Siddharâjadêva,** and who is a very incarnation of (the god) Bâla-Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu).

In the reign of the last-mentioned king (l. 19), and while his feudatory (*pâdapadm-ôpajîvin*) the *Mahâmâtya*, the illustrious **Ratanapâla** (l. 20), is superintending all the functions connected with the royal seal in the records (*śrîkaraṇa*) and other departments; and while, in the district[42] (*pattalâ*) that he acquired through the favour of his lord, *viz.* **in the province of Surâshṭrâḥ maṇḍala** which is being enjoyed by him (l. 22), his deputy in the records-department at **(the city of) Vâmanasthalî** is the *Mahâpratihâra* (?), the illustrious **Sômarâjadêva** (l. 23); with the consent (?) (*pratipatti*) of the five families headed by (*that of*) the *Mahattara*, or *Mahattama*, the illustrious Śôbhanadêva, a charter is written, to the following effect (l. 25): —

"By Mahipâla, the son of Vâlaharâ, of the Prâgvâṭ kindred, there has been made an irrigation-well (*vâpî*) at **the village of Ghaṇṭelâṇâ** (l. 26), in the southern part of it; and also a watering-trough (*prapâ*). And to Mâdhâva, the son of Pârâśara, of the Nâgara kindred, there has been given an allotment of land, consisting of a field connected with the irrigation-well at the village of **Ghaṇṭelâṇâ** (l. 28), and measuring fifty chains (*pâśa*) (l. 29). Its boundaries are:—On the east, the field of Sumachaṇḍa, and **the river Sôshaḍî** (l. 30); on the south also, **the river Sôshaḍî;** on the west, the field which is the holding (*satka*) of the *Râuta* Vêdagarbha; and on the north, the king's highway.

"Also (l. 31), in the northern part of the village, there is given a second field, for the watering-trough, situated in the north-west corner, and measuring one hundred *pâśas* (l. 33). Its boundaries are:—On the east, the king's land, or the land of the king's servants; on the south, the field of the Mêhara (?) Sôlûyâ; and on the west, the boundary of **the village of Bhûharaḍâ** (l. 34); while, on the north, the boundary is at the boundary of the *vahaṇi*.

"So also, in **the village of Âkavalîyâ** (l. 35), in the northern part, there is given land producing one 'candy' (*khaṇḍa*) (of grain), and measuring one hundred *pâśas* (l. 36). Its boundaries are:—On the east, the boundary of **the village of Sâkalî** (l. 37); on the south, the boundary of **(the village of) Varaḍi;** on the west, the road that goes over **the village of Ghaṇṭelâṇâ** (l. 38); and on the north, the *vahaṇi*.

"So also in **the village of Bhûharaḍâ** (l. 39), there is given land producing one *khaṇḍa*, and measuring one hundred *pâśas*. Its boundaries are:—On the east, the boundary of **the village of Ghaṇṭelâṇâ** (l. 40); on the south, the boundary of **the village of Samaḍîyâ;** on the west, the boundary of the *vahaṇi* of the village; and on the north, the boundary of the *vahaṇi* of **(the village of) Sîvalîyâ** (l. 41).

"This irrigation-well and watering-trough (l. 45) are to be always maintained by Mâdhava. And, as long as they are maintained, he and his descendants are to enjoy this land yielding four *khaṇḍas*.[43]

[42] See note 18 above.

[43] The total measurement of the four allotments, however, was three hundred and fifty *pâśas*; and in the last two instances one hundred *pâśas* are stated to yield one *khaṇḍa*; so that the total yield should apparently be only three and a half *khaṇḍas*.

"[Then follows, in line 47, one of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. After this, there is given a list of the witnesses to the grant, which includes the names of Durvâsu, the *Sthânâdhikârin*, or *Sthânapati*, of the god Sômanâtha[44] (l. 49); Vimvalaja, the *Sthânapati* of the *matha* of the god Visadhêśvara (l. 50); Brahmajâ, the *Sthânâdhikârin*, or *Sthânapati*, of the *matha* of the god Kêdâra (l. 50); Kshadajâ, the *Sthânâdhikârin*, or *Sthânapati*, of the shrine of the goddess Kapâlêśvarî (l. 51); Îkshâ(?), of the **village or hamlet of Brahmapurî** (l. 52); the Prâgvâṭ *Śrêshṭhin* Dharaṇiga (l. 54); and the Gûrjara *Mahâjana* and *Śrêshṭhin* Yajakê (l. 55)].

"The well, the threshing-floor (*khalaka*), the *kasthaka* or *kachchhaka*, the cattle-path, and the pasturage, are to be enjoyed (l. 55). The *Dûtaka* is himself; *i.e.* perhaps Sômarâjadêva. And the command (*âjñâta*) has been communicated or carried into effect (*saṁcharita*), — *i.e.* the order has been delivered by the *Dûtaka*, and the written charter has been engrossed on copper-plates, — at **Dharmavarhikâ** (l. 55)."

SOMALI AS A WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, Bo.S.C.

(*Continued from Vol.* XVII. *p.* 50.)

No. IV.

COLLOQUIAL SENTENCES.

English.	*Somâli.*
51.—Do you want this?	ادِگ وَهٰ مدونئس
52.—I do not want this.	انِگ وَهٰ دوني مايو
53.—Salt is very dear at Berbera.	اَوسْبوَ هَدَ بربرة وُكو گَنع ادُگ تَهي
54.—Rice is very cheap at Mokha.	مُخا بريس وُكو گَنع جَبَن يهى
55.—To whom do these sheep belong?	ادِگَن ايا ليدة
56.—Last night a buggalow arrived from Mokha.	هالى دوني مُخاهگي كِتمي
57.—Two hundred camels arrived to-day.	مانَت لَبَ بغَل اوْر بسوع گَلي
58.—Are there any wells here?	ميشَن عيل مَكو جِر
59.—Is there any danger from the natives?	ميشَن ذَدْك مَلَگ آبْسوَد
60.—What is the matter with you? (*lit.* What has got to you?)	مها كَو هيلى
61.—Are you sick?	مَياد بُوكْتَ or ادِگ مَبُوكْتَ
62.—Put these things in a basket.	غَلَبِك كولئگي كُو رِدّ

[44] Perhaps "the god Sômanâtha of Vâmanasthalî;" see note 33 above.

63.—Come quickly.	دُقّسو كالے
64.—I sent for you: why did you not come? (*lit.* Why were you not found come?)	اِنگَ كو ييدّي مُهاد اِمنَ وثِدى
65.—He killed him with a spear.	اَمَگَ وَرَنّبَ كُو دِلى
66.—He struck him in the back with a spear.	اَمَگَ ڈبرّكَ وَرَنّبَ كُو وُرِيمى
67.—I am afraid to go there.	هَگَ إِنَن تَگو بان كُبُغىَّ
68.—I will give you eight dollars for this cow.	لِوعَدَ سِديد قُرشي يان كُوسِنيَّ
69.—I am very thirsty.	هُرّاد بُدّن بي هىَّ
70.—It is very hot.	وَ كُلِبُّول بُدّن يهى
71.—Remain here.	هُلكَ فُڈِسو
72.—Open the door.	البابكَ فُر
73.—I shall go to my country.	مُغا لَدِيدي بان تَگىَّ
74.—Where is the book?	كتابكى ميده
75.—Are you able to do this?	اَدِگَ سِداس إِنَد فُشو مِلكَرتَ
76.—What are you looking at?	مهاد اَرقِيسَ
77.—Tell me what will be the charge?	إِڈے إِمّسَ لَسِنيَّ
78.—Where did you buy this cloth?	ڈَرّكَ هَگے بادكَ إِيبسّدتى
79.—Did you buy it or barter for it?	مُياد إِيبسدتي مِتّے وَ دورّسَتى
80.—Where is the captain of the vessel?	دونِيدَ ناخُودا هِيدي ميده
81.—The captain is on shore.	ناخُودا هيبتّو جِرَ
82.—Take a chair and sit down.	كُورسيگَ كين وكُوفُڈسو
83.—When will you do this work?	گور ماد شُغلكَ سَمِيثِيسَ
84.—I shall finish it in four days.	اَنگَ افر دّرارو دُبَديد وَ دُمِيثِنيَّ
85.—I am going to Zayla to-morrow.	انگَ زيلع (or اودَل) بِرّان تَگيَّ
86.—Show me a sample of the rice.	بُرِيسكَ مدبّكِيسَ ايتُوس

87.—Where did you hear this?	وُہ هگے بادک
88.—I heard it yesterday on the road.	شالی دوگي بان كُو مُغلی
89.—It is cooler to-day than yesterday.	مانتَ شالیک قبوب
90.—Are there any fish in this water?	بیتوہ موہ کلن کو جر
91.—I am very busy to-day.	مانتَ هول بدن بان لیّهی
92.—Take the horse home, and bring it at 6 o'clock.	فرسک اغلکیگي گیلی لیه ساعدود اِیکین
93.—Why did you go to sleep?	مُهادو سیهتی
94.—Does your wife make mats?	ناگتادو درمو مفلقینیس
95.—I do not understand what you say.	وُهاد لیدهي گُرن مایو
96.—Is your knife sharp?	مندیدادیم انبدن تهی
97.—This box is heavy: how can I carry it?	صندوقن وُ اولس یهي سدے بانو قادي کُر
98.—Fill this tub with water.	برمیلک بیّو کو بوهي
99.—The river is deep.	دردرک وُ ڈیر یهي
100.— Take some water to quench your thirst.	بیّو اب هُرادک کبیع

Vocabulary and Grammatical Analysis with Notes and Transliteration.

51.—**Adiga whahâ mâ donaisa?**

52.—**Aniga wahâ donî mâyo.**

53.—**Ûsbûhda Barbara wâ kû gan'a adag tahai.** *Ûsbûhda=ûsbûh*, s. f., salt, with the def. art. affixed. *Gan'a* s. f., price, cost. *Adag*, adj., dear, tight. *Tahai*, 3rd pers. sing. fem. from *ahâo* be. (H. s. 132).

54.—**Mukhâ baris wâ kû gan'a jaban yahai.** *Jaban*, cheap, past part. of *jab*, v. break. *Yahai*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. of *ahâo*.

55.—**Aḍigan aiya leh?** *Aḍi*, s. m. sheep or goat; *gan=an*, demon. pron., this with the consonant *g* prefixed, because the word with which it is used (*aḍi*) terminates in a vowel. (H. ss. 58 and 22). *Aiya*, interrog. pron., who? *Leh*, from *âleh*, adj. root, possessed of: the *â* is here lost, because the article possessed is mentioned. (H. s. 253).

56.—**Hâlai donî Mukhâhgî ka-timî.** — *Hâlai*. adj. of time, last night. *Donî*, s. f., boat. (large).

57.—**Mânta laba bûghûl awr ba-so'-galai.** — *Bûghûl*, s. m. hundred. *So'-galai*, v. entered; compounded of *so'*, move, and *gal*, enter.

58.—**Meshatan 'êl mâ kû-jira?** — *'El*, s. m., well. *Kû-jir*, v. contain: *kû* is here a preposition or verbal particle. (H. s. 135).

59.—**Meshatan dadka mâ-laga âbsoda.** — *Dad*, s. m, people, inhabitants. *La*, a particle, which when prefixed to a verb gives it a passive signification. (H. s. 243). *Laga=la*, with the article added.

60.—**Mahâ kû helâi?** — *Hêl*, v., obtain, get.

61.—**Mâ yâd bûkta** or **Adiga mâ bûkta?** — *Yád*, pers. pron. 2, thee; simple nominative form, assisted by the consonant *y*. *Búk*, v., be sick: *búkta*, 2nd pers. sing. pres., habitual.

62.—**Ghalabka kolaigi kû-ridd.** — *Ghalab*, s. m., baggage. *Kolai*, s. m. basket. *Kú-ridd*, v., throw, put.

63.—**Dakso kâlê.** — *Dakso*, adv., quickly. *Kâlé*, interjec., come!

64.—**Aniga kû-yedai: mahâd iman waidî?** *Yed*, v., call, send for. *Iman*, p.p. of *imo*, v., come. *Waidi*, 2nd pers. sing. pres. of *wa*, not found. (H. s. 90).

65.—**Usaga waran ba kû-dilai.** — *Dilai*, 3rd pers. sing. perf. of *dil*, v., kill.

66.—**Usaga dabarka waran ba kû-waremai.** — *Dabar*, s. m., back. *Warên*, v. 1. stab, thrust. *Waremai*, 3rd pers. sing. perf. (the letter *n* changing into *m* in the inflexion).

67.—**Haga in-an tago bân ka baghaiya.** — *Baghaiya* 1st pers. sing. pres. of *bagh*, v., fear. [It is somewhat curious that in Somâli, as well as in Arabic, Persian, Hindustânî, &c., the verb 'to fear' should be preceded by the sign of the ablative case (*ka*)].

68.—**Lo'da sided karshî yân kû sinaiya.** — Lo', s. f. cow. *sided*, s. f., eight.

69.—**Harrâd badan bai haiya.** — *Harrád*, s. m., thirst. *Bai*, compounded of *ba* and *i*, to or by me. *Haiya*, from the verb *hai*, have, possess. (H. s. 251).

70.—**Wâ kulûl badan yahai.** — *Kulôl*, adj., hot, warm.

71.—**Halka fadiso.** — *Fadiso*, v. 8., sit, remain.

72.—**Albâbka fur.** — Albâb, (Ar.) s. m., door. [It may be noticed that this word has here a double article: the Arabic article (*al*) prefixed, and the Somâli (*ka*) added; but the former has become an inseparable part of the word in Somâli]. *Fur*, t. v., open:—(it also means 'divorce.')

73.—**Maghâladaidî bân tagaiya.**

74.—**Kitâbki meh?** — *Kitáb* (Ar.) s. m. book, *meh*, adv. of place, — where?

75.—**Adiga sidâs in-ad fasho mâ karta.** *Si-dás*, adv. of manner, thus. *In-ad* = *in*, that and *ad*, thou. *Fasho*, 2nd pers. sing. pres. subj. of *fal*, do.

76.—**Mahâd arkaisa?**

77.—**I-dê immisa la-sinaiya.**—*Dé* v. aux., say, tell. *I-dé*, tell me. *La* the passive particle. (H. s. 243). *Sinaiya*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. pres. of *si*, give.

78.—**Darka hagge bâd ka îbsadtai.** — *Dar*, s. m., cloth, apparel. *Bád*, thou (H. s. 52). *Ka*, prep., from. [This particle is here (for the sake of euphony, I suppose), separated from *hagge*, the word to which it really belongs. Rejected by *hagge*, it would then naturally unite with *íbsadtaí*; but as the junction of these two words looks awkward in Arabic characters, I have written the *ka* as an affix to *bád*; thus treating it somewhat similarly to the pronominal affix ش in Persian.]

79.—**Mâ yâd îbsadtai, misse wâ dorsatai?** *Misse*, conj., or else. *Dori*, v. 3, barter, change.

80.—**Donîda nâkhûda-hedi mêh?** — *Hedi*, possess. pron. 3rd pers. sing., fem., her (H. s. 55).

81.—Nakhûda hebtû Jira. — *Heb*, s. f., shore; *hebta*, adv., ashore. The final *u* in *hebtú* is the pron., he.

82.—**Kûrsîga ken o kû fadiso.** — *Kursi*, s. m. (Ar.), chair. *O*, equivalent to *wa*. (H. P. 100-101).

83.—**Gormâd shughlka samainaisa?** — *Gormá*, adv. of time, — when? [*Gormád* is really a combination of three words: — *gor*, s. f., time, *má*, — what? and *ad*. pers. pron. 2, simple form.] *Shughl*, (Ar.), s. m., work, business.

84.—**Aniga afar darârro dabaded wâ damainaiya.** — *Darárro*, pl. of *darár*, s. f., day. *Dabaded*, adv., after. *Damai*, v. 5, — finish.

85.—**Aniga Zel'a (or Audal) birrân tagaiya.** — *Zel'a* is the Arabic, and *Audal* the Somâli name of the town. *Birri*, s. f. to-morrow, *birrán*=*birri*+*án*, pers. pron. 1.

86.—**Barîska midab-kisa i-tûs.** — *Midab*, s. m., sample. *Tús*, v. imperative,—show.

87.—**Wahâ hagge bâd ka maghashai.** — *Maghashai*, 2nd pers. sing. perf. of *maghal*, v. hear. The letter *l*, as usual, changing into *sh*.

88.—**Shâlai daugi bân kû Maghalai.** — *Shâlai*, s. f., yesterday *Dau*, s. m., road.

89.—**Mânta shâlai ka ḳabob.** — *ḳabob*, adj. cool.

90.—**Bîyoha mâ wah kaluna kûjira.** — *kalun*, s. m., fish.

91.—**Mânta haul badan bân leyahai.** — *Haul*, s. f., affair, business.

92.—**Faraska aghalkaigi̤ge,i : leh sa'dod i-ken.** — *Ge,i*, v. 3., remove, take away. *Leh*, s. f., six. *Sá'd* (Ar. ساعة), s. f. — hour ; pl. *sá'do*. The final *d* is added because the word is preceded by a numeral. (H. s. 31 (b)).

93.—**Mahâd û sehatai ?** — *Seho*, v. 4, sleep.

94.—**Nâgtâdo dirmo má-falḳînaisa ?** — *Nag*, s. f., woman, wife. *Dirmo*, s. f., mat. *Falḳi*, t. v. 3., — plait (mats).

95.—**Wahâd ledahai garan mâyo.** — *Waháḍ=wah+ad*. *Garan*, p. part. of *garo*, v. 4., understand, know.

96.—**Mindîdâdî Mâ af-badan tahai ?** — *Mindî*, s. f., knife. *Af-badan*, adj., sharp; (*af* = edge).

97.—**Sandûḳ-an wa olus yahai : sidde bân ûḳâdî kara ?** — *Ṣandûḳ* (ar.), s. m., box : *Sanduḳ-an*, this box. (H. s. 58). *Olus*, adj., heavy. *Kâd*, v., lift, carry : *kâdi kara*, 1st pers. sing. pres. poten.

98.—**Barmîlka bîyo kû bohi.** — *Barmîl*, (Ar.) s. m., tub, cask. *Bohi*, v. 3, fill.

99.—**Durdurka wâ ḍer yahai.** — *Durdur*, s. m., river, stream. *Ḍer*, adj., deep.

100.—**Bîyo ab : harrâdka ka-bî.'** — *Harrâd*, s. m., thirst. *Ka-bî*, v. 3., quench.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

No. 30.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

The Arch-Impostor.

In a certain country there lived a Brâhmaṇ who had seven sons. One moonlight night he called them all to his side and questioned them as to what they would most like to do at that moment. The first said that he would like to water his fields; the second, that he would go out on a journey; the third, that he would plough his lands, and so on. But the seventh and the last said that he would spend that fine moonlight night in a beautiful house with lovely girls by his side. The father was pleased with the simple replies of the first six boys; but when the last — who was the youngest — expressed so evil a desire, in such a presence, and in such a way, his rage knew no bounds. "Quit my house at once," said the father, and away ran the seventh son.

He left his country and his house that very night, as he was ashamed to live under his father's roof any longer, and went to the wood hard by. In the midst of this wood there dwelt an old woman who used to sell muffins and puddings to shepherds and boy neatherds who frequented the wood in the course of their employment. This had been her source of livelihood for several years, and she had in this way amassed considerable wealth in the shape of gold coins which she kept locked up in a small box. Now the seventh son, on his banishment from home, went to her and said:—

"Madam, I am a poor helpless orphan, will you kindly take me into your service ? I shall be a great help to you in your old age."

So the old woman, pitying the poverty of the boy, and thinking he could help her took him into her service, and promised to feed him and bring him up as her own son.

"What is your name ?" asked the grandam.

"My name," replied the boy, "is Last Year (*Pônavarusham*)!"

No doubt it was a queer name, but the old woman did not suspect anything, and thought within herself that such a designation was possible.

Full six years the boy lived with her, and behaved in such a way that she came to regard him almost as her son. She was delighted that God had sent her in her old age such a helper.

One night, just before going to supper, this boy, who had now grown to be a man, threw away all the water in the house, and then sat down to his food. Consequently, when his meal was over, there was no water in the house to wash his hands with; so the old woman went out to fetch water from a well that was at a little distance. Our hero, who will be henceforth called the Arch-Impostor, resolved to take the opportunity thus given him to walk away with all the old woman's savings. He did not wait to wash his hands, but ran off at once with her box of money. Going to a little distance in the wood, he broke it open, emptied the contents into his cloth, and went onwards at random. He walked on for two days and nights, and on the third morning was on the point of emerging from the forest.

Just after he had run away the old woman returned with water from the well, and found no boy. The thought rushed into her mind at once that she might have been deceived, and on quickly searching, she missed her box. Running to the village near her house she raised a loud cry, saying, "Last Year robbed my box, Last Year robbed my box," meaning of course that the person named "Last Year" had taken away her box. But as the words she used —*pônavarusham en peṭṭiyai tiruḍikkoṇḍu pônân*—also mean, "last year (some one) robbed my box," the people only thought she had gone mad, and sent her away. However often she might explain that "Last Year" was the name of a man, they would not listen to her. Thus was the poor woman deceived.

Meanwhile, our hero, whom we left on the point of emerging from the forest with his bundle of gold coins on his back, was attacked by a bear. He had covered his body and the bundle as well with his upper cloth so as not to arouse suspicion. The bear placed one of its front paws on his shoulder where his bundle was, and our hero, to prevent the animal from doing any harm to him, took a firm hold of the other front paw which the beast had also raised, and ran round and round with it. Meanwhile the paw on his shoulder had made a hole in the bundle of coins, so that every now and then a gold coin dropped out. While this was going on a rich Muhammadan merchant, having a load of money with him, happened to ride by. Seeing a traveller attacked by a bear, he at once went to the rescue. Whereupon the Arch-Impostor, ever ready to turn everything to his own advantage, addressed him thus:—

"Friend. calmly pursue your course. Do not disturb yourself. This is a bear on which I pronounced an incantation, whereby it drops a gold coin every time that I go round with it. I am testing it now, and have chosen this place to avoid the curiosity of other people. So, do not disturb me."

The Muhammadan, deceived by the composure with which the impostor spoke, and never suspecting that the coins were dropping from his bundle. replied:—"Friend, you appear to be a Brâhmaṇ from your face; and it is not very proper for a Brâhmaṇ to keep a bear in his house. Give it to me, and instruct me in the incantation. Take in return all the money I have on my horse, and the horse too if you like."

This was exactly what the impostor thought the Muhammadan would say. "My idea is working well," thought he within himself, and proceeded to become very reluctant to part with his bear. He also so managed that more coins began to drop, and the more the coins dropped the more the Muhammadan's mind was fixed with an ambition to become the master of the miraculous bear. He begged hard of the Brâhmaṇ, and the latter, as if unwilling to part with a brute which a few moments before he feared would take his life(!), at last told the Muhammadan to tie its hind legs together with a cord, and then its front legs. In this way the brute was safely caught. The Brâhmaṇ then pronounced a meaningless incantation over it, told the Muhammadan to repeat it unceasingly for a month before trying its efficacy. He then picked up every gold coin he had dropped. and took leave of his Muslim friend. Telling him that his house was in the New Street of Madura, he went away with the horse and all the money on it. The Muhammadan merchant, fully believing that after a month's repetition

the incantation would have the effect he saw, spent nearly all his days engaged in repeating it, and in taking care of the bear.

The Arch-Impostor after thus duping the poor Muslim, pursued his journey, and reached a village about evening. It was a very inhospitable village, and after searching here and there for a place to sleep in, he at last came to the street occupied by the courtezans. He chose the best house, took his bedding into the outer verandah, and lay down with his bundles beneath his head and his horse tied to a tree in front of the house. As he had a large amount of money to guard, sleep did not come to his eyes; he could merely pretend to be sleeping. At about dawn his horse evacuated, and the impostor pushed two gold coins into each piece of the horse-dung. He then returned to his bed and pretended to sleep as before. The sweeper of the house soon after came out to do her daily duty, and after sweeping the outer verandah went up to the horse to remove the horse-dung. But the Arch-Impostor at once arose and said:—" Do not touch the dung of that horse. It is all so much gold." After saying this he carefully collected it, and took out the gold coins. The sweeper was amazed. She ran in and informed the mistress of the house of what she saw. The courtezan came out, and to her astonishment she saw the impostor taking two gold coins out of each piece of the horse-dung. Quite amazed she asked what it all meant, and our hero replied:—

" Madam! This is a horse given to me by a *yôgi*, (sage) who instructed me in a *mantra* (incantation). I pronounced it over the horse for a month, and ever since that period it has had the power of dropping gold coins with its ordure." The amazed and ambitious courtezan wanted to get possession of the horse, and learn the *mantra*. And our hero with a good deal of pretended reluctance parted with his horse in return for all her property. He then taught her some gibberish, which he told her was an incantation. He also told her that she must repeat it for a month, before it would work.

Thus deceiving the woman of the wood, the Muhammadan merchant, and the courtezan, our hero went to Madura, bought a good house in the New Street, true to his word to the Musalmân (and this was the only truth which he ever uttered in his life), and there married the daughter of a rich Brâhmaṇ, and lived happily and in comfort.

The old woman of the wood was almost mad after the loss of her hard-earned money. She traced the footprints of treacherous Last Year and followed them up, hoping to find him out some day or other. After a month's journey in the tracks she reached the place where the Muhammadan merchant was engaged in rearing the bear. He had long before the old woman's arrival finished the required number of incantations, and had gone round with the bear more than a thousand times without success. The old woman engaged him in conversation, and he related everything to her. This led to a mutual explanation of the manner in which they had been duped. The fiery Musalmân flew into a rage, and said:—" We must trace out the rogue and punish him."

The old woman agreed, and they both started for Madura. In their first day's journey they chanced to go to the village where the courtezan had been befooled, and where her story was well known. Every child there could tell them how over a month ago a rogue had come there and had deceived her about a horse and an incantation, and had walked away with all her property. The Musalmân soon identified the horse, and so the courtezan joined the old lady and the Muslim, and they all three went to Madura.

They found their enemy in the New Street, and he, getting up with a cheerful smile, welcomed them all, and after enquiring of their welfare asked them whether they had found the incantations useful. The old woman he consoled with an explanation of his sudden departure. He then requested them all to bathe and take their food, and himself showed the way to the river. Returning before the others, he asked his wife to prepare the ground for his worship of the household god, and also asked her to keep a pestle ready for him. He then asked her to bring the meal, pudding, &c., to be offered to the god, and to dress herself up as an old woman. He also told her that he would lightly beat her with the pestle, and throw her into the house, after which she was to suddenly appear again in the garb of a young woman, which, of course, was

her natural attire. All these instructions were issued before his three friends returned from the river, and though Musalmâns and courtezans are never allowed to enter the inner parts of a Brâhmaṇ's house, he pretended to show special consideration to them, and asked them to take their seats at a respectful distance, so as to observe what passed inside. The impostor then proceeded with the worship of the god on a grand scale. He pronounced several incantations, and when the worship was drawing to a close, an old woman, *i.e.* his wife in that attire, brought the offerings. He caught hold of her by her hair, and with his other hand felt for the pestle. The Musalmân and the others at once flew to the rescue of the old woman, but with a smile of perfect composure the impostor said :—

"My friends, do not think I want to kill her. If I beat her with this pestle and throw her into the house, she will return as a young girl. I have made many such old women young by the administration of this pestle." Thus saying he proceeded to beat the old woman and threw her into the house. And the impostor's wife, as well up in tricks as her husband, though she had lived with him for less than a month, came out as a young girl. The three old friends who came to be even with the old rogue wondered at what they saw.

They consulted among themselves :—"The fellow is really here ; so, we can wreak our vengeance upon him whenever we choose. For the present let us obtain his pestle and depart as friends."

The worship was soon over, and our hero proceeded to look to the convenience of his visitors. He asked them to have some food, and superintended their meals himself. They all concealed their anger for the nonce in the hope of getting hold of the pestle, which he gladly allowed them to take away for a week. The three thus duped again went away to their respective houses with the pestle, and made arrangements as to the use of it.

The courtezan knew many old women in her street whom she wished to convert into young ones. So she wanted it first, and the old lady of the wood made up her mind to stay with her to witness the experiment, while the Muhammadan merchant agreed to take the pestle after a week from the courtezan. Thus it was her fortune to try it first. Alas! many a woman she killed with it in the fond hope that one at least would be transformed to a young woman. No transformation came after all; only death was the result. So before even the week was up the courtezan sent the pestle to the Muslim, duly informing him how unsuccessful she found it to be. But he blamed her not being a good hand at thrashing, and had soon himself pounded to death several old women among his relatives. Being then again deceived he went to the courtezan, and said to her : "My friend, see how we have been duped a second time. How many of our dear relatives we have killed. Let us go to that man again, and kill him before he again contrives to deceive us."

"Agreed," said she, and they started off again with the old lady of the wood. After a long journey, they reached the impostor's house, and found him absent. On enquiry they came to know that he had gone to the river to bathe. The old lady remained in his house, and the other two went after him. They carried a bag with them, and strong ropes also, and finding him bathing all alone, they surprised him, and tying up his hands and legs put him in the bag, and took him to a mountain near to burn him alive as a full revenge for all his deception. Climbing to the very top of it they placed the bundle down and went to the jungle near to collect fuel for the fire. Our hero was now in an awkward plight, but he kept saying to himself :—"I don't want to marry that girl, I don't want to marry that girl."

Now, while the Musalmân and the courtezan were away in the jungle collecting fuel, a neatherd who was grazing a herd of cows a little below was attracted by the voice that kept on saying :—"I don't want to marry that girl." Coming up to our hero he said :—"What is the meaning of what you say? Why are you tied up thus in a bundle?"

Hope at once dawned in the impostor's breast, and he hastily replied :—"Friend, whoever you may be, you are my protector. Release me at once from this bag. My uncle and aunt want to marry me to a girl whom I do not like. Against my will they carried me up here to marry me to her. Fortunately they have just gone to some spring near to quench their thirst."

The stupid neatherd, little suspecting that it was odd that a man should be married on the top of a mountain, promised to open the bag and let him out on condition he would allow him to go into the bag himself, and thus be placed in his happy position.

"Agreed," said the impostor, and so the bag was quickly opened, the ropes round his legs and hands untied, and the neatherd packed up in his place. Our hero then went to the place where the herd of cows was grazing, and returned home with them. Here he found the old lady of the wood waiting and welcomed her heartily, telling her that all his wealth was hers, and promising to regard her as his own mother, as she had been one to him for six years.

Meanwhile the Musalmân and the courtezan had lighted a large fire in the jungle and went for the bag. The neatherd inside kept quite silent for fear, if he spoke, that the change that had taken place would become known. But, instead of being married to a young girl, he was soon thrown into the fire.

"Thus have we killed our impostor," said the friends :—"Now let us go to his house and plunder it." So they returned exulting to the New Street of Madura where our hero was sitting outside his house chewing betel, and expecting them every moment. The thousand and one cows he had obtained were still standing outside. When the pair saw him safely seated outside his own house and smiling welcome to them, their wonder knew no bounds. "We threw you an hour ago in the fire," said they, "and how are you sitting here safe ?"

"Yes, my friends," replied he, "as soon as you threw me into the fire, I went to Kailâsa, the world of felicity, and met my father and grandfather. They told me that my time to live in the world was not over and sent me back with these kine."

"Then the same presents will be given to us, too, if we go to that world of heavenly bliss ?" said they.

"Undoubtedly," replied the impostor ; and then with their consent he took them to the mountain and threw them into the fire never more to revive and return with presents.

Returning home and relieved for ever from his troublesome friends the Arch-Impostor lived happily, protecting the old woman of the wood, who had protected him in his younger days.

Though the hero has the worst of characters, still the relaters of this story excuse him for his presence of mind in all his hardships, and draw a moral from it that **ambition is bad.** The Musalmân and the courtezan, even though they repeatedly found out their friend, were always fired with ambition, and at last lost their lives through it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DANISH ROYAL ACADEMY'S PRIZE REGARDING THE PHILOLOGICAL POSITION OF SANSKRIT IN INDIA.

SIR,—It may interest your readers to know that the Académie Royale Danoise des Sciences et des Lettres offers the Gold Medal of the Academy as a prize for the best answer to the following question : "**What position has Sanskṛit occupied in the general development of languages in India? To what extent can we say that it has been a living language, and at what period must it be admitted to have ceased to be such ?** The Academy points out that the inscriptions of Aśôka, dating from the middle of the 3rd century B. C., were couched in a language differing in no small degree from Sanskṛit, and were spread all over the north of India. On this is founded a theory that Sanskṛit had already ceased to be a living language, and that only that portion of its literature which is anterior to the Scythic invasion can be regarded as ancient and natural, while all the subsequent literature is due to a later and artificial development, the work of the Brâhmans, and does not reach to a date earlier than the second century A. D. On the other hand one can scarcely allow that such poems as the lyrics and epics of Kâlidâsa were only written for the learned, and that his dramas were not made to be represented and understood by the ordinarily educated people of his time, and the case is the same with other works written in Sanskṛit after the Christian era. We should also have to explain why Sômadêva, at the beginning of the 12th century, should have chosen a dead and purely learned language for composing a work of light reading, of which the aim was to divert and console the queen of Kaśmîr who had lost her grandson.

Answers may be written in Latin, French, English, German, Swedish, or Danish. They

should not bear the name of the author, but a motto, and should be accompanied by a sealed envelope bearing the same motto, and enclosing the name, profession, and address of the author. Members of the Academy who reside in Denmark will take no part in the competition. Answers should be addressed, before the end of October 1889, to the Secretary of the Academy M. H. G. Zeuthen, Professor at the University of Copenhagen. The prizes will be declared in February 1890, and the authors can thereupon have their essays returned to them. G. A. GRIERSON.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XV.

A Year of the Revue Critique; July 1887 *to June* 1888.

(*a*) *Aug.* 8*th.*—The first important article of interest to oriental students is a review of two works by Prof. Th. Nöldeke. The first is a **sketch of the Semitic languages**[1] originally written for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and since then enlarged, and reproduced in German. The second is **a history of the Arab dynasty** of the Ghassânîs.[2] The article is by M. J. Halévy, and contains an interesting note on the primitive habitat of the Aramæans, which he places in the south of the Syrian desert, bounded by the Hijâz, Najd, and the maritime tracts of Babylonia. Both works are highly praised by the reviewer.

(*b*) *Aug.* 15*th.* — M. A. Barth contributes a review of the present writer's and Dr. Hoernle's works in connection with **the Bihârî language.**

(*c*) *Oct.* 24*th.*—The same gentleman reviews **Prof. Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures** on "an outline of a History of the Hindû law of Partition, Inheritance, and Adoption, as contained in the original Sanskrit treatises." The author, M. Barth considers, studies each institution historically, bringing to light the differences concerning it, which appear through a long series of texts, and he endeavours to explain these differences by referring them to a process of regular development. The various discussions show his familiarity with legal questions, and with comparative legislation, and no one could read the book without deriving great benefit from it. Dr. Jolly differs from Mr. Nelson in considering the juridical literature of India as really its legislation. It is a body of written custom, not only held holy, but universally practised and regularly applied by the public authorities. It has always kept in touch with actual facts, modifying itself as they have become modified. M. Barth combats this theory, considering that the *smṛiti* has been only moderately practised. The official law has often been a very incomplete, and frequently an entirely false representation of the true custom, and whenever there was a conflict between the two, it is the former which has usually had the worst of it. One of the best proofs of this is the differences of doctrine between the various legal schools. Do these schools really represent the law of their tracts? One has only to see the disorder of their traditions, and the fantastic manner in which they borrow from each other, without regard either to geographical vicinity, or to affinities of population, to be satisfied on this point. Theories might travel thus, but not customs.

(*d*) *Oct.* 31*st.*—Dr. Percy Gardner's **Catalogue of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum** is reviewed. The author of the notice is M. Darmesteter. He observes, "there are few historical periods of more fascinating interest than that of the four centuries which followed the death of Alexander, in the tracts of country bordering on Persia and on India. A Greek empire in Bactria, from the Oxus to the Hindû Kûsh, which soon crosses the mountains, absorbs Eastern Afghanistan, passes the Indus, reaches the Yamunâ on the right, the Sea of Gujarât on the south, covers the Indian coasts with Greek temples, of which the ruins still existed in the second century, and brings into India Greek writing, Greek art, and all that the spirit of a Hindû could receive of the Hellenic genius. An invasion of Turkish tribes, who cast upon the Greek frontier by the same movement as that which step by step impelled Attila upon the gates of Rome, come to destroy the empire of Alexander's successors, whilst succeeding as their heirs, to reopen the route of the Greeks in India, to enthrone Buddhism, and, at the same time as Buddha, all the pantheon of Iranian Zoroastrianism. Between the Greeks and the Scythians, are the more or less violent struggles of the Parthians, who send to Western India sometimes governors for the Arsacides, sometimes adventurers who founded dynasties. For all this period, at once confused and fecund (for it is from this chaos that modern India has emerged) there remain but four kinds of documents: a few lines, more or less vague, in the classical writers, a few pages in the Chinese annals, a few inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians, and thousands of coins. Numismatists have there-

[1] *Die Semitischen Sprachen, Eine Skizze,* von Th. Nöldeke, Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1887.

[2] *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's,* von Th. Noldeke. Berlin, Librairie academique, 1887.

fore the field almost entirely to themselves." Taking Mr. Gardner's book as his text M Darmesteter next proceeds to reconstruct a history of these times. Bactria was a province of the Seleucide empire till about the year 250 B. C. About that time Diodorus made himself independent in Bactria, and Arsaces did the same in Parthia. This was the origin of the Græco-Bactrian and of the Parthian empires. The dynasty of Diodorus was supplanted by Euthydemus of Magnesia (about 208 B C.), whose son, Demetrius, pressed on the north by the Barbarians, crossed the Paropamisus (or Hindû Kush) and entered the country of Kâbul and the Pañjâb. This was the commencement of the Græco-Indian empire. With Eukratides (190 ?) the great rival and successor of Demetrius, we first come upon bilingual coins, with a Pâli legend added to the Greek one. A great number of kings followed, of whom two, Apollodotus and Menander, were known to classical writers, and whose money was found to be still in circulation by the Greek travellers of the first century of the present era. Hermæus was the last of the Indo-Greek kings. About 25 B. C., the Scythians of Bactria crossed the Paropamisus, and invaded India. We know of coins of five Indo-Scythic kings, of whom Kanishka was the most famous. The Śaka era dates, not from the expulsion of the Scythic invader, but from his accession. Under this dynasty the Iranian religion of Zoroaster penetrated into India, and we find traces of Persian influence in Indian Epic poetry, which should be ascribed to the same time. These Indo-Scythians were very eclectic in religious matters. They knew Helios, Salene and Serapis. They knew Buddha; and again they recognized Skanda-Kumâra and Viśâkha.

A third race of invaders was that of the Parthians, who appear to have established themselves in the Kâbul valley about 161 B. C. The Peripleus shows us this dynasty as expiring in the Delta of Sindh towards the middle of the first century.

(e) *Dec 5th.*—"J. D." reviews Dastur Tahmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria's **Compendium of the Social Code for the Parsis** (Parsi Fort Printing Press, Bombay, 1887). This is a well printed facsimile of a Pahlavî text on civil law lately discovered by the Editor. The text is principally important on account of the authorities which it cites, and which are those of the classic literature. The last pages are valuable as containing a religious and political history of the last Sasânî.

(f) *January 16th*, 1888 — Commences with a review of the first volume of the Catalogue of **Arabic MSS. in the Royal Library at Berlin,** by M Hauvette. The author of the Catalogue is Herr W. Ahlwardt. It is described as a monument of solid and powerful construction. The present volume is in two parts, the first devoted to *Prolegomena* and to general subjects, the second to the *Qurân*.

(g) *Feb. 6th.* — M. Derenbourg has published the first fasciculus of John of Capua's Latin version of the **Kalilah and Dimnah.** This is reviewed by M. Rubens. Two Hebrew versions of the tale are known, and the older of the two, attributed to the Rabbin Joel, has a special importance as being the original of the Latin version above mentioned. Unfortunately a large portion of this Hebrew version, including the prefaces, the two first chapters, and a portion of the third, is lost. and the present edition of the Latin version is published to supply the deficiency. It has hitherto been printed only once (about the year 1483), and has become so rare as to be almost unprocurable. The present edition is very satisfactory, and the first fasciculus contains the prefaces and nine chapters.

(h) *Feb. 27th.* — There is a short notice by M. Barth on **Cham literature.** The Chams were originally masters of the whole of Annam. M. Antony Landes has published a French translation of sixteen Cham tales, and of a children's song. The basis of the tales is the marvellous, without any alloy of mythology or theology. Only once or twice does the Lord Alwah, "the master of the sky," and probably identical with the Allâh of the Musalmân Chams, appear. The translation appears in *Excursions et Reconnaissances.* The same number of the latter contains the fac-simile of a **Cham inscription** communicated by M. E. Navelle. It is in the name of Śrî Jaya Siṁha Dêva, and also contains the proper name Śrî Hari Dêva and the word *dharmma.* It is dated 1191.

(i) *March 10th.* — In this number is a review by M. V. Henry of M. Paul Regnaud's work on the **Origin and Philosophy of Language or Principles of Indo-European Linguistics.** The author endeavours to reply to the following propositions; (1) To explain and criticize the various systems which, from the earliest times to the present day, have had for their aim to explain philosophically the origin and the laws of language; (2) To collect from the more important contemporary philological works the principles and the laws which could serve in the formation of a philosophy of language. The first portion of the book is described as excellent, and as displaying a great amount of labour and of learning on the part of the author. Regarding the second part M Henry, while admiring the ingenuity displayed is unable to concur with the conclusions arrived at.

(j) *March 26th.*—The late Dr. Hanusz of Vienna was the author of a pamphlet on the encroach-

ments of the n-declension in **Sanskṛit** which is favourably noticed by M. Louis Duvau. The most interesting case noticed is the *n* in terminations of genitives plural like *sênânâm*. Dr. Hanusz shows that the *n* was first borrowed from bases in *n* to form the genitives of bases in *â* long, and then to form those of bases in *a* short.

(*k*) *April 2nd.* — Commences with a review by M. Rubens Duval of Mr. Margoliouth's edition of the **Oriental versions of the Poetics of Aristotle.** The texts published are the Arabic version of Abû Bashar, the definition of tragedy in the Syriac dialogues of James Bar-Shakaku, the Arabic Poetics of Avicenna, and the Syriac Poetics of Bar-Hebræus. The reviewer considers that Mr. Margoliouth has shown in his edition an equal knowledge of Greek, Arabic and Syriac, and future publishers of Aristotle's Poetics will be bound to take his work into consideration.

(*l*) *April 23rd.* — Passing over notices of an edition of the twenty-first volume of the **Kitâb al-aghani**, by Dr. Brünnow, and a review of the Rev. A. Foster's **Elementary lessons in Chinese,** we come to a short article by M. Baudouin on Prof. Windisch's work on the **characteristic** *r* **in verbal forms.** Dr. Windisch conjectures that originally for the middle and active voices there were two sets of inflexions, characterised respectively by the presence or by the absence of the *r* and the *t*. In the middle there would be for the first and third persons of the singular, and for the third of the plural, the terminations *-ê*, *-ê*, *-rê*, and (Gr. *μαι* ?) and *tê*, *-ntê*; in the active they would be, *a* (*-â* ?), *-a*, *-ur*, and *-mi*, *-ti*, *-nti*. The reviewer considers that this conjecture is very plausible, and that it throws an entirely new light on primitive conjugation.

We may pass over two favourable reviews, one by M. A. Barth on Dr. Cust's second series of Linguistic and Oriental Essays, and the other by M. Sylvain Lêvi on Dr. Speijers' Sanskṛit Syntax, which has been already noticed in these pages, and come to a short paper by M. V. Henry on Dr. P. von Bradke's **Essays on the Prehistoric Development of the German Language.** The principal argument of Dr. von Bradke deals with the influence of subject races on the language of the conquerors, and, as an example, he would superimpose a Græco-Italo-Celtic group of languages over the already accepted Italo-Celtic groups, explaining by foreign influence the numerous and important differences between the language and civilisation of Latium and Hellas.

G. A. Grierson.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 27.

In the back-yard of Yellappagauḍa at **Hulgûr,** a village about seven miles to the north-east of Śiggâṁve, the chief town of the Bankâpur Tâlukâ of the **Dhârwâḍ District,** Bombay Presidency, there is an Old-Kanarese **stone inscription** of the **Kalachuri**[1] **king Sômêsvara,** which contains three dates.

The **first date** (from an ink-impression; line 18 f.) is — Śaka-varsha 1096 neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Jyêshṭhada amâvâsye Âdityavâra sûryyagrahaṇa-vyatîpâtad-andu, — "the new-moon *tithi* of (the month) Jyêshṭha **of the Jaya saṁvatsara,** which is the 1096th Śaka year; **Sunday; at the time of the vyatîpâta of an eclipse of the sun.**"

The second date (line 35 f.) is — Śaka-varshada 1096neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Mârgaśirada puṇṇami Âdityavâra sômagrahaṇad-andu, — "the full-moon *tithi* of (the month) Mârgaśira **of the Jaya saṁvatsara,** which is the 1096th of the Śaka years; **Sunday; at the time of an eclipse of the moon.**

And the **third date** (l. 40 f.) is — Śaka-varshada 1096neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Mârgaśira-bahuḷad= amavâsye Maṅgaḷavâra sûryagrahaṇad-andu, — "the new-moon *tithi* of the dark fortnight of (the month) Mârgaśira **of the Jaya saṁvatsara,** which is the 1096th of the Śaka years; **Tuesday; at the time of an eclipse of the sun.**"

By the southern luni-solar system of the Sixty-year Cycle, **the Jaya saṁvatsara** coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1097 current; *i. e.* with the given year, 1096, as an expired year. And, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that, in this year,—

The amânta Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15 ended, not on a Sunday, but at about 22 *ghaṭis*, 53 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bankâpur,[2] on Saturday, 1st June, A. D. 1174. **On this day there was an eclipse of the sun,**[3] which was visible in India. **But the week-day does not correspond with that given in the record;** at least, it does not do so, if the record is to be interpreted as meaning that the *tithi* ended, and the eclipse occurred, on the Sunday.

Mârgasira sukla 15 ended, as required, on Sunday, 10th November, A. D. 1174, at about 36 *gh.* 42 *p.* **And on this day there was an eclipse of the moon,**[4] visible in India.

And the amânta Mârgasira kṛishṇa 15 ended, as required, on Tuesday, 26th November, A. D. 1174, at about 13 *gh.* 51 *p.* And on

[1] In line 2 of this record, the dynastic name is very distinctly written Kaḷaturya.

[2] The times here, all through, are for Baṅkâpur, which of old was a town of considerable importance.

[3] See von Oppolzer's Canon, pp. 228, 229, and Plate 114.

[4] *id.* p. 361.

this day there was an eclipse of the sun,[5] visible in India.

It is to be noted that, in the second and third dates, in which the results work out quite regularly, the term **vyatîpâta** is not used. And, as there is no reason for suggesting that any portion of the record is not genuine, **the explanation of the discrepancy in the results for the first date** in it, is perhaps to be found in the use there of the term in question; which may indicate some astrological conditions that necessitated the observance of the rites of that eclipse on the following day, Sunday, instead of on the day on which it actually occurred. I hope that someone will be in a position to examine and explain this point. The only other solution is to assume a mistake in calculation by the person who prepared the almanac, from which the date was taken by the preparer of the record.

No. 28.

At the same village of **Hulgûr**, on two of the faces of the lower part of a pillar in the well called Kallamaṭhada-bhâvi in Survey No. 78, there is a Sanskṛit and Old-Kanarese inscription **of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Mahâdêva,** in which the date (from an ink-impression; line 15 ff.) is — Śaka-varshada[6] 1189neya Prabhava-saṁvatsarada Jyêshṭha[7]-ba-30-Budhavâra sûrya grahaṇad-andu, — "**Wednesday,** the 30th *tithi*, in the dark fortnight, of (the month) Jyêshṭha of the **Prabhava saṁvatsara,** which is the 1189th of the Śaka years; **at the time of an eclipse of the sun.**"

By the southern luni-solar system of the Sixty-Year Cycle, **the Prabhava saṁvatsara** coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1190 current; *i. e.* with the given year, 1189, as an expired year. In this year, Jyêshṭha itself was intercalary, according to the Tables. And I find that —

The natural *amânta* Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15 ended at about 43 *ghaṭîs* 45 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bankâpur, on Thursday, 23rd June, A. D. 1267; on which day there was no eclipse of the sun. But **the intercalated amânta Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15 ended, as required, on Wednesday, 25th May, A. D. 1267,** at about 20 *gh.* 45 *p.*; and **on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,** visible in India.[8]

This record is of interest, in giving an instance **of the quotation of the new-moon tithi as the thirtieth tithi of the month,** instead of as the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight. **An analogous instance** is to be found in an inscription at Jaynagar in the Moṅgir District, Bengal Presidency, dated in the reign of Madanapâladêva,[9] "the year 16 (?), Âsvina 30." But there is nothing to indicate for certain whether it is the new-moon *tithi*, or the full-moon *tithi*, that is thus numbered in the Jaynagar record; though it may be inferred to be the new-moon *tithi*, in accordance with what is the more general custom in the present day, even in Northern India[10].

J. F. FLEET.

PROFESSOR KIELHORN'S EDITION OF THE MAHABHASHYA.

Excellent as is **Prof. Kielhorn's edition of the Mahâbhâshya,** hyper-criticism can still lay its finger on a fault here and there. Prof. Kielhorn has, for instance, unfortunately followed the Indian copyists in regard to the divisions of the Mahâbhâshya into Âhnikas; *i.e.* he too has numbered the Paspaśâhnika as the first; and the Âhnika treating of the fourteen Sûtras, given according to tradition by Mahâdêva to Pâṇini, as the second, serially with the rest. Whereas, strictly, these two Âhnikas should be separated from the others, as introductory to them. The first Sûtra of Pâṇini is *Vṛiddhêr âdaich*, and not *Atha śabdânuśâsanam*, which was only added on by Patañjali to bring Pâṇini's Sûtras into conformity with the usage prevailing in the Sûtra-period. The usage was, always to declare the subject of every set of aphorisms at the beginning, and so to prepare the student for what he might expect, as is shown by the declaratory first Sûtra, commencing with *Atha*, of the Darśanas, Gṛihya and Śrauta-Sûtras, and Prâtiśâkhyas. Moreover, all the editions of the Ashṭâdhyâyî, which I have seen, separate the fourteen Sûtras of Mahâdêva from Pâṇini's text distinctly. The serial divisions of the Great Commentary proper should, therefore, extend from *Vṛiddhêr âdaich* and the Bhâshya thereon. High example may be pleaded in favour of the current division; but only example, and nothing more. For, so far as the present writer is aware, Kayyata and Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa have not given any reasons for their adherence to it. The fact of their adherence can be explained away, by supposing that they were too much absorbed with their commentaries to bestow any time on such a comparatively unimportant work as formal improvement in the text they were dealing with. By the way, why should not the name of the author of the *Bhâshya-pradîpa* be spelt as Kayyaṭa? The analogy of Mammaṭa and Ubbaṭa speaks in favour of this form, as against the other ordinary forms of Kaiyaṭa and Kaiyyaṭa. It is supported by ancient MSS. as well.

GOVINDA DASA.

Durgakund, Benares.

[5] *id.* pp. 228, 229, and Plate 114.—See also the Dêgâṁve inscription of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4275 expired, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 266, No. 17.

[6] The actual reading in the original is *varuśada*.

[7] The actual reading is *jêshṭa*.

[8] *id.* pp. 238, 239, and Plate 119.

[9] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. Pl. xlv., No. 17, line 4.

[10] See Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's remarks, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 114.

COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE KINGS OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(*Continued from page 21*).

E.—Benares College Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.
The (Vikrama) year 1232.

THE plate which holds this inscription appears to have been discovered, about twenty years ago, by a man ploughing about six miles north-east of the city of Benares, at a village named '**Sihvar**;' and it is now deposited in the Library of the Benares Sanskrit College. The text of it has been published before, by Bâbû Śivaprasâd, in the *Paṇḍit*, Vol. IV. pp. 95-96 (September, 1869).

The inscription is on a **single plate**, measuring about 20½″ by 16¼″, and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims, to protect the writing; but the middle portion of the inscribed surface is somewhat worn. In the centre of the plate there is a crack, caused by tearing out the ring, and extending two-thirds of the way down from the top; and another, extending about two inches up from the bottom; so that the plate is almost in two pieces. Also, the lower proper right corner is broken away, causing the loss of twelve *aksharas*. But these, and the damaged *aksharas* elsewhere, can easily be supplied; and, with the exception of two or three *aksharas* in line 20, there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription.—In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a **ring**. But the ring has been abstracted, by slitting the plate from the ring-hole to the edge; and, with the **seal** attached to it, is not now forthcoming.—The average **size of the letters** is about ⅜″. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and the **language** is Sanskrit. The inscription is carefully written, and in respect of **orthography** I have only to note that *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *babhramur*,[1] line 9; and that the dental sibilant has been seven times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal seven times for the dental sibilant. A few other mistakes will be pointed out in the text.

The **inscription** is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, **Jayachchandradêva**, who records that, when at **Benares**, on the occasion of performing the ceremony of giving a name to (his) the king's, son **Hariśchandra**, he granted the two villages of **Sarau[ḍâ]** and **[Â?]mâyî**, situated in the **Mâ[ṇa]ra** *paṭṭalâ*, to the Brâhmaṇ, the *mahâpaṇḍita* Hṛishîkêśaśarman. And the **date** on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — **Sunday**, the 13th lunar day of the bright half of Bhâdrapada, of the year 1232. The grant was written by the *mahâkshapaṭalika*, or great keeper of records, the *Ṭhakkura* **Śrîpati**.

As regards **the date**, taking 1232 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Bhâdrapada śukla 13 would be :—

for the northern year 1232 current, — Monday, 12 August, A. D. 1174;
for the northern year 1232 expired, or
the southern year 1232 current, — **Sunday,** 31 August, A. D. 1175;
for the southern year 1232 expired, — Friday, 20 August, A. D. 1176.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is **Sunday,**[2] **31 August, A. D. 1175**; but our record furnishes no means of deciding whether the year 1232 spoken of should be taken to be the northern expired year or the southern current year.

The **villages** granted, and the *paṭṭalâ* in which they were situated, I am unable to identify.

---

[1] The same remark applies to every one of the following six inscriptions (F to K).

[2] On that day, the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight ended about 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

TEXT.[3]

1 Ôṁ[4] svasti || Akuṇṭhôtkaṇṭha[5]-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭhapîṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | **saṁrambhaḥ** surat-ârambhê sa Śriyaḥ śrêyasê=stu vaḥ || Âsîd[6]=Aśîtadyuti-vaṁśa-jâta-kshmâpâla-mâ-

2 lâsu divaṁ gatâsu | sâkshâd=Vivasvân=iva bhûri-dhâmnâ nâmnâ **Yaśôvigraha** ity=udâraḥ || Tat[7]-sutô=bhûn=**Mahîchaṁdraś**=chaṁdra-dhâma-nibhaṁ nijaṁ | yên=âpâram=akû-

3 pâra-pârê vyâpâritaṁ yaśaḥ || Tasy[8]=âbhût=tanayô nay-aika-rasikaḥ krânta-dvishan-maṁḍalô vidhvast-ôddhata-dhîra-yôdha-timiraḥ śrî-**Chaṁdradêvô** nṛipaḥ | yên=ôdâratara-

4 pratâpa-śa(sa)mit-âśêsha-praj-ôpadravaṁ śrîmad-**Gâdhipur**-âdhirâjyam=asamaṁ dôr-vvikramêṇ=ârjji(taṁ) || Tîrthâni[9] **Kâśi-Kuśik-Ôttarakôśal-Êndrahsthânîya**[10]-**kâni** paripâlayat=adhiga-

5 mya | hêm=âtma-tulyam=aniśaṁ dadatâ dvijêbhyô yên=âṅkitâ vasumatî śataśas= tulâbhiḥ || Tasy=âtmajô **Madanapâla** iti kshitîndra-chûḍâmaṇir=vvijayatê nija-gôtra-chaṁdraḥ | ya-

6 sy-âbhishêka-kalaś-ôllasi(si)taiḥ payôbhiḥ prakshâlitaṁ kali-rajaḥ-paṭalaṁ dharitryâḥ || Yasy[11]=âsîd=vijaya-prayâṇa-samayê tuṅgâchal-ôchchaiś-chalan-mâdyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-â-

7 sama-bhara-bhraśyan-mahîmaṁḍalê | chûḍâratna-vibhinna-tâlu-galita-styân-âsṛig-udbhâsi-(si)taḥ Śêshaḥ pêsha-[12]vaśâ(śâ)d=iva kshaṇam=asau krôḍê nilîn-ânanaḥ | Tasmâd[13]=ajâyata nij-âya-

8 ta-vâ(bâ)huvalli-va(ba)ndh-âvaruddha-nava-râjya-gajô narêndraḥ | sâṁdr-âmṛita-drava-muchâṁ prabhavô gavâṁ yô **Gôvindachaṁdra** iti chaṁdra iv=âṁvu-(mbu)râśê(śê)ḥ || Na[14] katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kshamâṁs=ti-

9 sṛishu dikshu gajân=atha Vajriṇaḥ | kakubhi babhramur=Abhramuvallabha-prati-bhaṭâ iva yasya ghaṭâ-gajâḥ || Ajani[15] **Vijayachaṁdrô** nâma tasmân= narêndraḥ | surapatir=i-

10 va bhûbhṛit-paksha-vichchhêda-dakshaḥ | bhuvana-dalana-hêlâ-harmmya-**Hamvî(mbî)ra**-nârî-nayana-jalada-dhârâ-dhauta-bhûlôka-tâpaḥ || Lôkatray[16]-âkramaṇa-kêli-viśṛiṁ-khalâni prakhyâta-

11 kîrtti-kavi-varṇṇita-vaibhavâni | yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhâṁji bhâṁti prôjjṛiṁ-bhayanti[17] Va(ba)lirâja-bhayaṁ yaśâṁsi || Yasmiṁś=chalaty=udadhinêmi-mahî-jayârthaṁ mâdyat-ka-

12 rîndra-guru-bhâra-nipîḍit=êva | yâti Prajâpati-padaṁ sa(śa)raṇ-ârthinî bhûs=tvaṅgat-turaṅga-nivah-ôttha-rajaś-chhalêna || Tasmâd[18]=adbhuta-vikramâd=atha **Jayach-chaṁdr**-âbhidhânaḥ pati-

13 r=bhûpânâm=avatîrṇṇa êsha bhuvan-ôddhârâya Nârâyaṇaḥ | dvaidhîbhâvam=apâsya vigraha-ruchiṁ dhikkṛitya śâ(sâ)nt-âśayâḥ sêvantê yam=udagra-va(ba)ndhana-bhaya dhvaṁs-ârthinaḥ pârthivâḥ ||

14 Gachchhên[19]=mûrchchhâm=atuchchhân=na yadi kavalayêt=kûrmma-pṛishṭh-âbhighâta-pratyâvṛitta-śram-ârttô namad-akhila-phaṇa-śvâsa-vâtyâ-sahasra(sra)ṁ | udyôgê yasya dhâvad-dharaṇidhara-dhunî-nirjha-

---

3 From the impression. 4 Expressed by a symbol. 5 Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
6 Metre, Indravajrâ. 7 Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). 8 Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
9 Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next verse. 10 Read *Êndrasthâ°*.
11 Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. 12 Read *śaisha-* and compare *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 12, note 97.
13 Metre, Vasantatilakâ. 14 Metre, Drutavilambita. 15 Metre, Mâlinî.
16 Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next verse.
17 This (and not *prôddyôtayanti*) is the reading also in line 11 of the Faizâbâd plate of Jayachchandra, *ante*, Vol XV. p. 6.
18 Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. 19 Metre, Sragdharâ.

Benares College Plate of Jayachchandra.—The Year 1232.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE · 41

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

32 [ti yâ*][24]vad-âhûtasaṁplavaṁ ‖ Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta **vasuṁdharâṁ** । sa vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati ‖ Vâri-hînêshv=**araṇyêshu** śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ । kṛishṇa-śa(sa)rpâś=cha jâyantê

33 [dêva-bra*]hma-sva-hâriṇaḥ ‖ Na vishaṁ visham=ity=âhur=vra(bra)hma-svaṁ visham= uchyatê । visham=êkâkinaṁ hanti vra(bra)hma-śva(sva)ṁ putra-pautrikaṁ ‖ Taḍâgânâṁ sahasrê(srè)ṇa vâjapêya-śatêna cha । gavâṁ kôṭi-**pradânêna** bhûmi-ha-

34 [rtâ na śu*]dhyati ‖ Sarvvân[25]=êtân bhâvinaḥ pârthiv-êndrân bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ । sâmânyo=yaṁ [dha]rmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ ‖ Vât[26]-âbhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-âdhipatyam=â-

35 [pâtamâtra-*]madhurâ vishay-ôpabhôgâḥ । prâṇâs=tṛiṇ-âgra-jalaviṁdu-samâ **narâṇâṁ** dharmmaḥ sakhâ pa[ra]m=ahô para-lôka-yânê ‖ Likhitaṁ ch=êdaṁ **tâmra**-paṭṭakaṁ mahâkshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrî-**Śrîpatibhir**=iti ‖

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ!

May it be well!

(L. 1.)—May the agitation of Lakshmî during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikuṇṭha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness!

After the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (*personage*) **Yaśôvigraha** by name, (*who*) by his plentiful splendour (*was*) as it were the sun incarnate.

(L. 2.)—His son was **Mahîchandra,** who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon's splendour, (*even*) to the boundary of the ocean.

(L. 3.)—His son was the king, the illustrious **Chandradêva,** whose one delight was in statesmanship, who attacked the hostile hosts (*and*) scattered the haughty brave warriors as (*the moon does the*) darkness. By the valour of his arm he acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious **Gâdhipura,**[27] when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of **Kâśi, Kuśika, Uttarakôśala,** and **the city of Indra,**[28] after he had obtained them, (*and*) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (*in weight*) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (*on which he had himself weighed*).

(L. 5.)—Victorious is his son **Madanapâla,** the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars the coating of impurity of the Kali-age was washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his rutty elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold, Śêsha, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.[29]

(L. 7.)—As the moon, whose rays diffuse in abundance liquid nectar, from the ocean, so was born from him the ruler of men, **Gôvindachandra,** who bestowed cows giving abundant milk. As one restrains an (*untrained*) elephant, so he secured by his creeper-like long arms the new(*ly-acquired*) kingdom.[30]

When his war-elephants had in three quarters in no wise found elephants their equals for combat, they roamed about in the region of the wielder of the thunderbolt, like rivals of the mate of Abhramu.[31]

[24] The *aksharas* in brackets at the commencement of this and the following lines are broken away.

[25] Metre, Śâlinî.

[26] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[27] *i.e.* Kanyakubja.

[28] See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 8, note 16.

[29] See *ib.* p. 12, note 97.

[30] See *ib.* p. 9, note 48.

[31] See *ib.* p. 9, note 49.

(L. 9.)—From him was born the ruler of men, **Vijayachandra** by name, expert in destroying the hosts of (*hostile*) princes, as the lord of the gods (*was*) in clipping the wings of the mountains. He swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (*of water flowing as*) from clouds from the eyes of the wives of the **Hambîra**, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth.

His bright fame which met with no check in its playful course through the three worlds, (*and*) whose glory was sung by poets of known renown, made intense the fear of king Bali when it strode along like Trivikrama.[32]

When he went[33] out to conquer the earth girt by the ocean, the earth, distressed as it were by the heavy weight of his rutty royal elephants, went[33] seeking protection up to the throne of **Prajâpati**, in the guise of the dust rising from the multitude of his prancing horses.

(L. 12.)—After him, possessed of wonderful valour, (*comes*) the lord of princes named **Jayachchandra**; he is Nârâyaṇa, having become incarnate for the salvation of the earth. Having put aside (*all*) dissension (*and*) cursing (*their own*) liking for war, peacefully disposed princes pay homage to him, seeking to rid themselves of the intense dread of the punishment (*inflicted by him*).

When he puts forth his might, the lord of serpents has his reputed strength failing under the great weight of the lines of elephants whose rutting-juice flows down in broad streams resembling torrents rushing down from moving mountains; distressed by the exertion of turning up again when pressed down upon the back of the tortoise, he would completely faint away if he did not inhale the thousand strong breezes from all his bending hoods.

(L. 15.)—He it is who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all *Râjas*. And he, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the devout worshipper of **Mahêśvara**, the lord over the three *Râjas*, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men,[34] (*like*) Bṛihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious **Jayachchandradêva**, — who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the lord over the three *Râjas*, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, (*like*) Bṛihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious **Vijayachandradêva**, — who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the lord over the three *Râjas* (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, (*like*) Bṛihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious **Gôvindachandradêva**, — who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the devout worshipper of **Mahêśvara**, the illustrious **Madanapâladêva**, — who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Chandradêva**, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious **Kanyakubja**:—

(L. 20.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the villages of **Sarau[ḍâ]** and **[Â?]mâyî**[35] in the **Mâ[ṇa]ra** *pattalâ*, and also to the *Râjas*, *Râjñîs*, *Yuvarâjas*, counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines(?), *sthânas* and *gôkulas*:—[36]

(L. 22.)—Be it known to you that, — after having bathed here to-day in the water of the Ganges at the glorious **Vârâṇasî**, (*the town*) of victory, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities,[37] saints, men, beings, and the group of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon,[38] after having performed adoration of the holy Vâsudêva, the

[32] See *ib.* p. 12, note 98.
[33] The original has the present tense.
[34] *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati*, and *Narapati*; see *ib.* p. 9, note 52.
[35] The first syllable of this name is doubtful.
[36] See *ib.* p. 9, note 54.
[37] See *ib.* p. 10, note 55
[38] *i.e.* Śiva.

protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire an oblation with abundant milk rice and sugar, — we have, in order to increase the merit and the fame of our parents and ourself, on **Sunday, the thirteenth lunar day in the bright half of the month Bhâdra, in the twelve-hundred-and-thirty-second year, — in figures too, on Sunday, su. di. 13 of Bhâdra, in the year 1232,** — on (*the occasion of*) giving a name to the king's son, the illustrious **Harischandra,** given the (*two*) above-written villages with their water and dry land, with their mines of iron and salt, with their fisheries, with their ravines and saline wastes, with the treasure in their hills and forests, with and including their groves of *madhûka* and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to their four abuttals, up to their proper boundaries, to the Brâhmaṇ, the *mahâpaṇḍita* the illustrious Hṛishîkêśaśarman, son of the *mahâmiśrapaṇḍita*[39] the illustrious Hâlê, son's son of the *mahâpaṇḍita* the illustrious Mahîdhara, of the Sârkarâksha *gôtra*, (*and*) whose five *pravaras* are Bhârgava, Chyavana, Âpnavâna, Aurva, and Jâmadagnya, — (*confirming our gift*) with (*the pouring out*) from the palm of our hand (*of*) water purified with *kuśa* grass . . . . .[40] (*and*) ordaining (*that it shall be his*) as long as moon and sun (*endure*). Aware (*of this*), you, being ready to obey (*our*) commands, will make over (*to him*) every kind of income, fixed and not fixed, the due share of the produce, the *pravaṇikara*,[41] and so forth.

(L. 29.)—And on this (*subject*) there are (*the following*) verses :—[Here follow eleven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 35.)—And this copper-plate grant has been written by the great keeper of records, the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious **Srîpati.**

F.—Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1233.

The plates which hold this and the following five inscriptions (G.-K.) were found,[1] in 1823, by a peasant at work in a field **near the confluence of the river Varaṇâ** (the 'Burnah' of the maps) **with the Ganges,** close to Benares; and they are now deposited in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Excepting some slight differences of orthography and occasional errors, the introductory portions of these six inscriptions, up to the words *śrîmaj-Jayachchandradêvô vijayî*, are entirely the same as that of the inscription E, lines 1-20; and in the subsequent parts, too, the wording of these grants agrees so closely with the wording of E, that a full translation would be superfluous. I shall therefore, in the following, give only the essential portion of the text of each inscription, and shall point out what may be of any importance, in my introductory remarks.

This inscription is on a **single plate,** measuring about 20⅝" by 16", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker than the inscribed surface, and were partly raised or beaten up into rims; and the preservation of the writing is perfect, so that there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. — The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The **ring,** which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about ⅝" thick and 5" in diameter. It fits easily into a round hole in the bottom part of a bell-shaped **seal,** which is about 3" high. The surface of the seal is circular, about 3¼" in diameter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are — at the top, a representation of Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head and wings of a bird, kneeling half to the front and half to the proper right, and with his head turned full round in profile to the proper right; across the centre, the **legend** *śrîmaj-Jayachcha*[*ṁ**]*dradêvaḥ* ‖ ; and at the bottom, a *śaṅkha*-shell. — The average **size of the letters** is about ⅜". The engraving is fairly good; but, in the usual manner, the interiors of most of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and

[39] This word appears to signify a great scholar, deserving of the honorific title *miśra* (Hâlê-miśra).

[40] On *gôkarṇa*, see *ib.* p. 10, note 57.

[41] See *ib.* p. 10, note 58.

[1] See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. pp. 446 and 459.

the letters, being rather shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and the **language** is Sanskṛit. In respect of **orthography,** I need only note that *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in the word *babhramur*, and that the dental sibilant has been fourteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal six times for the dental sibilant.

This **inscription** also is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, **Jayachchandradêva,** who records that, when at **Benares,** he granted the village of **Gôḍantî,** situated in the **Paśchima-chchhapana** *pattalâ* in **Antarvêdî,** together with its two *pâṭakas* called **Ghaṇṭiâmauyî** and **Nîtâmauyî,** to the *râuta* Râjyadharavarman, son of the *mahâmahattaka*, the *ṭhakkura* Vidyâdhara, and son's son of the *mahâmahattaka*, the *ṭhakkura* Jagaddhara, a Kshatriya of the Vatsa *gôtra*, whose five *pravaras* were Bhârgava, Chyavana, Âpnavâna, Aurva, and Jâmadagnya. And the **date** on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — **Saturday,** the 10th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, of the year 1233. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the *mahâkshapaṭalika*, or great keeper of records, the *Ṭhakkura* **Śrîpati.**

The term *pâṭaka*, which occurs in the above, is by lexicographers explained to mean *grâmaikadêśa* 'a part of a village;' and comparing the use of the word in lines 16 and 17 of the inscription K below, and in line 14 of the inscription of Gôvindachandra[2] of the year 1187 (*not* 1180) published in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, I understand the word to denote the outlying portion of a village, or a kind of hamlet which had a name of its own, but really belonged to a larger village. In the present case, the village of Gôḍantî, granted by the king, had two such hamlets, named Ghaṇṭiâmauyî and Nîtâmauyî respectively.

As regards **the date,** taking 1233 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Vaiśâkha śukla 10 would be :—

for the northern year 1233 current, — Friday, 2 May, A.D. 1175;
for the northern year 1233 expired, or
the southern year 1233 current, — Tuesday, 20 April, A.D. 1176;
for the southern year 1233 expired, — **Saturday,** 9 April, A.D. 1177.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is **Saturday,**[3] **9 April, A.D. 1177,** and the calculation shows that the year 1233, mentioned in our record, was the **southern Vikrama year 1233, expired,** *i.e.* the northern year 1235, current.

Of the **localities** mentioned, **Antarvêdî** is the Doab, or district between the Ganges and Yamunâ rivers. The village granted, and the *pattalâ* in which it was situated, I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.[4]

20 . . . . . : . . . . .[5]śrîmaj-**Jayachchaṁdradêvô** vijayî ‖ ‖[6] **Antarvvêdyâṁ** ।[6] **Paśchimachchhapana**-pattalâyâṁ ।[6] **Ghaṁṭiâmauyî Nîtâmauyî** 2 saha

21 sa-pâṭaka-**Gôḍantî**-grâma-nivâsin[ô] nikhila-janapadân=upagatân=api cha râja-râjñî-yuvarâja-maṁtri-purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhâṁḍâgârik-âkshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimi-

22 ttik-ântaḥpurika-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân=âjñâpayati vô-(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati cha [।*] Viditam=astu bhavatâṁ yath=ôparilikhita-grâmaḥ sa-jala-

---

[2] The published text and the translation of it are incorrect. The actual reading of the plate is distinctly *Bhalurî-pâṭakêna saha* 'together with the *pâṭaka* Bhalurî' (*not* 'a part of *Baluri*' (!)).

[3] On that day the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight commenced about mean sunrise, and it ended 1 h. 44 m. before sunrise of the following day.

[4] From the impression.

[5] Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.

[6] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

23 sthalaḥ sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-matsy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhânaḥ sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâṭikâ-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yûti-gôchara-paryantaḥ s-ôrdhv-âdhaś=chatur-âghâ-

24 ṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sîmâ-paryantaḥ |[6] **traya[s*]triṁsa(śa)d-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁ(ṁ)vatsarê Vaiśâ(śâ)khê mâsi su(śu)kla-pakshê daśamyâṁ tithau Sa(śa)-ni-dinê aṅkatô=pi saṁ(ṁ)vat 1233 Vaiśâ(śa)kha su di 10 Sa(śa)nau ady=ê-**

25 ha śrîmad-vijaya-**Vârâṇasyâṁ** Gaṁgâyâṁ snâtvâ vidhivan=maṁtra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhûta-pitṛigaṇâṁs=tarppayitvâ timira-paṭala-pâṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇa-rôchisham=upasthây=Ô(au)shadhipati-

26 śakala-śêkharaṁ samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trâtur=bhagavatô Vâsudêvasya pûjâṁ vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ havirbhujaṁ hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê a-

27 smâbhir=ggôkarṇṇa-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvakaṁ Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavan-Âpnavân-Aurvva-Jâmadagny-êti-paṁcha-pravarâya mahâmahattaka-ṭhakkura-śrî-Jagaddhara-pautrâya mahâmaha-

28 ttaka-ṭhakkura-śrî-Vidyâdhara-putrâya râuta-śrî-Râjyadharavarmmaṇê kshatriyâya chaṁdr-ârkkaṁ yâvach=chhâsanîkṛitya pradattô matvâ yathâdîyamâna-bhâgabhôgakara-pravaṇikara-prabhṛiti-niyatâni-

29 yata-samast-âdâyan=âjñâvidhêyîbhûya dâsyath= ê ti || ||Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâḥ |[7]

. . . .

35 . . . . . | Likhitaṁ ch=êdaṁ tâmrapaṭṭakaṁ mahâkshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrî-**Śrîpatibhiḥ** ||

G.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1233.

This inscription also is on a **single plate,** measuring about 21″ by $\frac{9}{16}$″ and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface; and the preservation of the writing is perfect. — The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The **ring,** which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about ⅝″ thick and 5⅛″ in diameter. It fits very tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-shaped **seal,** which is about 3⅝″ high. The surface of the seal is circular, about $3\frac{1}{16}$ in diameter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are — at the top, a representation of Garuḍa, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the **legend** *śrîmaj-Jayachcha-*[*ṁ**]*dradêvaḥ* ||; and at the bottom, a *śaṅkha*-shell. — The average **size of the letters** is about ⅜″. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of most of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and the **language** is Sanskṛit. As regards **orthography,** *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in the word *babhramur*; the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal once for the dental sibilant; *sha* has taken the place of *kha* in *sêsharaṁ*, line 23; and the conjunct *mvra* has been employed instead of *mra* in *âmvra*, line 21, and *tâmvrakaṁ*, line 34.

This **inscription** also is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja,* and *Paramêśvara,* **Jayachchandradêva,** who records that, when at **Benares,** he granted the village of **Kôṭhâra-vandhurî,** in the **Kôsamba** *paṭṭalâ,* to the Kshatriya Râjyadharavarman, mentioned as donee in the preceding inscription. The **date,** too, is the same as that of the inscription F.: and this grant also was written by the *mahâkshapaṭalika,* the *Ṭhakkura* **Śrîpati.**

[6] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[7] Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictive and imprecatory verses as in E, except that for the verse beginning *gâm=êkâṁ svarṇṇam=êkaṁ cha* we have here the verse beginning *yân=îha dattâni purâ narêndraiḥ.*

Among the taxes, etc., to be paid to the donee, this inscription, in addition to the *bhâgabhôgakara* and *pravaṇikara*, in line 26 enumerates the *yamalikâmbali*, which is also mentioned below in the inscription H, line 29, and in I, line 25, and is called *javalikâmbali* in J, line 25, and in K, line 24. I have not met with this technical term elsewhere, and am unable to explain it.

As regards the localities, the **Kôsamba** *pattalâ* evidently takes its name from Kauśâmbî, with which has been identified the village of Kôsam, on the left bank of the Yamunâ, about 30 miles above Allahâbâd, which is said to have been a large and flourishing town, as late as a century ago. The village mentioned in the inscription I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.[1]

18 . . . .[2]-śrîmaj-**Jayachchandradêvô** vijayî ‖ ‖[3] **Kôsaṁva(ba)**-pattalâyâṁ

19 **Kôṭhâravaṁdhurî**-grâma-nivâsinô nikhila-janapadân=upagatân=api cha râja-râjñî-yuvarâja-mantri-purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhâṇḍâgârik-âkshapaḍa(ṭa)lika- bhishaṅ-naimittik-ântaḥpurika-dûta-kari-

20 turagapattanâkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân=âjñâyapati vô(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâṁ yath=ôparilikhita-grâmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-matsy-â-

21 karaḥ sa-gartt-ôshara[ḥ*] sa-madhûk-âmvra(mra)-vana-vâṭikâ-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yûti-gôchara-paryantaḥ s-ôrddhv-âdhaś=chatur-âghâta-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sîmâ-paryantas=**ritriṁśaty-adhika[4]-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Vaisâ(śâ)kha-mâsi śushla(kla)-**

22 **pakshê daśamyâṁ tithau Sa(śa)ni-dinê aṅkatô=pi saṁvat 1233 Vaisâ(śâ)kha su di 10 Sa(śa)nau ady**=êha śrîmad-**Vârâṇasyâṁ** Gaṁgâyâṁ snâtvâ vidhivan=mantra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhûta-pitṛigaṇâṁs=tarppayitvâ

23 timira-paṭala-pâṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarôchisham=upasthây=Ô(au)shadhipati-śakala - sê-(śê)sha(kha)raṁ samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trâtur=Vvâsudêvasya pûjâṁ vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ havirbhu-

24 jaṁ hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê asmâbhir=gôkarṇṇa-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatâlâdaka[5]-pû[r*]vakaṁ Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavana-Âpnavâna-Aurvva-Jâmadagnya-paṁcha-pravarâya

25 mahâmahattaka-ṭhakkura-śrî-Jagadhva(ddha)ra-pautrâya mahâmahattaka-mahâṭhakkura-śrî-Vidyâdhara-putrâya râuta-śrî-Râjâ(jya)dharavarmmaṇê kshatriyâya chandr-ârkka[ṁ] yâvach=chhâsanîkṛitya pradâttâ[6] matvâ yathâ-

26 dîyamâna-bhâgabhôgakara-pravaṇikara-yamalikâmva(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyatâniyata - samast-âdâyân=âjñâvidhêyîbhûya dâsyath=êti ‖ Bhavanti ch=âtra slô(ślô)kâḥ ‖[7]

33 . . . . ‖ Likhitaṁ ch=êdaṁ

34 tâmvra(mra)ka[ṁ] mahâkshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrî-**Srîpatibhiḥ** ‖ Su(śu)bham=astu ‖ ‖ Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ ‖

H.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1234.

A translation of this inscription by Captain E. Fell, with remarks by H. H. Wilson, has been published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. pp. 447-469.

This inscription also is on a **single plate**, measuring about $20\frac{1}{4}''$ by $17\frac{3}{4}''$, and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker and partly raised into rims; and though in a few places the surface of the plate is slightly worn, the writing in general is well

[1] From the impression.

[2] Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.

[3] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[4] Read *trayastriṁśad-adhika-*.

[5] Read *karatal-ôdaka-*.

[6] Read *pradattô*.

[7] Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictive and imprecatory verses as in E, except that for the verse beginning *na vishaṁ visham=ity=âhuḥ* we have here the verse beginning *yân=îha dattâni purâ narêndraiḥ*.

preserved. — The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The **ring,** which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about $\frac{3}{8}''$ thick and $4\frac{7}{8}''$ in diameter. It fits very tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-shaped **seal,** which is about $3\frac{1}{4}''$ high. The surface of the seal is circular, about $3\frac{3}{8}''$ in diameter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are — at the top, a representation of Garuḍa, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the **legend** *śrîmaj-Jayachchaṁdradêvaḥ* ‖ ; and at the bottom, a *śaṅkha*-shell. — The average **size of the letters** is between $\frac{5}{16}''$ and $\frac{3}{8}.''$ The engraving is good; though, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and the **language** is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography,** *b* has been denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in the word *babhramur*; the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal six times for the dental sibilant; *sha* has taken the place of *kha* in *śêsharaṁ,* line 26; and the conjunct *mvra* has been employed instead of *mra* in *âmvra*, line 24, and *tâmvrakaṁ,* line 35; besides, the dental has occasionally been used instead of the lingual nasal, *e.g.*, in *uttarâyana,* line 25.

This **inscription** also is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja,* and *Paramêśvara,* **Jayachchandradêva,** who records that, when at **Benares,** he granted the village of **Dêûpâlî,** together with (what I consider to be four *pâṭakas* or outlying hamlets[1]) **Vavaharâḍiha, Chaṭâ-[gê]lauâpâlî, Saravatâtatalîâ,** and **Naugamâ,** situated in the **Ambuâlî** *pattalâ,* on the banks of the **D[ai]vahâ,** to the Kshatriya Râjyadharavarman, the donee of the preceding two inscriptions F and G. And the **date** on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures to have been, — **Sunday,** the 4th lunar day of the bright half of Pausha, of the year 1234, on the **Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti** or commencement of the sun's progress upon its northern course. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the *mahâkshapaṭalika,* the *Ṭhakkura* **Srîpati.**

As regards **the date,** taking 1234 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Pausha śukla 4 would be: — for the year 1234 current, — Tuesday, 7 December, A.D. 1176; and for the year 1234 expired, — Monday, 26 December, A.D. 1177. In A.D. 1176 the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti took place on December 25th, which, irrespective of the fact that the week-day would be wrong, shows at once that the day intended by the grant cannot possibly be December 7, A.D. 1176. In A.D. 1177, on the other hand, the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti took place about 5 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, December 25th; and the 4th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Pausha commenced about 4 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, December 25th, and ended about 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, December 26th. I therefore believe that the day intended *is* **Sunday, 25 December, A.D. 1177,** which was really the 3rd of the bright fortnight of Pausha; and that the meaning intended to be conveyed by the wording of the date is this, that the donation was made on Sunday, the day of the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti, during that part of the day when the 4th *tithi* was running.—Accordingly 1234 has to be taken as the **expired** year; but, the day falling in the bright fortnight of Pausha, there is nothing to show whether the year should be regarded as a northern or southern year.

The **river and the localities** mentioned in the inscription I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.[2]

20 . . . .[3]-śrîmaj-**Jayachchandradêvô** vijayî ‖ ‖[4]**D[ai]vahâ**-pârê **Amvu-(mbu)âlî**-pattalâyâṁ **Vavaharâḍiha** ।[4] **Chaṭâ[gê]**-

21 **lauâpâlî** ।[4] **Saravatâtatalîâ** ।[4] **Naugamâ** ।[4] êtaiḥ saha **Dêûpâlî**-grâma-nivâsinô nikhila-janapadân=upagatân=api cha râja râjñî-yuvarâ-

[1] Compare lines 16 and 17 of the inscription K. below.

[2] From the impression.

[3] Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.

[4] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

22 ja-ma[ṁ]tri- purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhâṇḍâgârik-âkshapaṭalika-bhishaṅ-naimittik-ântaḥ-purika-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân=âjñâpayati

23 vô(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâṁ yath=ôparilikhita-grâmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-matsy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhânaḥ sa-madhû-

24 k-âmvra(mra)-vana-vâṭikâ-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yûti-gôchara-paryantaḥ s-ôrddhv-âdhaś=chatur-âghâṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sîmâ-paryantaś=**chatustriṁsaty**[5]**-adhika-dvâdaśa-sa(śa)tasaṁvatsarê Paushê mâsi su(śu)kla-pa-**

25 **kshê chaturthyân=tithau Ravi-dinê aṅkatô=pi saṁvat 1234 Pausha su di 4 Ravau Uttarâyana(ṇa)-saṁkrântau** ady=êha śrîmad-**Vâraṇasyâṁ** Gaṁgâyâṁ snâtvâ vidhivan=mantra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhû-

26 ta-pitṛigaṇâṁs=tarppayitvâ timira-paṭala-pâṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarôchisham=upasthây=Ô(au)shadhipati-śakala-śêsha(kha)raṁ samabhyarchchya 'tribhuvana-trâtur=Vvâsudêvasya pûjâṁ vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna

27 Lavishâ havirbhujaṁ hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê asmâbhir=gôkarṇṇa-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvakaṁ Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârg-gava-Chyavana-Âpnavâna-Aurvva-Jâmadagnya-pa[ñcha]-

28 pravarâya mahâmahattaka-mahâṭhakkura-śrî-Jagaddhara-pautrâya mahâmahattaka-mahâ-ṭhakkura-śrî-Vidyâdhara-putrâya râuta-śrî-Râjyadharavarmmaṇê kshatriyâya chandr-ârkkaṁ yâvach=chhâsanîkṛitya pradattô ma-

29 tvâ yathâdîyamâna-bhâgabhôgakara-pravaṇikara-yamalikâmva(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyatâniyata-samast-âdâyân=âjñâvidhêyîbhûya dâsyath=êti ॥ Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâḥ ॥[6]

. . . .

35 . . . . ॥ Likhitañ=ch=êdan=tâmvra(mra)kaṁ mahâkshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-

36 śrî-**Śrîpatibhir**=iti ॥ ॥ Su(śu)bham=astu ॥ ॥ Maṅgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ ॥

I.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra. The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a **single plate**, measuring about 20" by $15\frac{1}{4}$", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims; and the writing is well preserved throughout. Recently, a small triangular piece, containing eleven *aksharas*, has been broken away at the upper proper left corner; but it is preserved with the plate. — In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a **ring.** The ring and its **seal** are not now forthcoming. But it appears that they were found when the plate was discovered: and that the seal was bell-shaped, and had on it Garuḍa and a *śaṅkha*-shell, and a **legend** giving the name of Jayach[ch*]andra. — The average **size of the letters** is between $\frac{1}{4}$" and $\frac{5}{16}$." The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and the **language** is Sanskṛit. As regards **orthography,** *b* has been denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in the word *babhramur*; and the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal seven times for the dental sibilant.

This **inscription** also is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, **Jayachchandradêva,** who records that, when in residence at **Raṇḍavai** on the Ganges, he granted the village of **Dayaḍâma,** situated in the **Dayaḍâmî** *pattalâ*, to the *râuta* Râjyadhara-varman, the donee of the preceding inscriptions. And the **date** on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — **Friday,** the full moon *tithi* or

[5] Read *chatustriṁśad-*.

[6] Here the inscription has, in a different order, the verses given in E., excepting the verses beginning *sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ* and *na visham visham=ity=âhuḥ*; and the inscription adds the verse beginning *yân=îha dattâni purâ narêndraiḥ*.

15th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, of the year 1236. Like the preceding, this **grant** was written by the *mahâkshapaṭalika*, the *Ṭhakkura* **Srîpati.**

As regards **the date,** taking 1236 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Vaiśâkha śukla 15 would be:—

for the northern year 1236 current, — Wednesday, 3 May, A.D. 1178;
for the northern year 1236 expired, or
the southern year 1236 current, — Monday, 23 April, A.D. 1179;
for the southern year 1236 expired, — **Friday,** 11 April, A.D. 1180.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is **Friday,**[1] **11 April, A.D. 1180**; and the year 1236 of the grant must be taken to be the **southern expired year,** *i.e.* the northern year 1238 current.

The **localities** mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.[2]

18 . . . .[3]-śrîmaj=**Jayachchandravê(dê)vô** vijayî ॥[4] **Dayaḍâmî**-pattalâyâṁ **Dayaḍâma**-grâma-nivâsinô nikhila-janapadân=upagatân=api cha râja-râjñî-yuvarâja-mantri-

19 purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhâṇḍâgârik-âkshapaṭalika-bhishaṅ-naimittik-ântaḥpurika-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân=âjñâpayati vô(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati

20 cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâṁ yath=ôparilikhita-grâmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-matsy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhânaḥ sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâṭikâ-viṭapa-triṇa-yûti-

21 gôchara-paryantaḥ s-[ô]rddhv-âdhaś=chatur-âghâṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sîmâ-paryantaḥ **shaṭtriṁsa(śa)d-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Vaisâ(śâ)khê mâsi śukla-pakshê pûrṇṇimâyâṁ tithau Sukra-dinê** aṅkata(tô)=pi **saṁ 1236 Vaisâ(śâ)kha su**

22 **di 15 Sukrê** ady=êha śrî-**Raṁḍavai**-samâvâsê Gaṁgâyaṁ snâtvâ vidhivan=mantra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhûta-pitṛigaṇâṁs=tarppayitvâ timira-paṭala-pâṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarôchisham=upasthây=Aushadhipati-śakala-

23 se(śê)kharaṁ samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trâtur=Vvâsudêvasya pûjâṁ vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ havirbhujaṁ hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê **ꞩ**smâbhir=ggôkarṇṇa-kuśalatâ-pûta-karata-

24 l-ô[da]ka-pûrvvakam ॥[5] Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavana-Âpnavâna-Ma(au)rvva-Jâmadagnya-paṁcha-pravarâya mahâmahattaka-thakkura-śrî-Jagaddhara-pautrâya mahâmahattaka-thakkura-śrî-Vidyâdhara-putrâya râuta-śrî-[Râ]jyadhara-

25 ravarmmaṇi(ṇê) chandr-ârkkaṁ yâvach=chhâsanîkṛi[tya*] pradattô matvâ yathâ-dîyamâna-bhâgabhôgakara-prama(va)ṇikara-yamalikâmva(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyatâ-niyata-samast-âdâyân=âjñâvidhêyîbhûya dâsyath=êti ॥ ॥

26 Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâḥ ।[6] . . . .

33 . . . . ॥ ॥ Likhitaṁ ch=êdaṁ tâvra(mra)ka[ṁ*] mahâkshapaṭali-

34 ka-[ṭha]kkura-śrî-**Srîpatikan**[7]=êti ॥ ॥ Maṅgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ ॥

J.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a **single plate,** measuring about $18\frac{1}{8}''$ by $13\frac{3}{4}''$, and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and party raised into rims; and

[1] On that day, there was full-moon about 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise.
[2] From the impression.
[3] Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.
[4] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[5] Read-*pûrvvakaṁ Vatsa-*.
[6] Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictive and imprecatory verses as in E.; and besides, the verses beginning *asmad-vaṁsê parikshîṇê*, and *yân=îha dattâni purâ narêndraiḥ*.
[7] Read *Srîpatin=*.

the writing is well preserved throughout. — In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a **ring.** The ring and its **seal** are not now forthcoming. But it appears that they were discovered with the plate; and that the seal was bell-shaped, and had on it Garuḍa and a *śaṅkha*-shell, and a **legend** giving the name of Jayach[ch*]andra. — The average **size of the letters** is about ¼". The engraving is fairly good; though, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The **characters** are Nâgarî and the **language** is Sanskṛit. As regards **orthography,** *b* has been denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in the word *babhramur*; the dental sibilant has been about 35 times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal a few times for the dental sibilant; *sha* has taken the place of *kha* in *-śêsharaṁ*, line 23; the conjunct *mvra* has been used for *mra* in *âmvra,* line 20; and the dental nasal has occasionally been employed instead of the lingual nasal, *e.g.* in *punya-*, line 23.

This **inscription** also is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja,* and *Paramêśvara,* **Jayachchandradêva,** who records that, when in residence at **Raṇḍavai** on the Ganges, he granted the village of **Salê[ṭ]i,** situated in the **Jâru[ttha]** *pattalá*, to the *râuta* Râjyadhara-varman, the donee of the preceding grants. The **date** is the same as that of the preceding inscription I.; and this grant also was written by the *mahâkshapaṭalika*, the *Ṭhakkura* **Śrîpati.**

The **localities** mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.[1]

17 . . . .[2] -śrîmaj-**Jaya[ch*]chandra**

18 **dêvo** vijayî ||[3] **Jâ[ruttha]**[4]-pattalâyâm |[5] **Salê[ṭ]i**[6]-grâma-nivâsinô nikhila-janapadân=upaga[tâ]n=api cha râja-râjñî-yuvarâja-maṁtri-purôhita-pratîhâra-s[ê*]nâpati-bhâṁḍâgârik-âksha-

19 paṭalika - bhishag - naimittik - ântaḥpurika - dûta- karituragapa[t*]tanâkarasthânagôkulâdhi-kâri-purushân=âjñâpayati vô(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati cha yathâ vidi(di)tam=astu bhavatâṁ yath=ôparili-

20 khita-grâmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-matsy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhânaḥ sa-madhûk-âmvra(mra)-vana-vâṭikâ-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yû[ti]-gôchara-paryantaḥ s-ô-

21 rddhv-âdhaś=chatur-âghâṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sîmâ-paryantaḥ **shaṭtriṁsaty[7]-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Vaisâ(śâ)khê mâsi su(śu)kla-pakshê paurṇṇi-mâyâm(ṁ) tithau Su(śu)kra-dinê aṅkê=pi śamvat[8] 1236 Vaisâ(śâ)kha su**

22 **di 15 Su(śu)krê** |[9] **adya** śrî-**Raṁḍavai**-samâvâsê Gaṁgâyâṁ snâtvâ vidhivan=maṁtra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhûta-pitṛigaṇâṁs=tarppayitvâ timira-pa[ṭa]la-pâṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarôdhi(chi)sham=upasthây=Au-

23 shadhipati-śakala-śêsha(kha)raṁ samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trâtur=bhagavatô Vâsudai-(dê)vasya pûjâ[ṁ] vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ havirbhujaṁ hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha punya(ṇya)-yaśô-vivṛiddhayê a[10]-

24 asmâbhir=gôkarṇṇa-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvakaṁm |[11] Vatsa-gôtrâva(ya) Bhârggava-Chyavana-Âpnavâna-Ma(au)rvva-Jâmadagnya-paṁcha-pravarâya mahâ-mahattaka-[ṭha]kkura-śrî-Jagaddhara-pau-

---

1 From the impression.

2 Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, and the omission of the word *śrî* before *Kanyakubj-*, is the same as that of the inscription E.

3 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

4 The second *akshara* of this word is quite illegible, and has been taken from the inscription K. below; the third may be *tha*.

5 Read *-pattalâyâṁ*.

6 The consonant of this *akshara* is doubtful.

7 Read *shaṭtriṁśad-*.

8 Read *saṁvat*.

9 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

10 This *a* appears to be struck out.

11 Read *-pûrvvakaṁ*.

25 trâya mahâmahattaka-ṭhakkura-śrî-Vidyâdhara-putrâya râura(ta)-śrî-Râjyadharava[r*]-mmaṇê chaṁdr-ârkkaṁ yâvat[12] śâsanîkṛitya praḍa(da)ttô matvâ yathâdîyamâna-bhâgabhôgakara-pravaṇikara-javalikâ-

26 mva(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyatâniyata-samast-âdâyân=âjñâvidhêyîbbûya dâsyath=êti ॥ ॥ Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâḥ ॥[13] . . . .

33 . . . . Likhitaṁ ch=êdaṁ mahâkshapaṭalika-ṭha[k*]kura-śrî-**Srîpatin**=êti ॥ Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ ॥

K.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a **single plate,** measuring about 17½″ by 12⅝″, and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims. The surface of the plate is somewhat worn; but, excepting two or three *aksharas* in line 16, there is no doubt about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The wire of the **ring,** which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is not round, as is usually the case, but rectangular, about $\frac{9}{16}$″ by ⅜″; but it is bent into the usual circular shape, about 3⅞″ in diameter. It fits rather tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-shaped **seal,** which is about 3⅝″ high. The surface of the seal is circular, about 2⅞″ in diameter; and on it, in low relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are—at the top, a representation of Garuḍa, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the **legend** *śrîmaj-Jayachcha*[*ṁ**]-*dradêvaḥ* ॥; and at the bottom, a *śaṅkha*-shell.—The average **size of the letters** is about ¼″. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The letters are rather shallow, and do not shew through at all on the back of the plate, which is thick and substantial. The **characters** are Nâgarî and the **language** is Sanskṛit. As regards **orthography,** the inscription closely agrees with the preceding inscription J., so that all the remarks made on the orthography of J. are also here applicable.

This **inscription** also is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja,* and *Paramêśvara,* **Jayachchandradêva,** who records that, when in residence at **Raṇḍavaî** on the Ganges, he granted the village of **Abhêlâvaṭu**, situated in the **Jâru[ttha]** *pattalâ* (also mentioned in J), together with its five *pâṭakas* or outlying hamlets **Maṇiârî, Gayasaḍa, Vaṭâvaṇa, Asi[â]ma,** and **[Sirî ?]ma,** to the *râuta* Râjyadharavarman, the donee of the preceding grants. The **date** is the same as that of the preceding inscriptions I and J, and this grant also was written by the *mahâkshapaṭalika*, the *Ṭhakkura* **Srîpati.**

The **localities** mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.[1]

16 . . . . [2]śrîmaj-**Jayachchandradêvô** vijayî ।[3] **Jâru[ttha]**-pattalâyâm=**Abhêlâvaṭu**-grâma êtasya pâṭaka[ṁ?] **Maṇiârî** dvitîya-pâṭaka[ṁ?]**Gayasaḍa** tṛitîyaṁ **Vaṭâvaṇa** chaturttha[ṁ?] **Asi[â]ma** paṁchama[ṁ] **[Sirî?]**[4]-

17 **ma** êtaiḥ paṁcha-pâṭakaiḥ saha grâma-nivâsinô nikhila-janapadân=upagatân=api cha . râja-râjñî-yuvarâja-maṁtri-purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhâṁḍâgârik-âkshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-ântaḥpuri-

18 ka-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân=âjñâpayati dhô(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati cha yathâ dhi(vi)ditam=astu bhavatâṁ yath=ôpa[ri]-pâṭakaiḥ saha likhita-grâmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lôha-la-

[12] Read *yâvach=chhâsanîkṛitya.* [13] Here follow the same verses as in I. [1] From the impression.

[2] Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, and the omission of the word *śrî* before *Kanyakubj-*, is the same as that of the inscription E.

[3] This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, appears to be struck out already in the original.

[4] The *aksharas* in brackets are very doubtful.

19 vaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-matsy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhânaḥ sa-madhûk-âmvra(mra)-vana-vâṭikâ-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yûti-gôchara-paryantaḥ s-ôrddhv-âdhaś=chatur-âghâṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sîmâ-paryantaḥ **shaṭṭriṁsaty**[5]**-a-**

20 **dhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsê(tsa)r[ê*] Vê(vai)śâ(śâ)khê m[â*]si su(śu)kla-pakshê pauṛṇṇimâyâṁ tithau Su(śu)kra-dinê aṅkê=pi saṁvat 1236 Vaiśâ(śâ)-kha su di 15 Mu(śu)kr[ê*] adya** śrî-**Raṁḍavai**-samâvâsê Ga[ṁ]gâyâṁ snâtvâ vidhivan=maṁtra-dêva-mu-

21 ni-manuja-bhûta-pitṛigaṇâṁs=tarppayitvâ timira-paṭala-pâṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarôchi-sham=upasthây=Aushadhipati-śakala-ś[ê]sha(kha)raṁ samabhyarchchya tribhu-vana-trâtur=Vvâsud[ê]vasya pûjâṁ vidhâya prachura-pâ-

22 yasêna havishâ havirbhujaṁ hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya(ṇya)-yaśô-vivṛiddhayê asmâbhir=gôkarṇṇa-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvakaṁ Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavana-Âpnavâna-Ma(au)rvva-Jâmadagnya-paṁcha-pravarâya ma-

23 hâmahattaka-ṭhakkura-śrî-Jagaddhara-pautrâya mahâmahattaka-ṭhakkura-śrî-Vichchhâ-(dyâ)dhara-putrâya râuta-śrî-Râjyadharavarmmaṇê chaṁdr-ârkkaṁ yâvat[6] śâsa-nîkṛitya pradattô matvâ yathâdîyamâna-bhâgabhô-

24 gakara-pravaṇikara-javalikâmva(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyatâniyata-samast-âdayân= âjñâvidhêyî-bhûya dâsyath=êti ‖ ‖ Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâḥ ।[7] . . . .

31 . . . . ‖ Likhitaṁ ch=êdaṁ tâmvra(mra)-

32 kaṁ mahâkshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrî **Śrîpatim(n)**=[ê]ti ‖ Su(śu)bha[ṁ] bhavatu [।*] Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ ‖ tchha[8] ‖

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.R.A.S, C.I.E.

No. 177.—Vizagapatam Copper-Plate Grant of Devendravarman.—The Year 254.

I edit this inscription, which is now published in full for the first time, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1881, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S. It has been noticed by him in the *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 15, No. 93, where the plates are mentioned as being in the Office of the Principal Assistant Collector of **Vizagapatam**, in the Madras Presidency; and, originally, by myself in this Journal, Vol. X. p. 243, No. 6.

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 8⅞″ by 3$\frac{9}{16}$″. The edges of the first and third plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. On the outer side of the first plate, near the centre, there is engraved, in Arabic or Persian characters, a word which, it seems, can only be read as نال *nâl*; but the purport of the word is not apparent, save that it must be some official voucher stamped on the record, when, in later times, it was produced as a title-deed before some Musalmân authority.—The **ring** on which the plates are strung, and which passes through a ring-hole near the proper right end of each plate, is about $\frac{7}{16}$″ thick and 5⅝″ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came under my notice. The ends of the ring are secured in the lower part of a **seal**, the top of which is slightly oval, about 1⅜″ by 1¼″. And on the seal, in relief on a countersunk surface, there is a bull, couchant to the proper right.—The **weight** of the three plates is about 3 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 4 oz.; total, 4 lbs. 8 oz. — The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets. The **size of the letters** varies from ⅛″ to $\frac{5}{16}$″. The engraving is bold and good, and fairly deep; but, the plates being thick and substantial, the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of

---

5 Read *shaṭṭriṁśad-*.

6 Read *yâvach = chchâsanîkṛitya*.

7 Here follow the same verses as in I and J.

8 Perhaps intended for *ttha* or *chchha*; see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 140, note 45.

them at all. As usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of working the engraver's tool. In line 27 we have forms of the decimal figures 2, 4, and 5; but the 4 and the 5 are of a decidedly exceptional type, and, but for the explanation of them in words, would most naturally have been read as 6 and 8. — The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, the whole inscription is in prose. In line [illegible] we have the Prâkrit word *samvachchhara*, for the Sanskrit *samvatsara*.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *nistrinśa*, line 6; (2) the use, throughout, of the lingual for the palatal nasal, *e.g.* in *manjarî*, line 5; but this is perhaps a palæographical point, rather than orthographical; (3) the rather frequent omission to double a consonant after *r*, *e.g.* in *upârjita*, line 6, and other words; though instances of the correct practice are not wanting; (4) the doubling of *dh* before *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, line 7; and (5) the use of *v* for *b*, throughout, in *vahubhiḥ*, line 15; *vrahmâ*, line 20; *amvu*, line 22; and *vudvdhâ*, for *vuddhvâ*, line 23.

The inscription is one of Dêvêndravarman, of the Gaṅga family of Kaliṅga; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the victorious camp at the city of Kaliṅganagara, which city is in all probability now represented by the modern Kaliṅgapatam[1] at the mouth of the Vaṁśadhara river, in the Chicacole Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Gañjâm District, Madras Presidency. It is a Saiva inscription; the object of it being to record the grant of some villages, the names of which are not quite certain, in the Dâvadâmadavam vishaya, to the god Śiva under the name of Dharmêśvara.

As regards the date of this record, from line 13 we learn that the grant was made *ayana-pûrvakam*, or in connection with the ceremonies of an *ayana*, which here probably denotes the winter solstice. While in line 27 f., fully in words and partly in decimal figures, we have, for the writing and engraving of the charter, the year two hundred and fifty-four of some unspecified era; the month Phâlguna; the first fortnight, which will be the bright or the dark fortnight, according as we have to apply the *amânta* or the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement; and the first lunar day. As the word *ayana* can only denote the winter (or summer) solstice, and cannot refer to the ordinary *saṁkrânti* that occurs in Phâlguna, no immediate connection between these two passages can be established; and consequently there are no details that can be actually tested by calculation. The era that is intended, and the probable date of this grant, will be considered in a separate paper on the Gâṅgas of Kaliṅga.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[3] Svasty=Amarapur-ânukâriṇas=sarvv-a[r*]ttu-sukha-ramaṇîyâd=vijaya[4]vataḥ **Kaliṅga[5]nagara-vâ-**

2 sakân=**Mahêndr-âchal**-âmala[6]-śikhara[7]-pratishṭh[i*]tasya sachar-âchara-gurôs=sakala-bhuvana-nirmâ-

3 ṇ-aika-su(sû)tradhârasya śaśâṅka-chû[ḍâ*]maṇêr=bhagavatô Gôkarṇṇasvâminaś=charaṇa-kamala-yu-

4 gala-praṇâmâd=vigata-Kali-kalaṁkô=nêk-âhava-saṁkshôbha-janita - jayaga(śa)bda - pratâp-â-

5 vanata-samasta-sâmanta-chakra- chûḍâmaṇi - prabhâ - maṇja[8](ñja)rî - puṇja(ñja) - raṇji(ñji)ta-charaṇô

6 nija-nistriṅśa-dhâr-ôpârjita-sakala-**Kaliṅg**-ādhirâjyaḥ parama-mâhêśvarô

[1] The 'Calingapatam' of some maps, &c. Lat. 18° 20′ N.; Long. 84° 9′ E. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] Represented by a symbol.

[4] This *ya* was at first omitted, and then was inserted above the line.

[5] First *ṅgâ*, or *ṅgi*, was engraved, and then the superscript vowel was partially cancelled.

[6] This *la*, having been omitted, was inserted below the line.

[7] The form of *ś* that is used in the first syllable of this word, occurs again in *śaurya*, line 8; and was intended to be used in *gabda* for *śabda*, line 4. In *śaśâṅka*, line 3, and other words, a different form is used, more easily distinguishable from the form of *g*.

[8] The *ṇ*, for *ñ*, is imperfect here.

Vizagapatam Plates of Devendravarman.—The Year 254.

i.

ii a.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE ·80

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

iib.

iii.

7 mâtâpitṛi-pâd-ànuddhy[â*]tô dhvast-ârâti-kulàchalò naya-vinaya-dayâ-dâna-dâ-
8 kshiṇya-śauryy-audaryya-satya[9]-tyâg-âdi-guṇa-sampad-âdhârabhu(bhû)tô **Gâṅg**-âmala-**kula**-ti-
9 lak-ôdbhavô mahârâja-śrîmad-**Anantavarmma**-su(sû)nuḥ śrî-**Dêvêndravarmm[â*]** kuśalî ।

Second Plate; First Side.

10 **Dâvadâmadavaṁ**-vishayê **Ṭaḍuvamâsiṇâpuḍilâsoliga(?)muḍuḍâ**(?)-samâ-
11 vètâṁ[10] kuṭuvi(mbi)naḥ samâjñâpayati [।*] Viditam=astu bhâ(bha)vatâm yath=âyam=asmâbhir[11]=êtâ-
12 ni grâmâṇi sva-mâtula-śrî-**Dharmakhêdinâ** dharm-ôpadî(dè)śa-dishṭêna[12] śri(śrî)mad-Dharmêśvara-
13 bhaṭṭârakâya **ayana-pu(pû)rvvakaṁ** chandr-ârka-pratishṭhâ(shṭha)ṁ kṛitvâ mâtâpitrô-
14 r=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê pûrvva-bhujyamâna-sîmâ-sahi-
15 tâni sampradat[t*]âni [॥*] Vyâsa-gîtâś=ch=âtra ślôkâ bhavanti [।*] Va(ba)hubhi-
16 r[13]=vasudhâ dattâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya

Second Plate; Second Side.

17 yadâ bhu(bhû)mis=tasya tta(ta)sya tadâ phalaṁ [॥*] Suvarṇṇam=êkaṁ grâ(gâ)m=êk[â*]ṁ
18 bhu(bhû)mêr=apy=êkam=aṁgulaṁ haraṁn[14]=narakam=âyâti yâvad=â-hû(bhû)ta-
19 saṁplavaḥ(ṁ) [॥*] Sva-dattâm=para-dattâm=vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhiraḥ[15] sva-dânât=pha-
20 lam=ânantyaṁ para-dân-ânupâlanê [॥*] Âdityô Varuṇô Vra(bra)hmâ
21 Vishṇuḥ sômô hutâśanaḥ Śu(śû)lapâṇiś=cha bhagavâṁ[16] pratinandanti
22 bhu(bhû)mi-daṁ [॥*] Iti[17] kamala-dal-âmvu(mbu)-vindu-lôlâṁ śriyaṁm[18]=anuchintya

Third Plate.

23 manushya-jîvitaṇ(ñ)=cha sakalam=idam=udâhri(hṛi)taṇ(ñ)=cha vudvdhâ[19] na hi pu-
24 rushaiḥ para-kîrttayô vilôpyâḥ [॥*] Purôhit-**Âdityadêva-pratya-**
25 ksha[ṁ*] sva-mukh-âjna(jña)yâ likhitam=idaṁ śâsanaṁ **rahasya-Durgga-**
26 dêva-su(sû)nunâ śrîmad-Ugradêvên=ôtkîrṇṇaṇ(ñ)=ch=âkshaśâlinâ **Khaṇḍi-śrî-sâma-**
27 ntên=êti[20] **samvachchha(tsa)ra-śata-dvayê chatushpaṇchâ(ñchâ)ś-âbhyadhikê**[21] **254 Phâ-**
28 **lguṇa(na)-prathama-pakshê pratipadi** śri(śrî)mad-vipra-Sômâchârya-sthânâdhikâra-
29 kâl=êti[22] [॥*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

From the victorious camp (*vâsaka*) at **the city of Kaliṅganagara** (line 1),—he who has had the stains of the Kali age removed by doing obeisance to the two water-lilies which are the feet of the divine (god) Gôkarṇasvâmin (l. 3), established on the pure summit of **the mountain Mahêndra** (l. 2), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate, and the sole architect

[9] This *tya*, having been omitted, was inserted, rather imperfectly, above the line.

[10] Read *samavêtân*.—In the third syllable, first *vô* was engraved, and then the stroke that makes the difference between *vê* and *vô* was cancelled.

[11] Read *yath=âsmâbhir*.

[12] Read *dishṭaiḥ*, in apposition with *asmâbhiḥ* in line 11. This seems to give the sense that is intended. If the instrumental singular is to be maintained, in which case the actual grantor is Dharmakhêdin, then *asmâbhiḥ* must be connected with *dishṭêna*, not with *sampradattâni*, and the compound ending with *dishṭêna* should precede the compound ending with *dharmakhêdinâ*.

[13] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next three verses. [14] Read *haran*. [15] Read *yudhishṭhira*.

[16] Read *bhagavân*. [17] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ. [18] Read *śriyam*. [19] Read *buddhvâ*.

[20] The *iti* here, unless it can properly be rendered by 'namely,' appears rather redundant; as, in this grant, the donor's speech seems to end ~~with the word~~ *iti* in line 29, and to include the date of the writing and engraving of the charter.

[21] The first figure, 2, is engraved over a 4 which was cut here, out of its proper place, and was then beaten in again.

[22] Read *kâla iti*.

for the construction of the universe (l. 3); he who has acquired by the edge of his own sword the authority of *Adhirâja* over **the whole (country of) Kaliṅga** (l. 6), — *viz.* the illustrious **Dêvêndravarman** (l. 9), — who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara (l. 6); who meditates on the feet of his mother and father (l. 7); who has sprung from (*him who was*) the forehead-ornament of the spotless **family of the Gâṅgas** (l. 8); and who is the son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Anantavarman** (l. 9), — being in good health, issues a command to all the cultivators assembled at **(the villages of)** . . . . [23] **in the Dâvadâmadavam vishaya** (l. 10):—

"Be it known to you (l. 11), that, by Us, who have been admonished[24] to perform this act of religion by Our maternal uncle, the illustrious **Dharmakhêdin** (l. 12), **in connection with (the rites of) an ayana** (l. 13), and in order to increase the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourself (l. 14), these villages, with their boundaries as they are being enjoyed from former times (l. 14), have been given to the holy (god), the *Bhaṭṭâraka* Dharmêśvara (l. 12).[25]

"[Here the grantor quotes five benedictive and imprecatory verses, attributed to Vyâsa (l. 15), which it is unnecessary to translate.]

"In the presence of the *Purôhita* Âdityadêva (l. 24), by the command of Our own mouth (l. 25), this charter has been written by the illustrious Ugradêva (l. 26), the son of the *Rahasya*[26] Durgadêva, and has been engraved by the *Akshaśâlin*, the illustrious *Sâmanta* Khaṇḍi (l. 26); namely,[27] **in two centuries of years** (l. 27), **increased by the fifty-fourth (year), (or, in figures, in the year) 254; on the first lunar day in the first fortnight of the month Phâlguna**; in the time when the superintendence of the shrine (*sthânâdhikâra*) belongs to the holy Brâhmaṇ Sômâchârya (l. 28)."

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. XIV.—*The Mistress of Eight Ships; or the Discarded Wife.*

Once upon a time there lived in a certain city a rich old merchant, who had an **only daughter.** They were all in all to each other, for the old man had lost his wife, and had no other child on whom to bestow his affection; while the young lady had no one else to care for and love her, her **husband** (to whom she was married at an early age) having for some reason best known to himself **discarded her** immediately after the marriage had been celebrated. Now the good old merchant had an **elder brother,** who was as great a merchant as himself, and was blessed with no less than **seven sons,** who were all clever and good young men, and managed the affairs of their aged father to his entire satisfaction. They even travelled to distant countries for the purpose of commerce, and each year brought home **seven ships** laden with gold as the fruit of their commercial enterprise. Now this fact was regarded by the uncle of the young men with mingled feelings of admiration and envy, for he was grieved to think that while his brother rejoiced in the satisfaction of having seven such excellent sons, it was his misfortune not to be blessed with even one!

One day the old man said to his daughter: "I wish, my child, you had been born a boy, for although you make me supremely happy by your goodness and your tender regard for me, still it is not in your power to give me that satisfaction which your cousins give my brother, for you know they not only manage his business well, but every year add considerably to his fortune, and thus enhance his worth and reputation by their enterprise in commerce. How proud must he be of all those good sons of his! If I had but one son, and that son brought me, just for once, as much gold as they bring him each year, I should be happy indeed!"

[23] The names of the villages are uncertain, as, without some clue to the present identification of them, it is difficult to divide properly the compound word in line 10.

[24] See note 12 above.

[25] *i.e.* to a *liṅga*-form of the god Śiva, probably set up by, and named after, Dharmakhêdin.

[26] This is evidently an official title; and it seems to denote some post connected with the private apartments.

[27] This seems to be the force of the *iti* in line 27; see note 19 above.

"I wish, my father, with all my heart," cried the daughter, "that I could be of as much service to you as a son. Though I am but a woman I have a brave heart, and if only I had your kind permission I also would go forth into the world as a merchant, and by the help of Allah bring you as much gold as your heart could desire."

"Oh! indeed!" cried her father laughing, and pressing her to his heart he added, — "Do not, my dear girl, for a moment suppose, that I in any way under-estimate your rare merits by longing for a son. No, my child; a daughter can do her duty as well as a son can do his, though each must do it in a different way; and believe me no daughter in the world ever did her duty by her aged father so faithfully and so well as you do yours."

At this stage the conversation dropped; but from that moment the young lady resolved upon a course by which to give her father as much satisfaction as ever a son could. In a week's time she succeeded in persuading her father to fit out a large ship for her, and to load it with the costliest merchandise. She then waited till her cousins, the seven young men whom her father admired so much, had set sail, for she wished to follow in their wake and find out in which country they met with such a lucrative market for their goods.

When the time came for the cousins to set sail the young lady took an affectionate leave of her aged father, and dressing herself in man's attire went on board her ship and bade the captain steer it in the track of the seven ships. Away they sailed, all the gallant vessels abreast of one another, followed at a short distance by our intrepid heroine's, and after a very long voyage all the eight ships entered the mouth of a magnificent river, and there dropped anchor. The lady waited till her cousins had landed, one after another, and had begun to unload their ships. She then put out a boat herself and sailed in it towards the shore, with a few attendants. On the landing-place she met her cousins, who never for a moment suspecting who she was conceived a liking for her at first sight, and eagerly made up to her, with a view to forming her acquaintance. They found her to be a very agreeable person, and invited her to put up with them at a friend's house to which they were going.

This was just what our fair friend wished, anxious as she was to watch their movements, and to profit by their experience in commercial matters. She therefore gladly accepted the offer, and going back to her ship, brought with her a few things that might be of use to her in her new abode, and accompanied her cousins to the house to which they had invited her to lodge with them.

When she arrived there she learnt that it was the house of a wealthy merchant of the city who was a friend of the young men's father, her uncle.

The master of the house welcomed our heroine very kindly, and formally invited her to share his hospitality with her friends. But what was her surprise and consternation when she recognised in her host and hostess her own father-in-law and mother-in-law! She had seen them at her wedding, and remembered their faces only too well, though, thanks to her disguise, they never suspected, even for a moment, that she was any other than a merchant's son. A lump stuck in her throat, however, as the kind old people put to her question upon question as to whose son she was, from what country she hailed, and whether she was married. She was at a loss what reply to make to them, — all the circumstances connected with her marriage and her subsequent neglect by her husband rushing up to her memory; and so she stood highly abashed among people she had least expected to see, and thought she was going to forget herself; but the next moment she recovered her presence of mind, and replied to their interrogatories as best she could.

The old people believed in all that she said, not noticing the change their questions had produced in her, and considered her to be a very agreeable and amiable young gentleman. But a still more dreadful ordeal awaited the poor young lady, for she had yet to face her husband, and she trembled to think of the consequences. She knew that there was not much love lost between them, and felt sure that as soon as he discovered her to be his wife, he would put an end to her existence for masquerading in man's attire. At first she thought of quitting the

house before her husband came in, but as she could think of no decent excuse for doing so, she preferred to remain where she was, and abide the result.

A short time afterwards, her husband returned home and her heart palpitated with fear at sight of him. Her cousins introduced her to him as a highly respected friend of theirs, but he did not seem to notice anything extraordinary about her, and the interview passed off very satisfactorily.

The poor lady, who had set eyes on her husband then for the first time since their marriage (that event having taken place when they were little better than children), found him to be a very agreeable and good-natured young man, and her heart ached within her to think she should have been so long estranged from such a husband. But she suppressed her emotion, and wearing a brave front behaved towards him as unconcernedly as if he were quite a stranger to her, and in process of time she made herself highly agreeable not only to her cousins and to her parents-in-law, but also to her husband—so much so that the latter even began to regard her with some affection.

It should be mentioned here that our heroine had with her a beautiful parrot, of rare worth and great intelligence. It could understand several languages, and talk them as well as any man or woman, and was moreover blessed with wisdom enough to do credit to any human being. This remarkable bird would fly from tree to tree and roof to roof, and bring its mistress the latest news from far and near, for people spoke freely in its presence, never suspecting that a parrot could understand what they said.

One evening, as the parrot was perched aloft in some nook in the roof of the merchant's house, it heard the following conversation going on between the hostess and her son :—

"You will see your mistake in time, though you don't believe me now, mother," the son was saying, "for as sure as I am alive this guest of ours whom we all so honour, is no more a man than you are ! She is a woman, and the most beautiful and agreeable woman I ever looked upon into the bargain !"

"Nonsense, my son," was the mother's reply; "why would a woman come to our house in man's attire ? And again, how could a woman make such a successful merchant as we find this young man to be ? I hope you will cease to talk such utter nonsense any more !"

Finding, however, that her son was not convinced by what she said, she added, "As you still appear to have your doubts on this subject, I shall show a way by which you can convince yourself of the sex of this guest of ours. To-morrow I shall send with the hot water that is taken up every morning for their bath, some rare perfumes and soaps ; and if she is a woman, as you say, she will eagerly make use of them, for there is not a woman on earth who is insensible to the attractions of toilet-soaps and skin-beautifiers."

The parrot heard all this and going to its mistress forthwith, poured into her ears every word of the conversation it had overheard, so that the lady remained on her guard ; and when the next morning those attractive preparations were provided for her bath, she sent them away without so much as touching them.

The mother reported this to her son in due time, but the young man had still his doubts, and the parrot, who was again in its old place in the roof, heard him say to her: "I give you great credit, my good mother, for your good sense and judgment; but with all that I am not yet convinced. Show me, therefore, some other means of removing my suspicion."

"Wait then," cried the mother, "till to-night, and your wishes will be satisfied. To-night I shall order the choicest and sweetest viands for dinner, and if this young friend of ours is found to partake of them with greater relish than any of his companions, I shall allow that he is a woman, for all I know to the contrary; for women have a greater partiality for sweet dishes than men.

The faithful parrot, who had been hearing the above conversation, quickly flew to its mistress, and apprised her of the second test that awaited her, so that when dinner time came, our fair friend, who though she was really partial to sweet dishes, behaved with so much self-denial that she came highly successful out of the ordeal.

For a few days after this it appeared to the old lady, the hostess, that the suspicions of her son had been laid at rest, for he did not trouble her any more about the matter. But she was mistaken, for her son had all along been carefully watching every movement of his guest, so that one day a chance utterance or movement of the disguised lady confirmed his suspicions. So going up again to his mother, he said : Oh, mother! mother ! believe me, our guest *is* a woman, and the sweetest creature that ever the sun shone upon ! I want to tell it her to her face and to win her love, for I have never before known a woman half so fascinating.

"Really my son, I am getting tired of your strange fancies," replied his mother, "after the convincing proofs I have given you regarding the sex of the young merchant; surely you don't expect me or your father to insult our guest by asking him point-blank whether he is a man or woman. Yet stay, I have another idea. I know of a certain flower which fades and withers away as soon as it is touched by a woman's hand, while it remains fresh and fragrant if touched by a man's. I shall order our florist to weave eight nets of such flowers, and get one spread upon each of our guest's beds to-night, and we shall then see whether you or I am right.

The faithful parrot, who had overheard this dialogue between the mother and her son, at once flew away to where its mistress was and told her every word of it. Our heroine was not a little flattered at the high encomiums passed on her beauty and charms by her husband, and felt half-inclined to reveal herself to him. On second thoughts, however, she changed her mind and sat down, thinking how she could come unscathed out of this rather difficult ordeal. But her favourite parrot came to her aid, and showed her a way out of the difficulty. It went and brought away from another florist a net woven with the same kind of flowers, and placed it high upon the roof, where its mistress's hand could not reach. When the day dawned and the lady rose from her bed, the sagacious bird asked her to remove the crumpled and faded sheet of flowers from it, and spread on it, with its own beak and claws as neatly and as cleverly as any lady's maid ever did, the second net of flowers that was in readiness. The lady then folded the faded net into a small bundle and the parrot took it into its beak, and flying far away into the sea with it, consigned it to the waves, so that no trace of it might remain.

The hostess and her son lost no time in examining the bed-chamber of our heroine, when she vacated it, and the old lady was now more than ever convinced that the object of her son's suspicions was no other than what he appeared to be—a handsome and intelligent young gentleman. But the fond young man did not at all relish acknowledging his mistake; he did so with a very bad grace, and continued moody and dejected ever afterwards, for in his heart of hearts he still cherished the belief that his father's guest belonged to the softer sex, on which account, therefore, he continued to treat our fair friend with the greatest affection and regard.

A few days after our heroine had gone through her last ordeal, her cousins began to make preparations for their homeward voyage, in which she also joined them, for she had already disposed of all her stock to very great advantage, and gold was daily pouring into her coffers in heaps.

The enamoured young man was not a little disconcerted at hearing of this intended departure of the little party, and he begged hard of his disguised wife to remain under his roof a little longer. But she excused herself as best she could, and on the day appointed for their departure, went on board her ship, followed by the tears and blessings of her love-lorn husband.

When the eight ships stood abreast of one another in the harbour, waiting to raise their anchors simultaneously at a given signal, our heroine whispered something in the parrot's ears, and off flew the little bird with a bright little golden cup set with pearls and diamonds in its beak, and depositing it right into the hold of one of the seven ships of the brothers, immediately came back and perched upon its mistress's shoulder as if nothing had happened. Now just before the parrot performed this clever trick, all the seven brothers were assembled on the deck of our heroine's ship, for there they had arranged a grand feast in honour of their departure, and were eating and drinking merrily.

After holding high revel for some time the seven brothers took leave of their cousin, and

each betook himself with his party to his own ship. As soon, however, as the fair lady's ship was cleared of all the guests, her attendants raised a hue and cry about a rich goblet that was missing. The lady had drunk her wine out of it in the presence of her guests, and it had then been handed round to each of the bystanders and was highly admired by them all. It had thus passed through several hands, and no wonder therefore that none of the servants remembered who had it last. Our heroine made a great show of anger at the loss of the precious goblet, which, it need hardly be mentioned, was the very one that the parrot had deposited into the hold of one of the seven ships. She sent for all her seven cousins in hot haste, and reported the loss to them. They all agreed that they had not only seen their good friend drink out of it, but had actually taken it into their hands for inspection, but none of them had any idea as to whether or not it had been returned to its place. At this the disguised fair one worked herself into a violent passion and accused them all right and left of having stolen it. "I shall send my men to search each of your ships" cried she, "and shall stake this vessel of mine with all its valuable cargo on the hazard of finding it in one of them!"

"And we in our turn agree to forfeit to you all our seven ships with *their* cargoes," cried the brothers with one voice, "if your men find the goblet in any of our ships!"

"Agreed!" cried our heroine, and forthwith she ordered some of her numerous attendants to go over all the seven vessels and leave no stone unturned till they found the missing cup. In about an hour's time, while the seven brothers were still warmly protesting their innocence to their accuser, the men returned with the missing cup in their hands, and declared that they had found it secreted in the hold of the ship of one of the seven brothers!

The brothers were nonplussed at this sudden turn events had taken, and stood looking at one another in silence, as if dumbfounded at this strange discovery. Our heroine, however, roused them to their senses by calling upon them in a loud voice to fulfil their obligations by handing over to her the seven ships; and the poor fellows, seeing no way out of this difficulty, there and then formally made over the ships to the clever stripling, and with crestfallen looks stood a waiting her commands. The lady, being touched with pity at their strange predicament, ordered them to remain in her own ship as her guests till they reached their native country. She then gave orders for the anchors of all the eight ships to be raised, and the little fleet soon began to sail out of the harbour with a favourable back wind.

Our brave heroine's husband, who was all this while standing sorrowfully on the shore, now waved his kerchief as a farewell to his departing charmer, with a very woe-begone countenance, as she was standing at the window of her cabin, when suddenly she flung off her disguise and stood before her enraptured lover, "a maid in all her charms!"

At this sudden and unexpected confirmation of all his doubts and hopes the young man's heart alternated between joy and grief, joy at finding that the object of his affections was after all a woman, and grief at being thus rudely separated from her, after all that he had endured on her account, and with a heavy heart he retraced his steps homewards. There he told his mother all that had happened, and rebuked her for having discredited his statement so long, and asked both his parents' permission to fit out a ship that very day and follow his fair enslaver wherever she went, and either win her or perish in the attempt. The old couple seeing him so determined, consented, and furnished him with everything that he wanted for the voyage.

Without losing more time than was essentially necessary the love-lorn youth fitted out a fast-sailing vessel and soon started in pursuit of his fair charmer, Her vessels had, however, sailed clear out of sight by this time, and he could not even tell in what direction they had gone. So he sailed about at random through unknown seas, for many a month, making inquiries at every port he touched, till at last he came to the city in which he knew his discarded wife and her parents lived. Here everyone he met was talking of the clever daughter of the old merchant —"the mistress of eight ships" as they called her,—who had but a few days ago returned home after a long and successful voyage. He inquired the way to the house of this remarkable lady, and much to his surprise, nay to his rage and utter mortification, he was shown

into the very house in which he now remembered he had gone through that most important ceremony of his life—his marriage.

Could it be possible, then, he thought, that it was only his wife—the girl he had so long discarded,—that had so long and so successfully played upon his feelings, and had made herself so agreeable not only to himself, but to all others with whom she came into contact! What enraged him most was that she should have spent so many days in the company of young men like her cousins. Jealousy and hatred instantly took the place of love in his heart, and he entered the house, swearing vengeance on his innocent wife! His old father-in-law welcomed him into the house with unmixed delight, but the son-in-law resented his kind treatment, and peremptorily demanded to be shown into his wife's presence.

Now it may be mentioned here that the old man and his daughter had been looking forward to this visit of the bridegroom every moment, as they had already heard of his arrival in the city from some friends. The young lady also had narrated to her father all that had taken place in the house of her parents-in-law, and the old man was therefore in a measure prepared to find his son-in-law in no enviable a frame of mind. Our heroine, too, fearing that in his rage and disappointment he would wreak his vengeance on her head, had taken precautions to ensure her safety. She had prepared with her own deft fingers, a figure of herself in some soft material, and covering it with a fine skin, had dressed it in her own clothes and jewels. This figure she had filled with the sweetest honey near the throat, and had placed it on her couch in the attitude of a woman fast asleep. When she heard her husband's footsteps approaching her room, she hid herself behind some curtains. Soon the young man rushed into the room, being escorted to the door of the chamber by his aged father-in-law, who had left him at the threshold and retired to an adjoining room, there to await the course of events. The enraged husband then made the door of the apartment fast, and drawing his dagger, rushed up to where the figure was lying, and with a terrible imprecation plunged the cold steel into its throat. The violence with which he dealt the blow made some of the honey spurt out of the wound like real life-blood, and a drop of it fell on his lips, which were parted in anger, and he was surprised to find that it tasted very sweet. Repentance closely follows a rash deed, and so it did in this case.

"Ah!" cried he, "what have I done! I have killed with my own hands, one who but a short time ago was all in all to me! One for whom I have endured all the hardships of a rough sea-voyage. Then after a pause he added,—"How sweet her blood tastes; I am sure a faithless woman's blood can never taste half so sweet! Really I have committed a rash and unpardonable deed, I have shed an innocent woman's blood, and thereby destroyed my own happiness, and nothing but my own blood can atone for it. "So saying he raised his dagger and was going to plunge it into his heart, when out rushed his faithful wife from her hiding-place, and stayed his hands in the very nick of time. The lady at that time wore the same disguise in which he had first seen her, and as she clung to his arm and pleaded for mercy, all his old love for her came back to him with redoubled force, and he clasped her in his arms!

The trick of the stuffed figure was then explained to him, and the young man was thankful to find it was no human blood that he had shed. Our heroine then gave him full explanation of the events that had brought her in so strange a fashion under his roof, and the two then went together to the old man and asked for his blessing.

After spending a few days with the good old man, the reconciled son-in-law took the dutiful daughter and faithful wife home to his native country, and there they lived ever afterwards in great happiness.

Before leaving with her husband, the young lady called all her seven cousins to her and explaining to them the trick by which she had become possessed of their ships, restored the vessels to them with all their cargoes intact, and gave besides a valuable present to each of them as a souvenir of the voyage they had made together.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP
No. XVI.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Oriental Society.

(*a.*) *Meeting, Feb.* 11, 1888.

The Director of the Section, Baron V. R. Rosen, reported the speedy appearance of Vols. XII. and XV. of the *Transactions* of the Society, in the first of which is included the fourth part of the investigations of V. V. Veniaminov-Zernov about the **Tsars of Kasimov**, &c.

N. N. Pantusov sent a photograph of some **Manchu Inscriptions.** He also sent six Persian and Turkish documents, relating to *durvêshes.* One of these is very interesting, as it is a **diploma for holding the office of a Durvêsh.**

V. P. Nalivkin sent some pieces of old pottery.

V. A. Zhukovski read a notice of **Persian Cradle Songs.**

(*b.*) *Meeting, March* 9, 1888.

The Director of the Section, Baron V. R. Rosen, spoke a few words in memory of the German Orientalist Fleischer, lately deceased; the assembly honoured the departed professor by rising from their seats.

Professor Guidi of Rome sent, as a present to the Society, *Coptic Fragments on the Journeys of the Apostles,* **Frammenti Copti.**

W. W. Radloff showed two interesting *yarliks* in the Uighur **character,** received by him not long ago from Kasan.

A. V. Komarov made a curious communication on the **Antiquities of the Trans-Caspian district,** *viz.* the ruins of buildings, *kurgans,* and articles found when excavating. An account of this paper will be printed in the *Transactions.*

(*c.*) *Meeting, April* 20, 1888.

Baron V. R. Rosen made a communication on the latest results of the investigation of the Collection of **Papyri belonging to the Archduke Rainer.**

(*d.*) *Meeting, June* 2, 1888.

Prof. A. Müller, of Königsberg, sent a letter in which he thanked the Society for his election as a member, and presented his edition of the Arabic author, **Ibn-Abi-Usaibia.**

S. M. Georgievski examined the six **Chinese proclamations** which had been sent. Two of them were identical in their contents, and the translation agreed with the original. He intends to print one of these proclamations in the *Transactions.*

V. D. Smirnov made a communication about one of the **six manuscripts** sent by N. N. Pantusov, under the title ***Vasîyat-Nâma,* and also** about a Codex of the same **name belonging to the** Imperial Public Library, and on the **Turko-Kâshghar** translation of ***Anvâr-i-Suhaili,*** under the title ***Asaâru'l-Imâmiya,*** **also sent to the** Society by N. N. Pantusov. The **paper will be** printed in the *Transactions.*

O. E. Lemm read a notice of **a Coptic legend** on the finding of the Cross by the **Princess Eudoxia.** It will be printed in the *Transactions.*

(*e.*) *The Yarliks of Tuqtamish and Tamir-Qutlugh, by W. Radloff.*

Being occupied in editing the **Uighur Manuscript** *Kudatku-Bilik,* the oldest literary monument of the Turks, the author says he was compelled to study the language of all their earliest documents to explain the peculiarities of the Uighur language in comparison with the other Turkish dialects. Among the most valuable of these monuments are the *yarliks* of the **Khâns,** especially those written in Uighur letters, *e. g.* the *yarlik* of Tuqtamish of A.H. 795, and the *yarlik* of Tamir-Qutlugh of A.H. 800. I. N. Berezin holds these *yarliks* to be specimens of the **Uighur language.** Vambéry considers them to be documents in the Central Asiatic or **Jaghatai language,** written in Uighur letters. Having compared the language of these documents with that of the *Kudatku-Bilik,* the author became convinced that only the characters are entirely Uighur; in the language itself the Uighur elements are found to the extent that they have entered into the so-called Jaghatai [Chughatai] literature.

The Eastern Turkish or **Jaghatai language** is not the language of Central Asia, as Sultân Bâbar and Vambéry, his latest follower, assure us. It is just as much an artificial literary language as that of the Usmânli. Having been developed by historical causes, it now serves as a literary language for the Eastern Turks who use various dialects. Its foundation is the literary language of the Uighurs, as developed before the time of **Musalmân** influence and Mongolian incursions. With the spread of Islâm and its culture, a number of Arabic and Persian words came into the literary language of the Uighurs. In Eastern Turkistân books appeared in pure Uighur language, but in Arabic characters (one of these works, *Stories of the Prophets,* by Rabghuzî, was compiled in A.H. 710), and works of this sort served as the foundation of the so-called **Jaghatai literature.** Together with the disappearance of the races speaking an Uighur dialect, there was a revolution in the literary language. The greater part of the purely Uighur words and grammatical forms gave

place to corresponding words and forms of other Central Asiatic dialects, but in the Jaghatai language there remained a whole series of Uighur words and forms, which were exclusively used in the literary language.

In the times of the first successors of Changêz Khân, the Jaghatai literature was spread among all the Eastern Turks, but the rapid decline of the Mongolian Empire arrested the final development of the language. Since they had no educational centre, as was the case with the Southern Turks, the Jaghatai language was influenced by other dialects, and words from Usmânli and Azurbâijân literature entered it in various degrees. As Changêz Khân preferred the Uighur writing, that character became official in the chanceries of the Khâns, and continued to be used even where it was unfamiliar.

The *yarliks* of Tuqtamish and Tamîr-Qutlugh shew that the Khâns of the Golden Horde issued documents in Uighur characters till the beginning of the fifteenth century. But other letters are occasionally used: the *yarlik* of Tuqtamish of A. H. 794 is written in the Arabic character, and that of Tamîr-Qutlugh in Uighur and Arabic. From this we may conclude that the Khâns used the Uighur character only in diplomatic documents, and the Arabic in those intended for the people.

The *yarlik* of Tuqtamish to Jagiello has been translated by I. N. Berezin, and that of Tamîr-Qutlugh by von Hammer, Berezin and Vambéry. These versions are on the whole accurate, but the author has thought it advisable to publish the *yarliks* in a slightly corrected version.

(1.) *Yarlik of Tuqtamish to Jagiello.*

This *yarlik* was found among the chief archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Moscow. The text is comprised in 25 lines, which begin at an equal distance from the edge of the paper, the words *Tuqtamish, we* and *God,* and the Khân's seal are closer to the edge. These words are written in gold, and the seal of the Khân is stamped in gold. The seventeenth line is only half written, so that the new line may begin with *we.*

The name Jagiello stands below the words 'the word of Tuqtamish.' This *yarlik* is written in a beautiful and very legible Uighur character. Although, as Banzarov remarks, this letter from a calligraphic point of view yields the palm to the two letters of the Persian Changêzîs to Philippe le Bel, the handwriting everywhere shows the firm hand of a practised scribe. The writing may be called Mongol Uighur, as distinguished from the Musalmân-Uighur style, used in the manuscripts of the *Kudatku Bilik,* the *Bakhtiârnama,* etc., and the broken Uighur writing used in other documents. It most resembles the copy of the Uighur legend about Oguz Khân in the library of Charles Schefer at Paris. It is written perpendicularly.

(2.) *The Yarlik of Tamîr-Qutlugh.*

The original is in the Vienna Palace Library. It is written on a long roll of glazed paper. The second and third lines begin in the middle of the page, and above them ought to be the square seal of the Khân. But the paper in this place is quite smooth, and no trace of a seal can be found: it is clear that this is a *yarlik* prepared for publication, which from some cause was never confirmed. It cannot be a mere copy. Under each Uighur word there is a transcription in beautiful Arabic characters in red. It was prepared for some official purpose: a proof of this fact among others is furnished by the third word on the ninth line, where two points under the letter *sh* have been undoubtedly added subsequently. The writer thinks the copyist remarked the omission of these points and added them when he had finished writing. This shows that the Uighur character was even at that time so little understood that a document intended for the people had to be accompanied by a transcript in Arabic letters. The Uighur writing differs from that of the *yarlik* of Tuqtamish and of the Uighur books, but is like some of the postscripts to the *Kudatku-Bilik.* The letters are angular. They appear to be made by a reed with a very broad nib, and are written from right to left. Von Hammer made some trifling mistakes when he printed the Arabic text, which arose from his being unacquainted with the Jaghatai language.

In the *yarlik* of Tuqtamish, out of 104 words, 43 are Common Turkish (met with in all the Turkish dialects), 24 Northern Turkish, 22 Western, and 15 Uighur Jaghatai. Of the 54 grammatical endings, 23 are Common Turkish, 15 Northern, 12 Western, and 4 Uighur Jaghatai. This gives the following percentage:—Common Turkish, 41; Northern Turkish, 23; Western Turkish, 21; Uighur-Jaghatai, 15: and of grammatical terminations—Common Turkish, 41; Northern Turkish, 31; Western Turkish, 21; Uighur-Jaghatai, 7.

The *yarlik* of Tuqtamish was, therefore, written by a Western Tâtâr, knowing well the official language of the chanceries of the Khân, but preserving many peculiarities of his native dialect. This is shewn by the phraseology of the *yarlik* and the absence of Arabic literary expressions.

The language of the *yarlik* of Tamîr-Qutlugh is different. Of 166 words, 50 are Common Turkish, 38 Northern, 44 Uighur-Jaghatai, 13

Western Turkish, 14 literary Arabic, and 7 words belong to the author's native tongue (Nôghaï ?). Of 70 grammatical terminations, 22 are Common Turkish, 24 Northern, 21 Uighur-Jaghatai; and 3 belong to his native tongue. Or according to percentage: — Common Turkish, 31; Northern Turkish, 22; Uighur-Jaghatai, 27; Western Turkish, 8; Literary Arabic, 8; the author's native tongue, 4: and of grammatical terminations; — Common Turkish, 31·4; Northern Turkish, 34·3; Uighur-Jaghatai, 30; the author's native tongue, 4·3.

We thus see that the author of the *yarlik* of Tâmir-Qutlugh, was a Nôghaï (?) acquainted with literary Jaghatai language. The foreign words are technical expressions required by the contents of the document. The Arabic transcription was probably made by another person, who was not a scholar. Perhaps owing to these mistakes, the *yarlik* was not confirmed.

(*f.*) *Materials for the Study of the Collection of Indian Tales called Bṛihatkathâ, by S. Oldenburg.*

While most educated men know the stories of the *Pañchatantra*, in the course of their endless wanderings over Asia and Europe, the *Bṛihatkathâ* is limited to specialists. The *Bṛihatkathâ* is more fantastic and local in its character. It has not gone beyond the limits of its own country, but there it has taken one of the first places. Buddhist and Brâhmanical legends, each preserving its special colouring, have quietly flowed into this "Sea of the Rivers of Stories" as one of the editions of the *Bṛihatkathâ* is styled. Its history is still obscure, because our knowledge of Indian folk-tales is inadequate. It has come to us in two redactions of two Kaśmîrî poets of the eleventh century **Kshêmêndra (Bṛihatkathâmañjarî)** and **Sômadêva (Kathâsaritsâgara)**, who assert that they have translated and abridged the collection **Bṛihatkathâ** of the poet **Guṇâḍhya**, compiled in the Paiśâchî dialect. The first complete translation of the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, which is only just finished, and the new edition of the text, which has been begun, shew that it is time to collect materials for a complete study of the *Bṛihatkathâ*. The vast size of the *Kathâsaritsâgara* (21,526 verses according to the computation of Brockhaus) and the defective nature of the manuscripts of the *Bṛihatkathâmañjarî*, prevent such an attempt, so the author purposes communicating a few of his notes.

Of the unpublished materials relating to the present subject there are two MSS. in the India Office; one Sanskṛit, the other Persian. The first contains the collection called *Kathâprakâśa* (the lustre of tales) no other manuscript of which as far as the author knows, has been found. On foll. 1v — 84v, the writer of the MS. gives extracts from the *Kathâsaritsâgara*. The text corresponds almost word for word with that of Brockhaus, but he does not mention the sources from which he borrows.

We have no information as to when and where the *Kathâprakâśa* was compiled. Besides the extracts from the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, the collection contains pieces of Epic poetry, the *Purâṇas*; some "parrot" stories, and some also from the *Purushaparikshâ*. The Persian Manuscript (I. O. L. 1679) has only been mentioned in print once, *viz.* by Brockhaus, who wrongly considered it to be an abridged translation of the *Bṛihatkathâ*, because mention is made of such a translation in *Râjataraṁgiṇî*. The writer then shews at some length that it is not a translation of the *Bṛihatkathâ*. Those who have studied the latter have not remarked that the Tibetan Buddhist, Târânâtha, introduces legends of which we find corresponding versions in it. The first of them, concerning Nâgârjuna, is found in *The History of the Seven Transmissions of the Words of Buddha*, and has been briefly discussed by V. P. Vasiliev. cf. *Kathâsaritsâgara* xli. 9 — 58; and *Bṛihatkathâmañjarî*, xiv., *Nâgârjunâkhyâyikâ*. It is very probable that the source was the *Râjâvalî* of Kshêmêndra. Another legend is as to why and how the prince Udayana (Śâtavâhana) learned Sanskṛit. The text of Târânâtha (*History of Buddhism in India*), although it resembles the *Bṛihatkathâ*, differs so much from it that it cannot be said to be plagiarised, which would have been probable, as two of the other works of Kshêmêndra, *Râjâvalî* and *Bôdhisattvâvadânakalpalatâ* are cited by Târânâtha. Besides these differences, a proof that the passages in question are not taken from the *Bṛihatkathâ* is afforded by the history of Kâlidâsa, which in tone and manner must certainly be of the same origin as the history of Udayana, while the story is not found in the *Bṛihatkathâ*. The story of Kâlidâsa and many similar ones live at the present day upon the lips of the Indian people. In similar stories we may find the beginning of the history of Vararuchi and perhaps partly of Guṇâḍhya.

(*g.*) *The Collection of Eastern Coins belonging to A. V. Komarov, by V. Tiesenhausen.*

The writer begins by thanking Gen. Komarov for allowing his collection to be described in this work. The new collection consists of **687 coins** (463 copper, 206 silver, and 18 gold) comprising a period from the seventh century to our own times. The oldest of them is a Sassanian coin of **Khusrao II.**, struck A.D. 628: the latest are Afghân coins of A. H. 1297 (= A.D. 1880) coined by **'Abdu'r-Raḥmân** at Hirât and **Shêr 'Alî** at

Kâbul. Of the thirty dynasties among which these coins are distributed, the most largely represented is that of the **Timûris**. Of this there are 176 examples. Next come the **Sâmani** coins (78 examples), **Khwârismshâhi** (58), **Saffari** (48) **Hulâqui** (42) **Khalifas** (38) **Persian** (38) and **Shaibâni** (26). Of the **Tahiri** (12) there are only three, but none of these appear to have been published; of the **Zaidis** and **Ziâris** there are no more than one apiece, but these two are very rare. Both were coined in Jurjân, one in A.H. 268, the other in A.H. 368. There are some examples which have not been successfully arranged either chronologically or dynastically.

(*h.*) *Dahbid, by N. Veselovski.*

The neighbourhood of **Samarqand** is very striking, and the palace of Timûr, the Mosque of **Khoja Ahrâr**, and the **Mosque of Dahbid** are especially to be noted. The last two are objects of reverence among the population as the burial places of two saints, the descendants of Muḥammad. Khoja Ahrâr, who is buried about four versts from Samarqand was a philanthropist. Makhdûm-i-'Azam, as he is also called, is renowned in the chronicles of Islâm for his conversion of the heathen of Eastern Turkistân.

Sayyid Aḥmad Kasâni is buried in the *kishlak* **Dahbid**, twelve versts from Samarqand. He is better known as **Makhdûm-i'Azam**, which signifies 'The Great Master.' Happening to be in Samarqand in 1885 the author visited his grave. He departed for Dahbid on the 31st August 1888, accompanied by a young native, the Mirzâ Akil. Having left Samarqand by the Paikobak Gate, they soon reached the *kishlak* Makhao, the most unpleasant place near Samarqand, where is a residence for lepers, who live upon alms. On *bâzâr*-days they swarm along the roads leading to Samarqand: the women, frequently with children, stretch out wooden cups to passers-by, and, whatever be their age, are unveiled. Four versts from Samarqand are the ruins of an old town with a citadel (*urda*): about a verst from thence a ford passes the Zaravshân. The road from this point is planted with mulberry trees, extending to the mosque of Khoja Ahrâr, and said to have been planted by him. Among the Turkistânis, planting mulberry trees on the road is considered a pious deed. When the mulberries are ripe, the travellers shake them from the trees and satisfy their hunger and thirst. The poor make flour out of the dried berries. This is probably the reason why they assign the planting of these trees to the Khoja Ahrâr. There are many stories about his benevolence.

Dahbid signifies "ten willows." This *kishlak* is not healthy on account of the rice-fields surrounding it. Goitre is frequently met with. The mosque by the grave of Makhdûm-i-'Azam is large; the actual burial-place is separated by a brick wall. In the middle of the garden is built a *dakhma*, which is overgrown with tall grass, very much entangled. The writer goes on to describe how difficult it was to get there. His guide refused to follow him. The natives considered that whoever went into the *dakhma* would die, unless he were a Shêkh and a descendant of Makhdûm-i-'Azam. The *mutawalli*, as one of these, might have gone with the writer, but he hid himself, not wishing to assist an infidel to defile with his feet the grave of a holy man. The writer of the article accordingly went alone and came to a great monument of white marble, erected in the middle of the *dakhma*. He then gives the inscriptions on the graves, and a plan of the graveyard follows.

(*i.*) *Musalmân Books printed in Russia, by V. Smirnov.*

The writer gives a list of the books printed in Russia in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages during the last three years. Lists of the kind were first published by Dorn. His bibliographical review appeared in Vol. V. *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg* (1866) under the title of *Chronologisches Verzeichniss der seit dem Jahre* 1801, *bis* 1866, *in Kasan Gedruckten arabischen, türkischen, tatarischen und persischen Werke, als Katalog der im asiatischen Museum befindlichen Schriften der Art.* This attracted much attention in the foreign press (especially in England) as the Russians were not thought liberal enough to allow it. Originally most of these Oriental publications appeared at Kazan or St. Petersburg. More recently the printing press of Gasprinski was established at Bakhchisarâi and that of Lakhtin at Tashkand. Besides single books and pamphlets, periodicals appeared in the Tâtâr language. Such were the Caucasus periodicals called *the Agriculturist, the Scrip, and the Lights of the Caucasus.* Some of these have come to an end, but *the Interpreter* has now existed for six years at Bakhchisarâi. Besides these, in Tashkand there is a Government newspaper, which at first appeared in two languages, Sart and Kirghiz separately, but now appears only in Sart. The Musalmân press has preserved its original character. Ten thousand copies of the *Qurân*, the *Heftiek, Sherâyatu-l-iman, Ustuvani, Bedevam*, and prayer-books in Arabic, are printed under various titles, with a Tâtâr preface, representing the miraculous efficacy of these prayers. They are intended for poor people, and

the presses are most active about the Ramazân and the fair of Nizni Novgorod, on account of the assembling of Musalmâns. They are mostly stereotyped. But there are large works for educated Russian Musalmâns also in Arabic and Tâtâr. Originally the latter were in a kind of jargon which the author elaborated for himself; in this hotch-potch might be found elements of various Turkish dialects, from the simple speech of the Kazan Tâtâr to the elaborate literary style of the Effendi of Constantinople. At the present time the local writers of Kazan imitate the Usmânli style, as seen in the latest works of Abdu'l-Kaium-Monla-Nasirov, and others. Especially noteworthy is the work of a certain Mûsâ Ak-Tigit, published at Kazan in 1886. The author has received a good education and imitates such writers as the Turk, Aḥmad Midhat Effendi. He has written a novel on modern Tâtâr life in a kind of Usmânli dialect of his own. It is said that some time ago the author went to Stambûl and has not returned. But he has left imitators. To the class of more useful publications belong the calendar of Kaium Nazirov, with some essays on general topics, and some manuals of Geography and Arabic Grammar. A rhymester named Mevleghei Yumachikov, has written several poems in a dialect akin to Khirgiz. He appears too often as a vulgar fanatic, and some of his poems were repressed by the censorship.

The writer takes an entirely different view from that of Dorn on the education of the Tâtârs. The press among them is only used to encourage obscurantism. Works on magic, on domestic medicine, and others full of charlatanism abound. Books of this kind appear every year in great numbers, and are increasing. If we find a man of education among the Tâtârs, it is one who has been brought up at a Russian school.

(j) *Miscellaneous Notes*:—

(1) *Old Russian accounts of Merv, by D. Kobeko.* In 1669 the Russian Ambassador, Pasukhin, was sent to Abdu'l-Aziz, the Khân of Bukhârâ. He went there through Astrakhân to Khiva, and accomplished the return journey through Chârjûi, Merv, Mashhad and Lankurân. At Merv, then belonging to Persia, Pazukhin was hospitably met by Zênar Khân, the governor of the city, and lived there from December 1672 to March 1673. In obedience to instructions given, Pazukhin traced the route from Astrakhân to the city Junâbâtu (*i.e.* Jahânâbâd = Dehli) through Khîva, Balkh, Kâbul and Pêshâwar. The route was rendered dangerous by the war going on between the Persian Shâh 'Abbâs II. (1642-1666), and the great Mughal Shâh Jahân, in the territory which is now Afghânistân. The article winds up with a long extract describing the journey of Pazukhin.

(2) *On the modern Sect of the Ghâlis, by V. Zhukovski.* These sects ascribe to their *imâms* an incarnation of the deity.

(3) *A Note on Two Discoveries recently made in Egypt, by V. Golenistchev.* These are a whole series of cuneiform tablets of clay discovered at Tel-el-Amena; and a collection of portraits of persons at the end of the epoch of the Ptolemies and beginning of the Roman period, found in the oasis of Fayûm. Till this time no cuneiform inscriptions have been found in Egypt.

The tablets consist of the letters of various Asiatic rulers to two Egyptian kings, Amenh'otep III. and IV. One of those who corresponded with these kings was the Babylonian king Burnaburiash. Already some Egyptian scholars were inclined to fix the eighteenth dynasty of the Pharaohs at about the fifteenth century B.C., while Assyrian scholars had referred to the same fifteenth century, the date of the Babylonian king Burnaburiash.

Another correspondent of the Egyptian kings is Dushratta, king of the country of Mittanî. This city the Egyptians called Naharina, and meant a place situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, almost opposite to the town of Carchemish, the modern Jerabis. Judging by the independent tone of the letters of the king of Mittani, the country, at least at the commencement of the reign of Amenh'otep III., was so important that its king might enter into negotiations with the principal Egyptian king on a footing of independence. Besides the royal letters contained in the correspondence, we meet with others from persons calling themselves the slaves of Pharaoh. For the understanding of the cuneiform correspondence received at the court of Pharaoh, it is obvious that there must have been interpreters. Sometimes men of this sort were sent with the letters, *e.g.* in one of the king of Mittani's epistles, such a man has the title *tar-gu-ma-an-nu*, *i.e.* 'translator.' For the interpretation of these interesting tablets we must wait for the decision of MM. Winkler and Lehmann, of Berlin, the museum of which city has bought the whole collection through the instrumentality of Graff, the Viennese dealer in Eastern carpets.

The second discovery consists of 66 portraits as previously mentioned. These have been described by Ebers in *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, Nos. 135-7, 1888. They were taken from the tops of coffins. The type represented is only Coptic in one instance; in others Greek and Semitic; No. 64 is a negro, with perhaps a mixture of Greek blood; 3 represent old men, 24 men of

middle age; 4, young men, 3 boys, 29 girls, and 3 old women. The portraits of the women are best executed.

(4) *Bedouin Wit, by Baron V. Rosen.* This is a comic story from "The Book of Animals," by Jâhiz, (A.H. 255 = 869). It tells how a Bedouîn carved a fowl, keeping the best part for himself. There are many stories of this kind in Arabian anthologies, both in verse and prose, in which a rude countryman plays pranks upon the educated townsman. When we can assign the date of such stories, they are valuable as illustrating the mutual relations of the different elements of Arabian society at a given time. The Arabian anthologies of the third and fourth centuries of the Hijra are valuable for this. Some important extracts may be made from one of the oldest anthologies, *viz.* Ibn-Abi-Tahir-Taifur (British Museum Add., 18, 532).

(5) *New materials for the Yagnob Language, by K. Saleman.* In July and August 1887, E. Kahl, who has an administrative post in Tashkand, took a journey to the Yagnob. He succeeded in getting explanations of several obscure points of **Yagnob** phonetics, compiled a tolerably copious glossary, and collected some topographical and statistical information.

(6) *Something more about the discovery at Kulja, by V. Tiesenhausen.* The four silver coins sent from Kulja by V. M. Uspenski in 1887 belong to the class of **Jaghatai** coins struck in the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century of our era. One of them, struck in Almalik in 650 A.H. (= 1252-3 A.D.), is in all respects similar to those which M. Uspenski exhibited to the Archæological Society in 1886. Another was coined by Têrmâslivrîn Khâṅ (year and place cannot be deciphered). The most interesting is the third, coined in 737 A.H. (= 1337-8 A.D.) in Badakhshân by Khâṅ Jenkîshî. To this Khâṅ is ascribed the fourth of the coins sent by M. Uspenski.

(*k*) *Criticism and Bibliography.*

(1) *The Akhal-Tekke Oasis: its past and present. Historico-geographical and Oro-geological sketches of the Transcaspian district, with engravings and a map, by P. S. Vasilico, St. Petersburg,* 1888. The book gives the reader almost nothing. It is difficult to find anything new after the elaborate sketches of M. Lessar, who knows the country so thoroughly. The writer evidently is acquainted with no Eastern language, and his style is naive.

(2) *A History of the Religious Mission to Pekin at the first period of its activity* (1685-1745). *Part I., by the Hieromonach Nicholas (Adoratski), Superintendent of the Kherson Ecclesiastical School, Kazan,* 1887. The appearance of this work is due to the approaching 200th anniversary of the **Mission to Pekin**, which, as is well known, existed in China *de facto* from the year 1689 and *de jure* from 1715. The author, a former member of the Mission, appears to have begun his work in Pekin, and perhaps finished it there. But the necessary documents would be wanting, as all of them, to the year 1863, are in the archives of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and still await their editor. The book could only be compiled in Moscow or St. Petersburg. There is very little that is new in the book; the author, however, gives fairly copious accounts of the Russian exploits on the Amûr and the Russo-Chinese trade at that period.

(3) *A short sketch of the History of Zabaikalia, by V. K. Andrievich.*

This is an account of the territory beyond Lake Baikal. The author says that he wished to furnish a collection of materials for the **History of the Cossack Army** of this region. But the fire at Irkutsk in 1879 destroyed the building containing the archives of Eastern Siberia, those of Selenghinsk and Kiakhta have now been seen sent to Moscow, and those of Nerchinsk have disappeared, because they were not taken care of. Under such circumstances, M. Andrievich having composed his work in Eastern Siberia could not use any official documents, except the *Complete Collection of Laws* published in 1838, from which he has gathered almost all the *ukases* relating to the territory. In this lies his chief service. He has used besides *a Collection of Diplomatic documents between the Russian and Chinese Empires from* 1619 *to* 1792, compiled by Bantish-Kamenski, and edited in 1882 by V. M. Florinski. He should have made himself acquainted with some of the Eastern historians. Thus he tells us that the *lamas* and Dalai-lama appear first in the time of Guyuk Khâṅ, the grandson of Changêz, whereas Guyuk Khâṅ died in 1248, and the first Dalai-lama could not have existed earlier than 1420. Similar blunders occur also in his account of the Buriats becoming Russian subjects, and the flights of the Mongols into Russian territory, etc.

(4) *The Principles of Chinese Life, by Sergius Georgievski.* This is the solitary work in European literature on the subject, and it gives the principles upon which **Chinese life** has depended during the many centuries of its existence. Its foundation is filial piety, based firstly upon primitive religion, and secondly upon the ethics of Confucius.

Having discussed in the first chapter, the primitive faith of the ancient Chinese in the

immortality of the soul, and their funeral customs, the author in chapters second and third treats of the Chinese worship of ancestors expressed by services to them in the temples. In chapters fourth and fifth the author discusses the influence of the doctrines of ancestor worship and filial piety on the private and public life of the ancient Chinese. In the sixth chapter the author treats the genesis of Chinese polytheism, and explains how it gradually obscured the worship of ancestors. The author surveys the development of the old Chinese philosophy, and shows that the latter destroyed the primitive belief in the immortality of the soul, and developed ethical forms of life which led to vulgar cynical Stoicism and Epicureanism. From this China was saved by Confucianism, which system the author proceeds to explain, showing that its centre is filial piety which develops in man love, justice, and energy. In the concluding and longest chapter of his work, M. Georgievski discusses the future of China, in view of its yearly increasing relations with Europe and America.

(5) *On the roots of the Chinese language in connection with the question of the origin of the Chinese, by S. Georgievski, St. Petersburg,* 1888. The work of M. Georgievski falls into two closely connected divisions, linguistic and ethnographical. In the first division, the author, establishing his opinion by a series of examples (which occupy in the book 176 lithographed pages), shows:—(1) that the old Chinese characters were developed from a single root system, dialectic peculiarities being expressed by special characters, preserved to the present day in Chinese lexicography as synonyms; and (2) that in the Chinese language are groups of words cognate with others in the Âryan languages, and the languages of Japan, Corea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, Annam, Siam, Burma, and Tartary. In the second part M. Georgievski comes to the question of the origin of the Chinese. His chief positions are (1): that the Chinese people colonised the territory of China proper from Central Asia, where they had lived side by side with the ancestors of the Âryans, with whom they were ethnologically connected; (2) that the territory of China proper was from the earliest times settled by races not of one ethnological type, and not akin to the Chinese; and (3) these races were the forefathers of the Japanese, Coreans, Manchus, Mongols, Eastern Turkistânîs, and Indo-Chinese, and became incorporated with the Chinese, and the fragments of their language are preserved in Chinese lexicography.

(6) *V. Verbitski. A Dictionary of the Altai and Aladag Dialects of the Turkish language, published by the Orthodox Missionary Society, Kasan,* 1884. This dictionary, compiled for practical purposes, contains important materials for the study of the Altaic dialects. The author collected the materials for the grammar published at Kasan in 1869. He tells us that his work embraces two chief dialects (1) Altaic (Teleut, Telengut, Telenget), (2) Aladag. There are no dialectical sub-divisions of the first, but the second is sub-divided into the following dialects, (*a*) of Kondom, the Upper and Lower, (*b*) Matir, (*c*) Abakan, Upper and Lower, (*d*) Bî (Upper and Lower). The reviewer, (V. Radloff), compares this division of the dialects with his own, as given in *Phonetik der nördlichen Türksprachen*, pages 281-283.

Reviewer's division.	Division of M. Verbitski.
I. Dialects of Altai proper.	I. Altaic dialect.
(1) Altaic.	
(2) Teleut.	
II. Dialects of Northern Altai.	II. Aladag dialect.
(1.) Lebedin.	(1) Bî (4).
	(a) Upper.
	(b) Lower (Kumandin)
(2.) Shor.	(2) Kondom.
	(a) Upper.
	(d) Matir.
	(b) Lower. (2)
III. Abakan.	III. Abakan. (3)
(1) Sagan.	(a) Upper.
(2) Koibal.	
(3) Kachin.	(b) Lower.

If we compare the vocabulary of the 'Altaic' grammar with that now published we shall see great progress. The number of words is doubled; the definitions are clearer, and they are confirmed by examples which the author has heard from natives. The Reviewer, he says, ought to acknowledge openly that the work of M. Verbitski is of great service to him in the compilation of his dictionary of the Turkish dialects, on which he is now engaged. Some deficiencies, however, in the work are to be remarked; alphabetical order is not always kept, and the transcriptions are not made on a uniform plan.

(7) *The Proverbs of the Natives of Turkistân, collected and translated by N. Ostroumov, Tashkand.* Proverbs are always a favourite study with ethnographers. It is strange that although the Russians have now been masters of Tashkand for twenty years they have not been collected before. Moreover, there is plenty of material. M. Ostroumov has collected 492, and the places and circumstances connected with them are described. Some are purely local; some entirely original and others adopted, translated from Persian or Arabic.

(8) *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, etc.* 1887. This vast work is

occupied with the description of 1666 coins of the **Eastern Caliphate,** falling into the following semi-divisions, (i) Coins of the Byzantine type (96 examples); (ii) Coins Latin-Arab. (42 ex.); (iii) Coins Sassânî-Arab. (21 ex.): (iv) assigned to the Khalifa 'Alî (1 ex.); (v) Ummayî (619 ex.); (vi) Adherents of the 'Abbâsîs (12 ex.); (vii) 'Abbâsî (875 ex). The reviewer says that he has counted 266 which have not been published, and some of which make us acquainted with mints hitherto unknown. A remarkable feature of the Paris collection are the Byzantine-Arab and Latin-Arab coins, in which the Russian collections are very poor. On the other hand, the Parisian collection is poor in Sassani-Arabian coins, of which the Russians have a good quantity. The copper coins of the Khalîfas are very interesting, and besides the customary inscriptions we find various representations (branches of trees, ears of corn, crescents, eagles, etc.)

In the introduction M. Lavoix refers to the only *dirham* of Basra, known to be of the fortieth year of the Hijra. It is in all respects like the latest 'Ummayî *dirhams* of A.H. 78—132. Relying upon uncertain historical data M. Lavoix ascribes the first attempt to coin among the Musalmâns to the Khalîfa 'Alî (35-40 A.H.); but upon the unanimous evidence of Arabian historians, confirmed by many 'Ummayî coins, its introduction belongs to the rule of the Khalîfa 'Abdu'l-Malik (65-86 A.H.). If it had happened in the time of 'Alî, the Musalmân Chronicles would have mentioned it, and moreover in the stores of Kufic money excavated in Northern Russia, we should certainly have met with a few examples of the coins of 'Alî. The writer does not venture to say that the coin is the production of a modern falsifier, but does not feel inclined, like Mordtmann, *se fléchir devant la brutalité du fait,* and to acknowledge it as a coin of 'Alî. Either the engraver made a mistake, or it is a trick of some old supporter of the party of 'Alî, who wished to magnify the imperial wisdom of the founder of his party. Moreover, it is not yet settled in what year the coining of money was introduced. According to chronicles it was between the years 74 and 77 A.H. The specimens, which were known up to the time of M. Lavoix's *Catalogue* were as early as A.H. 77. He now makes us acquainted with *dirhems* of the years 73, 75, 76. In conclusion, the writer hopes for the speedy continuation of the work of M. Lavoix.

(9) *Buhler, G., Ueber die Indische Secte der Jaina. Wien,* 1887. This is a masterly exposition in a condensed form of the leading principles of Jainism. Professors Bühler and Jacobi are the chief defenders of the independent development of Jainism, apart from Buddhism. To the former weighty reasons in support of this view, new are added, taken from the latest discoveries in epigraphy. In inscriptions of the first century B.C. are found enumerations of different schools of the Jains (*gaṇa*) with their sub-divisions (*śâkhâ,* branch, and *kula,* family), known to us from the traditions of the Jains. This discovery enables us to feel more confidence in these traditions. Bühler gives a complete text of these inscriptions in the Viennese *Oriental Journal.*

(10) *Albêrûnî's India, edited in the Arabic original, by Dr. Edward Sachau.* New editions of valuable Arabic texts are constantly appearing. Bêrûnî, however, always keeps one of the chief places. Arabists and Indian scholars have alike awaited this book with impatience, perhaps the latter most so. A proper estimate will be made when the promised English translation appears. The work of Bêrûnî is peculiar. It has no parallel in ancient and mediæval literature of the East or West. We find in it no prejudices of religion or caste, but a careful spirit of criticism, which is imbued with all the power of modern comparative methods. He understands the value of knowledge, and prefers silence to opinions based upon inadequate facts. His breadth of vision is truly astonishing.

In this book is heard a soul thirsting for truth, and hungering for righteousness, placing that truth above everything, and striving for it unweariedly. He pardons much because he understands much; but at the same time he is free from fanciful idealism. It is indeed wonderful that such a work could have been produced at such a time and in such a country.

A man like Bêrûnî appears to great advantage, if we compare him to European *savants* of the time. The West was full of prejudices. It had to wait two centuries before it produced the great figure of Frederick II.

The reviewer does not agree with the editor that Bêrûnî was a solitary rock in the ocean of Arabic literature, and explains his reasons at considerable length. This edition is a great monument of the critical skill and unwearied labour of Edward Sachau.

W. R. MORFILL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A VARIANT OF THE BLOODY CLOTH.

The following is an interesting, if unpleasant, variant of the legend of the "bloody cloth" attached to so many "saints" in Europe. At Chengannûr there is a temple to Siva of considerable celebrity. In it there is an image of Pârvati,

his consort. Pârvatî, being female, of course menstruates (!), and periodically a red spot appears on the cloth worn by the image. Whenever this happens the temple is closed for three days and no worship allowed in it. In the works of Ravivarman Tampi, a celebrated Travancore poet of the beginning of this century, is to be found an allusion to this in some of his very elegant verses.

Madras. SUNKUNI WARIYAR.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE LIFE OF HIUEN-TSIANG; by SAMUEL BEAL, B.A., D.C.L. Trübner's Oriental Series. London; Trübner and Co. 1888. Post 8vo.; pp. xxxvii., 218.

A most valuable addition has recently been made to **Trübner's Oriental Series,** in the shape of the **Rev. Samuel Beal's Translation of the Life of Hiuen-Tsiang,** which supplements his translation of the Travels of Hiuen-Tsiang, published in 1884 under the title of Buddhist Records of the Western World, and completes the English version of all regarding India that was noted by the Chinese pilgrim during his visit to that country in the period of his absence from China from A.D. 630 to 645. Mr. Beal's three volumes now cover in English the same ground as M. Stanislas Julien's French translation published some thirty years ago; and, being brought up to date by notes and comments, are indispensable to everyone who is concerned with the ancient history of India, religious or political The present volume also contains, in the Introduction, a brief *résumé* of I-tsing's notices of forty-three other Chinese pilgrims, most of whom visited India, belonging to the period A.D. 627 to 665. It ought to have contained, but does not do so, an index, similar to that provided with the two volumes of the *Travels*; the absence of an index much impairs the utility of such a book as this.

The *Travels* were written by Hiuen-Tsiang, and edited by the Shaman Pien Ki. The *Life* was written in the first instance by Hwui Li, one of Hiuen-Tsiang's disciples, and was afterwards enlarged and completed by Yen-thsong at the request of Hwui Li's disciples. For his share of the work, Yen-thsong consulted other texts and authorities, besides the writings of Hiuen-Tsiang himself. And thus the *Life*, which includes, in addition to an account of Hiuen-Tsiang's early years and his life after his return to China, a more or less full epitome of all the information given in his own larger work, corroborates and explains the latter in many important details. The chief object of Hiuen-Tsiang in visiting India, was to study Buddhism as practised there, and to collect, and take back to China, as many Buddhist and other writings as he could procure. The object of his labours, therefore, was primarily religious. But his work contains also a very full account of the political divisions of the countries through which he passed, with many notices of the then rulers of them, and of their predecessors. And this it is that makes his writings so valuable; supplying, as they do, so much historical and geographical information regarding a period for which the epigraphical remains are not as full as might be wished.

Within the limits of this notice, it is impossible to give any account of the details of the book. But it contains one curious and interesting episode, not included in the *Travels*, which may be briefly quoted here, as shewing the existence then, as until comparatively recent times, of the practice of human sacrifice by the devotees of Durgâ. Having left Ayôdhyâ, Hiuen-Tsiang, with about eighty fellow-passengers, was travelling by boat down the Ganges on his way to Hayamukha. The boat was captured by pirates, whose custom it was every year, in the autumn,—which season it then was,—to kill a man of good form and comely features, and to offer his flesh and blood to their goddess, Durgâ, in order to procure good fortune. From among their captives they selected Hiuen-Tsiang himself, as the most suitable for their purpose, on account of his distinguished bearing and his bodily strength and appearance. The sacrificial ground was prepared; an altar, besmeared with mud, was erected; Hiuen-Tsiang was bound on it; and the sacrifice was just about to be performed; when the ceremony was stayed by a mighty typhoon that suddenly burst from the four quarters, smiting down the trees, stirring up clouds of sand, and lashing the waves of the river into fury. This fortunate interposition of the powers of nature,--regarded, of course, by the pirates as a miraculous intervention in favour of a person who must consequently be of great sanctity and importance,—led to explanations which naturally ended in the repentance and forgiveness of the pirates, and their conversion to Buddhism as lay-worshippers. This brief account shews the interesting nature of the episode. But it must be read in full in Mr. Beal's translation, in order to understand all its details, and to appreciate the dramatic vigour of the language in which the narrative is given by Hiuen-Tsiang.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 178. — VIZAGAPATAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA-CHODAGANGADEVA. SAKA-SAMVAT 1003.

I EDIT this and the following two inscriptions, all three of them being now published in full for the first time, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1883, from the Government Central Museum at Madras, through the kindness of Dr. Bird. This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell, in the *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 31, No. 212, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Collector of **Vizagapatam**, in the **Madras** Presidency.

The **plates** are five in number, each measuring about 7½″ by 3½″ at the ends and a little less in the middle; the first plate is inscribed on one side only; the last plate is blank on both sides, and was intended as a guard to the outer side of the fourth plate. The edges of the plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, except for five *aksharas* in lines 9, 10, 17, the inscription is well preserved and quite legible throughout. — The **ring** on which the plates are strung, is about 7/16″ thick and 4″ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part, shaped like and probably intended to represent an expanded water-lily, of a flat circular disc, about 2½″ in diameter, which takes the place of the ordinary **seal**. On the upper side of this disc, there is fixed an **image** of the bull Nandi, couchant, as if on the top of a pillar; and on each side of the Nandi, cut in the surface of the disc, there is what seems to be either an elephant-goad, or a *chauri* with a long handle; and also a *śaṅkha*-shell, on the proper right side. Possibly there were originally also other emblems, as in the case of No. 179 below, now not recognisable. — The total **weight** of the five plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 4 lbs. 2½ oz. — The **characters** are a variety of what Dr. Burnell has named the South-Indian Nâgarî alphabet; and they belong to the same stock with the characters used in the grants of Dêvêndravarman and Satyavarman, though with differences in several essential points. The engraving is good and fairly deep; and the letters show through on the outer sides of the first and fourth plates. The interiors of the letters shew marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. — The **language** is Sanskṛit. And the whole record is in prose, except for three verses in lines 26 to 33. — In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *chh*, by *ch* in the usual way, after the *anusvâra*, in *lâṁchchhana*, line 8; (2) the repetition of *bh*, instead of its doubling by *b*, after *r*, in *chûḍâmaṇêr=bhbhagavatô*, line 6; and (3) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, *e.g.* in *śavda*, line 8; *avdakân*, line 14; *âśvarân*, line 28; and *âṁvuja*, line 32.

This **inscription**, which contains a good deal of genealogical information, is a record of **king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chôḍagaṅgadêva, of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga**; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from **the city of Kaliṅganagara**. It is a **Saiva inscription**; the object of it being to record the grant of **the village of Châkivâḍa, in the Samvâ vishaya**, to the god Siva under the name of Râjarâjêśvara, whose temple was at **the village of Reṅgujêḍ**, — *i.e.* to a *liṅga*-form of that god established at the village in question by **Râjarâja**, the father of Anantavarman, and named after him.

Lines 30 to 33 give **the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Chôḍagaṅgadêva**. **The details are**: — Saka-Saṁvat 999, expressed in numerical words, and not specified either as **current** or **as** expired; while the sun was standing in the sign Kumbha, *i.e.* in the solar month **Phâlguna**; in the bright fortnight; on Ravijadina or **Saturday**, joined with the third *tithi*; **under the Rêvatî nakshatra**; and during the **Nṛiyugma lagna**, *i.e.* during the rising of the

sign Mithuna.[1] Here the given year has to be applied as an expired year. Thus, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that —

In Saka-Saṁvat 999 current, the Kumbha-Saṁkrânti occurred on Sunday, 22nd January, A.D. 1077, at about 32 *ghaṭis*, 21 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Kaliṅgapatam,[2] and on this day there ended the *amânta* Mâgha kṛishṇa 10, at about 28 *gh.* 48 *p.*; and the Mîna-Saṁkrânti occurred on Tuesday, 21st February, at about 21 *gh.* 4 *p.*, and on this day there ended the *amânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa 11, at about 54 *gh.* 57 *p.* The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight in this period, while the sun was standing in Kumbha, was the lunar Phâlguna śukla 3, which ended, not on a Saturday, but on Sunday, 29th January, A.D. 1077, at about 48 *gh.* 43 *p.*

But in **Saka-Saṁvat 1000 current (999 expired),** the Kumbha-Saṁkrânti occurred on Monday, 22nd January, A.D. 1078, at about 47 *gh.* 52 *p.*, and on this day there ended the *tithi* Mâgha śukla 6, at about 11 *gh.* 39 *p.*; and the Mîna-Saṁkranti occurred on Wednesday, 21st February, at about 36 *gh.* 35 *p.*, and on this day there ended the *tithi* Phâlguna śukla 7, at about 31 *gh.* 41 *p.* The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight in this period, **while the sun was standing in Kumbha,** was again the lunar **Phâlguna śukla 3, which ended, as required, on Saturday, 17th February, A.D. 1078,** at about 54 *gh.* 36 *p.* Calculating by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and for apparent sunrise, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, that, on this day, the *tithi* ended at 54 *gh.* 12 *p.*; **there was the Rêvatî nakshatra,** ending, according to the equal-space system, at 44 *gh.* 25 *p.*; **and there was the Nṛiyugma lagna,** lasting from 13 *gh.* 23 *p.* to 18 *gh.* 41 *p.*

Lines 40 f. give **the actual date of the grant itself.** And here the details are: — Saka-Saṁvat 1003, again expressed in numerical words, and not specified either as current or as expired; the month of Mêsha, *i.e.* the solar month Vaiśâkha; the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight; on Âdityavâra or **Sunday.** As with the preceding date, applying the given year as an expired year, in **Saka-Saṁvat 1004 current (1003 expired)** the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti occurred on Tuesday, 23rd March, A.D. 1081, at about 44 *ghaṭis*; the Vṛishabha-Saṁkrânti occurred on Friday, 23rd April, at about 40 *gh.* 29 *p.*; and the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight in this period was the lunar **amânta Chaitra kṛishṇa 8, which ended, as required, on Sunday, 4th April, A.D. 1081,** at about 35 *gh.* 19 *p.*

This inscription, and No. 180 below, which mentions the month of Vṛiśchika, *i.e.* the solar month Mârgaśîrsha, are of **special interest on account of their quoting the solar months,** in accordance with what is still the usage in at any rate the Tamiḻ calendars in the Madras Presidency.[3] With the verse which gives the date of the accession of the Chôḷa king Râjarâja II.,[4] and which, by the expression "the sun being in Siṁha," indicates the solar month Bhâdrapada, these are the only published epigraphical instances that I can quote for the use of the solar without any reference to the lunar month.[5]

TEXT.[6]

First Plate.

1 Ôm Svasti Srîmatâ[7][m=a*]khila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayâ-dâna-dâkshi-

2 ṇya-satya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-âdi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakâṇâm=Â-

3 trêya-gôtrâṇâṁ vimala-vichâr-âchâra-puṇya-salila-prakshâ-

[1] For the term *lagna*, see the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, iii. 48, 49, and the notes in the Rev. E. Burgess' translation. The unqualified *lagna* seems always to denote, as it has here been taken, the *kshitija-lagna* or 'the occurrence of a point of the ecliptic on the horizon.' There is another kind of *lagna*, *viz.* the *madhya-lagna*, which denotes 'the point of the ecliptic on the meridian.'

[2] The times here are for Kaliṅgapatam, all through.

[3] See, for instance, the *Siriya-Pañchâṅgam* and the *Vâkya-Pañchâṅgam*, quoted *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 208 and note 12, which use the solar year.

[4] *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 53, lines 65-67.

[5] In the verse which gives the date of the accession of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 16, lines 31-34), the solar month Pausha is indicated by the words "the sun being in Dhanus;" but the principal item is the mention of the lunar month Mârgaśîrsha.

[6] From the original plates.

[7] This *tâ* was at first omitted and then inserted below the line. This omission accounts for the omission of the following *ma*.

4 lita-**Kalikâla**-kalmasha-mashîṇâṁ mahâ-**Mahêndr-âchala-**
5 śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sachar-âchara-gurôḥ sakala-bhuva-
6 na-nirmmâṇ-aika-sûtradhârasya śaśâṅka-chûḍâmaṇêr=bhbha(bbha)gavatô
7 [Gô*]karṇṇasvâminaḥ prasâdât=samâ[sâ*]dit-aikaśaṅkha-bhêrî-pañcha-

Second Plate; First Side.

8 mahâśavda(bda)-dhavalachchhatra-hêmachâmara-varavṛishabhalâṁchchhana-sa-
9 muj[j*]vala-samasta-sâmrâjya-mahimnâm=anêka - samara - [sa]ṅghaṭṭa - samu-
10 [palavdha(bdha)] - vijayalakshmî - samâliṅgit - ôt[t*]uṅga - bhujâda-
11 ṇḍa-maṇḍitânâṁ **Trikaliṅga**-mahivujaṁ[8] **Gaṅgâ-**
12 **nâm=â(a)nvayam**=alâ(la)ṅkarishṇôr=Vvishṇôr=î(i)va vikrâ(kra)m-[â*]krâ-
13 ntâ(nta)-dhâ(dha)râmaṇḍalasya **Guṇamahârṇṇava-mahârâjasya** putra[ḥ*]

Second Plate; Second Side.

14 śrî-**Vajrahâ(ha)stadêvaś**=chatuś-chatvâri[ṁ*]śatam=avda(bda)kân kshiti-
15 m=arakshit ‖ Tat-tanayô **Guṇḍama**[9]-râjâ(jô) varsha-trayam=apâ-
16 layat ‖ Tad=anu tad-anujaḥ **Kâmârṇṇavadêvaḥ**
17 [pa]ñcha-triṁśaṁd[10]-varshâṇi ‖ Tasy=ânujô **Vinayâ-**
18 **dityaḥ** samâs=tisraḥ ‖ Tataḥ **Kâmârṇṇava**-tanayô **Vajraha-**
19 **staḥ** yô mada-galita-gaṇâ(lâ)n gajâna(n) sahasram=artthibhya-

Third Plate; First Side.

20 ḥ samadâta(t) sa -pañcha-tri[ṁ*]śatam=avda(bda)kân ‖ Tatas=tad-agrasu(sû)-
21 nuḥ **Kâmârṇṇavadêvô**=rddha-samâ[ṁ*] [‖*] Taha(ta)s=tad-anujô **Guṇḍa**-mahîpati-[11]
22 s=triṇi varshâṇi ‖ Tad=anu tasya dvaimâturô **Madhu**[12]**-Kâmârṇṇava** ê-
23 k-ôna-viṁśati-varshâṇi ‖ Tataḥ **Kâmârṇṇavâd=Vaidumv**[13]**-ânvaya-**
24 samudbhavâyâṁ **Vinayamahâdêvyâṁ** jâtaḥ śrî-**Vajrahastadêvô** yô
25 divaḥ patantam=atibhîshaṇam=aśaniṁ śastry=âbhijaghâna sa trayas-tri-
26 ṁśatam=avda(bda)kân=avanim=apâlayat ‖ Tatas[14]=tu tasy=âtmabhavô=ri-

Third Plate; Second Side.

27 marddanas=sa **Râjarâja**-kshitipaḥ kshitiṁ samâḥ arakshad=ashṭau Varuṇ-â-
28 lay-âṁva(ba)rân=nidhir=gguṇânân=Nidhê(dhi)pâla-sannibhaḥ ‖ Tatô[15] **Râjêndrachô-**
29 **lasya** tanayâ **Râjasundarî** râjñas=tasy=âgra-mahishî satî sutam=aśû(sû)yata ‖
30 **Śak**[16]**-âvdê(bdê) Nanda-randhra-grahagaṇa-gaṇitê Kumbha-saṁsthê dinêśê śuklê**

---

[8] Read *mahîbhujâṁ*.—In the last syllable, first a *visarga* was engraved, and then it was corrected into the *anusvâra* by partial erasure of the lower circle.

[9] In Mr. Sewell's published notice, this name is given as Guṇṇama; but the second syllable is distinctly *ṇḍa*.

[10] Read *triṁśad*.

[11] In the place where this person is mentioned in No. 179, line 74-75, the text has *guṇḍama-râja*; which gives him exactly the same name, Guṇḍama, with his grandfather. In No. 180, line 14, however the reading is the same as here. And though in both places we might assume the proper reading to be *guṇḍama-mahîpati*, on the understanding that the second *ma* was omitted in accordance with a frequent tendency of Hindu scribes, yet it is equally possible that Guṇḍa is a justifiable shorter form of Guṇḍama. I therefore take the text as it stands, without making any emendation.

[12] In Mr. Sewell's published notice, this part of the name is given as Machu; but, both here and in No. 179, line 75, the second syllable is distinctly *dhu*. Also, in his notice of No. 179, Mr. Sewell gave the prefix as Muchu; but the first syllable, in both places, is distinctly *ma*.

[13] Here, in the second syllable, we distinctly have the dental *d*; but in No. 180, line 15, the lingual *ḍ* is used.

[14] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

[15] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[16] Metre, Sragdharâ.

31 pakshê tri(tri)tîyâ-yuji Ravija-dinê Rêvati-bhê Nṛiyugmê lagmê(nê) Ga-
32 ṅg-ânvavây-âṁvu(bu)ja-vana-dinakṛid=viśva-viśvaṁbharâyâś=chakraṁ saṁ-rakshi-
33 tuṁ sad-guṇa-nidhir=adhipaś=Chôḍagaṅgô=bhishiktaḥ ‖ Kaliṅga-nagarât=pa-
34 ramamâhêśvara - paramabhaṭṭâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja - Tṛi(tri)kaliṅg - â-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

35 dhipatiḥ śrîmad-Anantavarmmâ Chôḍa(ḍa)gaṅgadêvaḥ kuśali samast-âmâtya-
36 pramukha-janapadân=samâhûya samâjñâpayati [|*] Viditam=astu bhavatâṁ ‖(|)
37 Saṁvâ-vishayê Châkivâḍ-âkhyô grâmaś=chatus-sîm-âvachchhinna-
38 s=sa-jala-sthalas=sarvva - pîḍâ - vivarjjitam = â - chandr - ârkka - kshiti - sama-
39 kâlaṁ yâvan=mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddha-
40 yê ‖[17] Haranayana-viyad-gagana-chandra-gaṇitê Śak-âvdê(bdê) Mêsha-mâ-
41 sa-krishṇ-âshṭamyâm=Âditya-vâre Remgujeḍ-âkhya-grâma-nivâ-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

42 sinê Râjarâjêśvarâya va(ba)li-pûjâ-nivêdy-ôtsava-karaṇâ-
43 ya ch=âsmâbhir=datta iti ‖

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Of the *Mahârâja* **Guṇamahârṇava (II.)** (line 13), who adorned **the family of the Gaṅgas** (line 11), — who are of **the Âtrêya gôtra** (l. 3.); who through the favour of the divine Gôkarṇasvâmin (Śiva), (l. 7) established on the summit of **the great mountain Mahêndra** (l. 4), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate (l. 5), and the sole architect for the construction of the universe (l. 6), possess all the greatness of complete sovereignty resplendent with the single conch-shell, the kettle-drum, the *pañchamahâśabda*, the white umbrella, the golden *châmara*, and the excellent **crest of a bull** (*vṛishabha-lâñchhana*) (l. 9); and who are the kings of **(the country of) Trikaliṅga** (l. 11), — the son, the illustrious **Vajrahastadêva (III.)** (l. 14), protected the earth for forty years.

His son, king **Guṇḍama (I.)** (l. 15), governed it for three years. After that, his younger brother, **Kâmârṇavadêva (IV.)** (l. 16), for thirty-five years. And his younger brother, **Vinayâditya** (l. 17), for three years. Then **Vajrahasta (IV.)** (l. 18), the son of **Kâmârṇava (IV.)**, reigned for thirty-five years; he presented to applicants a thousand elephants whose throats were trickling with rut. Then his eldest son, **Kâmârṇavadêva (V.)** (l. 21), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, king **Guṇḍa (Guṇḍama II.)**[18] (l. 21), for three years. And then his maternal half-brother, **Madhu-Kâmârṇava (VI.)** (l. 22), for nineteen years. Then to **Kâmârṇava (VI.)**, from **Vinayamahâdêvî** (l. 24) who was born in **the Vaidumva**[19] **family**, there was born **Vajrahastadêva (V.)** (l. 24), who struck back, with his sword, a most terrible thunderbolt, as it fell; he reigned for thirty-three years. Then his son, king **Râjarâja** (l. 27), reigned for eight years. His chief queen (*agramahishî*) was **Râjasundarî** (l. 28), the daughter of **Râjêndrachôla**. And she bore him a son, king **Chôḍagaṅga** (l. 33), the sun of the collection of water-lilies which is **the Gaṅga family (l. 32), who was anointed king in the Śaka year (l. 30) that is numbered by the Nandas (nine), the apertures of the body (nine), and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with**

[17] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary. [18] See note 11 above.
[19] Or perhaps Vaiḍumva, with the lingual ḍ; see note 13 above.

Kumbha, in the bright fortnight, on Saturday, joined with the third lunar day, under the Rêvati nakshatra, and during the Nriyugma lagna.

From the city of Kaliṅganagara (l. 33), he, the most devout worshipper of the god **Mahêśvara**, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, **the supreme lord of Trikaliṅga** (l. 34), the glorious **Anantavarman** (otherwise called) **Chôḍagaṅgadêva** (l. 35), being in good health, having called together all the people, headed by the *Amâtyas*, issues a command:—

" Be it known to you (l. 36) that, **in the Saka year** (l. 40) **that is numbered by the eyes of Hara (three), the sky (nought), the expanse of heaven (nought), and the moon (one), on the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight in the month of Mêsha, on Sunday** (l. 41), **the village of Châkivâḍa, in the Samvâ vishaya** (l. 37), has been given by us to (the god) **Râjarâjêśvara** (l. 42), residing (*in a temple*) **at the village of Beṅgujeḍ** (l. 41), (*for his use*) and for the purpose of performing the oblation of ghee, the worship, the perpetual oblation, and the festival (*of the god*).

No. 179.—VIZAGAPATAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA-CHODAGANGADEVA.
SAKA-SAMVAT 1040.

This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell in the *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 33, No. 19, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Collector of **Vizagapatam.**

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about $8\frac{5}{8}''$ by $4\frac{7}{8}''$ at the ends and a little less in the middle. The edges of the plates are fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces; and the inscription is well preserved and quite legible throughout. — The **ring** on which the plates are strung, is about $\frac{7}{1}''$ thick and 5″ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part of a flat circular disc, about $2\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter, similar to that of No. 178 above, which again takes the place of the ordinary seal. On the upper side of this disc again there is fixed an **image** of the bull Nandi, couchant; and, cut in the surface of the disc, there are, in front of him, the sun; in front of his left fore-leg, the moon; by the side of his right fore-leg, a *liṅga*, on an *abhishêka*-stand; below the *liṅga*, what seems to be a double umbrella; below the latter, a *saṅkha*-shell; behind the Nandi, a double drum; on the left side of him, what seems to be a single umbrella; and above it, between it and the moon, some emblem that I do not recognise. — The total **weight** of the five plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 8 lbs. 14 oz. — The **characters** in this instance are ordinary Old-Kanarese, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record refers itself. The **engraving** is good, and fairly deep; but the plates are thick and substantial, and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of them at all. The interiors of the letters shew marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. — The **language** is Sanskrit. The inscription is entirely in verse as far as line 44; and after that, verses occur in lines 61, 77, 80, 81, and 84 to 103. — In respect of **orthography**, the points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the *anusvâra* instead of the proper nasal, *e.g.* in *kalaṁka-kâṁti*, line 1; though instances of the correct usage occur, and, among them, the rather unusual employment of the guttural nasal in *anvabhuṅta*, for *anvabhuṅkta*, line 14; (2) the doubling of *g* after the *anusvâra*, once, in *gaṁgga*, line 105; (3) the use of *v* for *b*, once, in *avdhau*, line 87, though in other places the *b* itself is used; (4) the use of *b* for *bh* in *chaturbbis*, line 4, and, again when preceded by *r*, in five similar instances in lines 12, 56, 84, 91, and 96, and probably in line 34; and (5) the use of *sâṁbrâjya* for *sâṁrâjya*, line 46.

This **inscription** which contains still more genealogical and historical information, is another record of **king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chôḍagaṅgadêva, of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga**; in this instance, the city from which the charter was issued, is not mentioned. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of **the village of Tâmarakhaṇḍi, in the Samvâ vishaya, to a person named Mâdhava.**

In lines 93 to 96, we have the same verse that occurs in No. 178, giving **the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Chôḍagaṅgadêva.** And line 114 gives **the actual date of the grant itself,** which is simply mentioned, without further details for calculation, as a meritorious day in Saka-Saṁvat 1040, expressed in numerical words and not distinctly specified either as current or as expired, but equivalent, as an expired year,[1] to A.D. 1118-1119.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ôm [||*] Lakshmî[3]-nishêvyam=uḍurâja-kalaṁka-kâṁti bâhâ-chatushṭaya-chaṇaṁ vapu-
2 r=âdadhânaḥ prâdur-bbabhûva bhuvana-tritayaṁ vidhitsur=vviśva-prasûti-jara-
3 ṭô(ṭhô) bhagavân=**Anaṁtaḥ** || Tan[4]-nâbhi(bhî)-nalinâd=babhûva bhuvana-prâraṁbha-dîkshâ-ratô
4 **Brahmâ** vêda-paraṁparâ[ṁ*] paridadhad=vaktraiś=chaturbbi(rbbhi)s=tataḥ prâjâpatya-dhur-âdhirûḍa(ḍha)-
5 mahasâm=**Atrir**=mmunînâṁ prabhur=jjâtas=sarvvajani(nî)na-divya-tapasâ[ṁ*] vrâtô vapushmâ-
6 n=iva || **Atrê[ŕ*]**[5] putrôḥ[6] babhûva Tripurahara-jaṭâ-jûṭâ(ṭa)-nêpatya(thya)-ratna-nêtra-vyâpâ-
7 ra-dêśa[ḥ*] Smara-charita-mahâ-nâdi(ṭi)kâ-sûtradhâraḥ drishṭâṁtô dâkshiṇâtyâ-mu-
8 kha-mukura-ruchâṁ sarvvarî-ji(jî)vit-êśas=trailôky-ânaṁda-kaṁdô gagana-tala-ma-
9 h-âṁbhôdhi-śaṁkhaś=**Śaśâ[ṁ*]kaḥ** |(||) Tatô[7] jagat-tâpa-bhishajyita-tvishaś=śubha-grahô=
10 bhûd=vibudh-âgraṇîr=**Bbudhaḥ** **Purûravâs**=tat-tanayô yad-ullasad-bhujâ bhuji-
11 shyâṁ bubhujê vasuṁdharâṁ |(||) Tasm[â*]d[8]=**Âyus**=śubhaṁ yas=tribhuvana-viditô janma lêbhê
12 tadîyaḥ putrô=bhûj=jê(jai)tra-bâhur=**Nnahusha**-narapatir=bbû(bbhû)bhṛitâm=agra-gaṇyaḥ ya-
13 ḥ pṛithvyâm=êka-patnyâm=anubhava-vimukhô bhûri-jâta-prajâyâṁ svar-vvêśyâṁ kha-
14 ṇḍit-Êṁdrâṁ praṇaya-paravaśaḥ paurushêṇ=ânvabhuû[k*]ta || Tatô[9] **Yayâtir**=vvijit-âri-
15 yût[10]ir=jjajñê tatas=**Turvvasur**=urvvar-êśaḥ sa pûrvva-gîrvvâṇa-gurôr=ggarimnâ(mṇâ) mâtâma-
16 hasy=ôrasi hi pravṛiddhaḥ |(||) Aputratvaṁ[11] prâptas=suchiram=atikhinnô nṛipa-vṛi-

Second Plate; First Side.

17 shas=sa **Gaṁgâm**=ârâdhyâṁ niyata-gatir=ârâdhya vara-dâṁ ajêyaṁ **Gâṁgêya**-
18 **ṁ** sutam=alabhat=ârabhya cha tadâ kramas=tad-vaṁśyânâṁ bhuvi jayati **Gaṁg-ânva**-
19 **ya** iti |(||) Asy[12]=âsît=tanayô **Virôchana**-vibhur=vvairi-grah-âstâchala[ḥ*] kshôṇi(ṇî)nâ-
20 tha-kî(ki)rîṭa-patra-makarî-lagn-â[ṁ*]ghri-rêṇ(?)-û(?)tkaraḥ Lakshmi(kshmî)-**Vâgvanitâ**-mahâkula-nadî-[sa]-
21 ṁvêdyam=udyôginaṁ **Saṁvêdyaṁ** samaji(jî)janat=sa nṛipatir=**Ggaṁg-ânvay**-ôttaṁsa-kaṁ |(||) **Sa**-
22 **ṁvêdy**=atô[13] maṇir=iv=[â*]jani nâma bhâsvân[14] bhûpâla-mauli-makuṭair=upalâlani(nî)ya-

---

[1] On the analogy of the results for the dates in No. 178.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[4] Metre Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[5] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[6] Read *putrô*.

[7] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

[8] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[9] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[10] This vowel *û* was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather indistinctly, over the lower part of the *ti*.

[11] Metre, Śikhariṇî.

[12] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[13] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[14] The use and position of the word *nâma* might possibly be held to indicate that the name of Saṁvêdya's son is to be found in the word *bhâsvân*; in which case the first four syllables of this verse would be taken as one word, with an ablative sense, and the translation would be "from Saṁvêdya there was born Bhâsvat by name, (resplendent) like a jewel." But on the whole it would seem that the name Saṁvêdin is intended; and that this name, and that of Dattasêna, were purposely placed at the beginning and the end of the stanza.

23 ḥ trâs-âdi-dôsha-rahitas=sa babhûva putrî yat-saṁpadân=nidhir=ajâyata **Datta-**

24 **sênaḥ** |(||) Tasy[15]=ôrvvi(rvvî)śvara-mauli-maṇḍana-maṇêr=âsîd=asâdhâraṇâṁ bibhrâṇô nṛipa-

25 ti-śriyaṁ priya-sutas=**Sômô**=tiramy-âkṛitiḥ tasmâd=apy=udapâdi môdita-ja-

26 gach-chakrô = **ṁsudattas** = tatas = **Sô(sau)râṁgô** = bhavad = anya-râḍ-gaja-ghaṭ-[â*]pâta-kṛi(kri)yâ-pâka-

27 laḥ |(||) Tasmâch[16]=**Chitrâṁbarô**=bhût=kshititala-valayê râja-śabd-aika-vâbhya(chya)s=sûnus=**Sâradhva-**

28 **jô**=sy=âbhavad=akhila-bhuvâm=âdhipatya-prasûti[ḥ*] **Dhammêba**[17] tat-tanûjô nṛipa-naya-

29 padavi(vî)-pâṁtha-mukhyô virêjê babhrâj=âpatyâ(tya)m=asya kshiti-jaya-paravân=êka-

30 dhanvâ **Parikshit** |(||) Sa[18] mahîpatis=sutam=apâ(vâ)pa mâninaṁ **Jayasênam**=anya-

31 nṛipa-darppa-śâtanaṁ abhavat=sutô=sya **Jayasêna**-saṁjñitaḥ prathayan diśâ-

32 sita-dukûlita[ṁ*] yaśaḥ |(||) **Jitavîryyam**[19]=asâv=ajîjanat=sa cha bhûpâ-

Second Plate; Second Side.

33 la-vṛishaṁ **Vṛishadhvajaṁ** saha-śaktim=alaṁghya-śâsanaṁ vijigîshuṁ ssa(su)-virôdhi-bhî-

34 shaṇaṁ |(||) Tasya[20] **Pragarbba(lbha)s**[21]=tanayô babhûva kshitiśa-mârgg-âcharaṇa-pragalbhaḥ ya[ḥ*] kha-

35 ḍga-dhârâ-jala-dhauta-vairi-nârî-kapôlasthala-patrabhaṁgaḥ |(||) Âsîd[22]=êva sit-âtapa-

36 tra-tilaka[ḥ*] kshôṇibhṛid=asy=âtmajô vîraśrî-vanitâ-svayaṁvṛita-patir=ddêvas=sa **Kô-**

37 **lâhalaḥ** nirmmây=ôrjjita-**Gaṁgavâḍi**-vishayê **Kôlâhal**-âkhyaṁ **puraṁ** yaś=cha-

38 krê sura-sadma vi(vî)kshaṇa-rasa-pratyûham=akshṇâṁ Harêḥ |(||) Tat[23]-sutô dhṛita-śarâsana-ya-

39 shṭir=ggâm=arakshad=apavarjjita-chauryy[â*]ṁ śâsana-prathita-pâśa-vidê(dhê)yâm=êka

40 êva sa **Virôchana**-saṁjñaḥ [||*] Gatê[24] tatra narêṁdrâṇâṁ **Kôlâhala-puri(rî)**-bhujâṁ

41 êk-âśîtyâṁ cha tad-vaṁśyô **Vîrasiṁhô**=bhavan=nṛipaḥ |(||) Tasya **Kâmârnna(rṇṇa)-vas**=sû-

42 nur=**Dânârnna(rṇṇa)va-Guṇârṇṇavau** **Mârasiṁha** iti khyâtâ(tô) **Vajrahast**-âkhya-paṁcha-

43 mâḥ |(||) Atha **Kâmârnna(rṇṇa)vô** dat[t*]vâ pitṛivyâya nijâm=mahîṁ prâyât=pṛithvi(thvî)ṁ bhuvaṁ jê-

44 tum=**Mâ(ma)hêṁdraṁ** bhrâtṛibhir=**ggiriṁ** |(||) Tatra cha sakala-sur-âsura-siddha-sâdhya-kirîṭa-kôṭi-

45 vighṛishṭa-masṛiṇa-charaṇapîṭham=ârâdhya Gôkarṇṇasvâminam=asya prasâdât=samâ-

46 sâdita-vara-vṛishabhalâṁcha(chha)nas=samupalabdha - sakala - sâṁbrâ(râ)jya - chihnô(hnai)r=upa-

47 śôbhamânas=sa narêṁdrâ(drô) **Mahêṁdr-âchala**-śikharâd=avatîryya Yudhishṭhira iva

48 chaturbbhir = anujair = anugamyamânas = samara - ni(nî)rasika - **Balâdityan** = ni[r*]jitya

Third Plate; First Side.

49 **Kâmârṇṇavaḥ** **Kaliṁgân**=agrahît | tasya ch=âpahasita-Surêṁdra-puraṁ **Jaṁtâvura-**

50 **n**=nâma nagarî râjadhâny=âsît | asau **Dânârnna(rṇṇa)vam**=anujaṁ kaṁṭhikâ-baṁdhura-

[15] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [16] Metre, Sragdharâ. [17] Read probably *dharmm-âdhyaḥ*.

[18] Metre, Mañjubhâshiṇî. [19] Metre, Vaitâlîya. [20] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[21] A correction is necessary here. On the analogy of *chaturbbis* for *chaturbbhis*, line 4, and some similar instances in this record, we might take the real name to be Pragarbha. But I do not find this word in dictionaries. And Pragalbha is indicated by the use of that word in the context.

[22] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [23] Metre, Svâgatâ.

[24] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next two verses.—Here, instead of *gatê*, we ought to have *gatâyâm*, in apposition with *êk-âśîtyâm* in the next line.

51 kaṁlhara[ṁ*] nidhâya **Guṇârṇṇavây=Âṁbavâḍi**-vishayaṁ **Mârasiṁhâya Sô(?sê)-**
52 **dâ**-maṇḍalaṁ **Vajrahastâya Kaṁṭaka**-varttani(nî)m=adât I êvaṁ cha kramêṇa shaṭ-tri-
53 ṁśad-varshân **Kaliṁgân**=apâlayat I(II) Tasya cha śrîmatâm=aśêsha-bhuvana-bhû-
54 pâla-mauli-mâl-âlaṁkâra-yaśasâṁ nija-râjya-saṁpad-apahasita-**Mahêṁ-**
55 drâṇâṁ **Mahêṁdr-âchal**-âmala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sakala-bhuvana-nirmmâṇ-aika-sû-
56 tradhârasya [sa*]char-âchara-gurôr=bba(bbha)gavatô Gôkarṇṇasvâminas=samârâdhana-la-
57 bdha-nikhila-manôrathânâm=**Âtrêya-gôtrâṇâṁ Gaṁgânâṁ** kulam=a-
58 laṁkarishṇôr=Vvishṇôr=iva vikram-âkrâṁta-sakala-mahîmaṇḍalasya **Kâmârṇṇa-**
59 **vasy**=ânujô **Dânârṇṇavas**=chatvâriṁśatam=abdakân râjyam=akârshît I(II) Tat-sû-
60 nur=**dvitîyaḥ Kâmârṇṇavaḥ** paṁchâśad-varshân=mahîmaṇḍalam=amaṇḍayat I tasya tiraskṛita-trivishṭa-
61 paṁ **Nagaran**=nâma puram=âsît II Tasmin[35] sô=pi madhûka-vṛiksha-jananâd=Îśasya liṁg-âkṛitêḥ kṛitv=âkhyaṁ
62 Madhukêśa ity=arachayat=prâsâdam=abhraṁkashaṁ yad-[d*]vâr-ôrdhva-vichitra-patra-latikâś=chitrâṇi vâ paśya-
63 tâṁ saṁdhâny=aṁbaravarttinâṁ hṛidi bhavên=nûnaṁ vimân-âruchiḥ I(II) Tat-tanayô **Raṇârṇṇavaḥ** paṁcha va-
64 rshân mahîm=aharshayat I(II) Tat-sûnur=**dvitîyô Vajrahastaḥ** paṁchadaśa samâḥ kshamâm=arakshat [II*]
65 Tasy=ânujas=**tri(tṛi)tîya[ḥ*] Kâmârṇṇavô**=rṇṇavamêkhalâm=êk-ôna-viṁśati-saṁvatsarân=samavarddha-

Third Plate; Second Side.

66 yat I(II) Tat-sutô **Guṇârṇṇavas**=sapta-viṁśatim=abdân=abdhiraśanâṁ vaśâm=anaishît I(II) Tad-âtmajaḥ **Ji-**
67 **tâṁkuśaḥ** paṁchadaśa vatsarân mahîn=nissapatnâm=akârshît I(II) Tatas=tad-bhrâtus=sû(su)taḥ **Kali-**
68 **galâṁkuśô** dvâdaśa vatsarân **Kaliṁgân**=alaṁchakâra I(II) Tatas=tasya pitṛi-bhrâtâ sapta varshân
69 **Guṇḍama-râjô** mahîmaṇḍala-maṇḍanô[26] babhûva [II*] Tasy=ânujaś=**chaturtthaḥ Kâmârṇṇavaḥ** paṁcha-
70 viṁśati-varshân vasuṁdharâm=anubabhûva I(II) Tayô[ḥ*] kani(nî)yân=**Vinayâdityô**
71 varsha-trayaṁ dharitrîm=atrâyat(ta) I(II) Tatas=taj-[j*]yêshṭhasya **Kâmârṇṇavasya** sutaś=**cha-**
72 **turtthô Vajrahastaḥ** paṁcha-triṁśatam=abdakân I yad-datta-daṁti-sahasra-
73 dâna-vâriṇâ cha kuvalayaṁ paṁkilam=âsît I(II) Tatas=tat-sutaḥ
74 **paṁchamaḥ[ḥ*] Kâmârṇṇavô**=rddha-samâṁ I(II) Tatas=tad-anujô **dvitîyô Guṇḍa-**
75 **ma-râjas**=[27]trîṇi varshâṇi I(II) Tasya dvaimâturô bhrâtâ **shashṭhô Madhu[28]-Kâmârṇṇa-**
76 **va** êk-ôna-viṁśati-varshâṇi I(II) Tatas=tadîya-naṁdanô **Vajrahastas**=triṁśa-
77 tam=abdakân I Tad-varṇṇanê I Vyâptê[29] **Gaṁga-kul-ôttamasya** yaśasâ dik-chakravâlê
78 śaśi-pradyôt-âmalinêna yasya bhuvana-prahlâda-saṁpâdinâ siṁdûrair=ati-
79 sâṁdra-paṁka-paṭalaiḥ kuṁbhasthalî-paṭṭakêshv=âliṁpaṁti punaḥ-punaś=cha hari-
80 tâṁ=âdhôraṇâ vâraṇân I(II) Anurâgêṇa[30] guṇinô yasya na(va)kshô-mukh-â-
81 bjayôḥ âsînê Śrî-Sarasvatyâv=anukûlê virâjataḥ I(II) Na[31] n[â*]mataḥ kê-

[25] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[26] These eight syllables are engraved over some cancelled letters. The reading is a little doubtful, but seems to be as I give it.

[27] See page 163 above, note 11.

[28] See page 163 above, note 12.

[29] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[30] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh.)

[31] Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

Fourth Plate; First Side.

82 valam=artthatô=pi sa[32] **Vajrahastas=Trikalimga**-nâthaḥ yô Vajri-hastâd=apathaḥ(ṁ) prithi-
83 vyâṁ vajraṁ patad=vârayituṁ samarttha[ḥ*] I(II) Tat-sutô **Râjarâjô**[33]=shṭa-va-
84 tsarân I Tad-varṇṇanê I Sa[34] **Râjarâjaḥ** prathamaṁ jaya-śriyaḥ patir=bbabhu(bhû)-
85 va **Dramil**-âhav-ôtsavê virâjamânâm=atha **Râjasû(su)ṁdarîm**=udûḍa(dha)-
86 vâṁś=**Chôḍa**-mahîbhuj-âtmajâṁ I(II) Tyaktvâ[35] **Vemgî[ṁ*]** sapadi pariṇ[â*]m-ôdayê dyâ-
87 m=iv=ânyâṁ **Chôḍa**-vyâjê mahati **Vijayâdityam**=avdhau(bdhau) mima[ṁ*]kshu[ṁ*] â-
88 pannânâṁ parama-śaraṇaṁ **Râjarâjô** vichitraṁ lakshmî-bhâja[ṁ*] su
89 chiram=akarôt=paśchimâyâṁ diśâyâṁ I(II) Tasy[36]=âbu(bhû)d=agra-sûnuḥ prithula-
90 nija-bhujâ-Vikramâditya-sâras=satya-tyâg-aika-sîmâ vimalatara-ya-
91 śaś-chaṁdrikâ-dhauta-lôkaḥ vâg-ullaṁghi-pratâpaḥ śubha-charita-nidhir=bbâ(bbhâ)gya-
92 saubhâgya-râśiḥ kshôṇî-prâṇ-âdhinâthas=sakala-ripu-manô-bhaṁga-daś=**Chôḍaga-**
93 **ṁgaḥ** I(II) **Śâk-âbdê naṁda-raṁdhra-grahagaṇa-gaṇitê Kuṁbha-saṁsthê dinêśê su-**
94 **klê pakshê tritîyâ-yuji Ravija-dinê Rêvati-bhê Nṛiyugmê lagnê Gaṁg-ânva-**
95 **vây**-âṁbuja-vana-dinakrid=viśva-viśvaṁbharâyâś=chakraṁ saṁrakshituṁ·
96 sad-guṇa-nidhir=adhipaś=**Chôḍagaṁgô**=bhishiktaḥ II Vîra[37]-śrir=bbu(bbhu)jadaṇḍa-yugma-
97 lalitâ yasy=âri-darppa-chchhida[ḥ*] staṁbha-dvaṁdva-niyaṁtrit-aika-kariṇî-sâ

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

98 driśyam=âkli(klṛi)pyati[38] I yat-pâda-dvitay-âṁtika-praṇayin[â*]ṁ kshôṇîbhṛitâm=mau-
99 laya[ḥ*] sphâyat-padma-yug-ânukâ(châ)ri-madhupa-śrêṇi-śriyaṁ bibhrati
100 II Pûrvvasyâṁ diśi pûrvvam=**Utkala-pati[ṁ*]** râjyê vidhâya chyutaṁ paśchât=paśchi-
101 ma-dik-taṭê vigadi(li)taṁ **Veṁg-iṁśam**[39]=apy=êtayôḥ lakshmi(kshmî)ṁ vaṁdana-mâli-
102 kâm=iva jaya-śrî-tôraṇa-staṁbhayôr=bbadhnâti sma samiddha-vitta-vibhava[ḥ*]
103 śrî-**Gaṁga**-chûḍâmaṇiḥ II Sa śrîmad-**Anaṁtavarmma**-mahârâjô · râjâdhi-
104 râjô râjaparamêśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭârakaḥ paramavaishṇavaḥ paramabra-
105 hmaṇyaḥ I[40] mâtâpitṛi-pâd-ânudhyâta[ḥ*] śrî-**Chôḍagaṁggadêvas=Saṁvâ-**
106 vishayê raptrakûṭa[41]-pramukhân kuṭuṁbinas=sarvvân=sa-
107 mâhûya purôhit-âmâtya-yuvarâja-saṁdhivi-
108 grahi - dauvârika - pramukha - parijana - samaksham = ittham = âjñâpayati [I*]
109 Viditam=astu vô yathâ II Âsîd=ârryya-kul-ôdbhavô Vâsudêva-nâ-
110 yakas=tad-bhâryyâ Gaṇḍama-nâyikâ tat-putrô Bhîmaya-nâmâ tad-bhâ-
111 ryyâ Mêḍama-nâyikâ tat-putrô Mâdhavas=tasm[ai*] mat-pâd-ôpajîvinê
112 bhavad-vishayê **Tâmarakhaṇḍi**-nâma-grâmas=satata-pratibaddhâbhir=avichchhinna-
113 samôpabhôgâbhiś=cha pallibhis=sârddhaṁ sa-jala-sthalaṁ sarvv-ôpadrava-rahi-

Fifth Plate.

114 m=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-pratishṭham=mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê **viya-**
115 **d-udadhi-kh-êṁdu-gaṇitêshu Śaka-vatsarêshu puṇyê=hani** sakal-**Ôtkala**-sâmrâ-
116 jya-padavî-virâjamânais=**Siṁdûrapôra**-nivâsibhir=asmâbhir=ddhârâ-pûrvvaka[ṁ*] da-
117 ttas=Tad=bhâvibhir-api bhûmipâlaiḥ paripâlanîya iti II

[32] This is a very anomalous character, more like a mark of punctuation than anything else; but it can only be meant for *sa*.

[33] Read *râjarâjô*. [34] Metre, Vaṁśastha. [35] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

[36] Metre, Sragdharâ; and in the next verse. [37] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following verse.

[38] According to the Dictionaries, the root *klṛip* is of the first class only, and is conjugated in the *âtmanêpada*. Here, in composition with *â*, it is conjugated in the *parasmaipada* of the fourth class.

[39] Read *tiam*. [40] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary. [41] Read *rashṭrakûṭa*.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Desirous of creating the three worlds, there became manifest **the divine (god) Ananta (Vishṇu)** (line 3).[42] From the water-lily (*that grew from*) his navel, there sprang **(the god) Brahman** (l. 4), reciting the Vêdas with his four mouths. From him there was born **Atri** (l. 5), the lord of sages. The son of Atri was **Śaśâṅka (the Moon)** (l. 9).[43] From him was born **Budha** (l. 10). His son was **Purûravas.** From him was born **Âyus** (l. 11). His son was king **Nahusha** (l. 12). From him there was born **Yayâti** (l. 14). From him, king **Turvaśu** (l. 15); "he came to maturity on the breast (*of his mother*) through the power of the ancient preceptor of the gods, his maternal grandfather ('Sukra)."[44] Being without sons, and being excessively distressed for a long time (*on that account*) (l. 16), he **(Turvaśu),** the best of kings, practising self-restraint, propitiated **(the river) Gaṅgâ,** the bestower of boons, who is worthy to be propitiated, and obtained a son, the unconquerable **Gâṅgêya** (l. 17);[45] and, from that time forth, the succession of his descendants has been victorious in the world, under the name of the **Gaṅgânvaya** (l. 18).

The son of this person was **Virôchana** (l. 19). He begat **Saṁvêdya** (l. 21), the glory of **the Gaṅgânvaya.** From him there was born **Saṁvêdin** (l. 22).[46] He became possessed of a son through the birth of **Dattasêna** (l. 23). His dear Son was **Sôma** (l. 25). From him there was born **Aṁśudatta** (l. 26). From him, **Saurâṅga.** From him, **Chitrâmbara** (l. 27), who alone, in the whole circuit of the earth, was worthy to be spoken of by the title of '**king.**' His son was **Sâradhvaja.** His son was he who had the appellation of **Dharma** (?) (l. 28).[47] And his son was **Parikshit** (l. 30). He obtained a glorious son, **Jayasêna (I.).** And his son again was named **Jayasêna (II.)** (l. 31). He begat **Jitavîrya** (l. 32). And he, king **Vṛishadhvaja** (l. 33). His son was **Pragalbha** (l. 34).[48] His son was **Kôlâhala (l. 36), who built the city named Kôlâhalapura (l. 37), in the great Gaṅgavâḍi vishaya,** and made a temple of the god Hari. And his son was **Virôchana** (l. 40).

When there had gone by in that city **eighty kings, who enjoyed the city of Kôlâhalapurî** (l. 40), in his lineage there was born king **Vîrasiṁha** (l. 41). His sons were five in number; **Kâmârṇava (I.), Dânârṇava, Guṇârṇava (I.), Mârasiṁha,** and **Vajrahasta (I.)** (l. 42). Then **Kâmârṇava (I.)** gave over his own territory to his paternal uncle (l. 43), and, with his brothers, set out to conquer the earth, and came to **the mountain Mahêndra** (l. 44). Having there worshipped the god Gôkarṇasvâmin (l. 45), through his favour he obtained the excellent **crest of a bull** (*vṛishabha-lâñchhana*); and then, decorated with all the insignia of universal sovereignty, having descended from the summit of **the mountain Mahêndra** (l. 47), and being accompanied, like Yudhishṭhira, by his four younger brothers **Kâmârṇava (I.) conquered (king) Balâditya,** who had grown sick of war (l. 48), and took possession of **the Kaliṅga countries** (l. 49). And his capital (*râjadhânî*) was **the city named Jantâvura** (l. 49), which quite surpassed the city of (the god) Surêndra. Having decorated his younger brother **Dânârṇava** with the necklace (*kaṇṭhikâ*) (*of royalty, as a token that he should succeed him in that kingdom*) (l. 50), to **Guṇârṇava (I.)** he gave **the Ambavâḍi**

---

[42] Accordingly, these Gaṅgas were comprised in the Vishṇuvaṁśa or lineage of Vishṇu.

[43] And thus they belonged also to the Sômavaṁśa or Lunar Race.

[44] I have not succeeded in obtaining an explanation of this verse. The story of Yayâti is given in the *Vishnu-Purâṇa*, book iv. chap. 10; and may be briefly stated thus:—By his wife Dêvayânî, the daughter of Śukra, he had two sons, Yadu and Turvaśu; and by his other wife Śarmishṭhâ, the daughter of Vṛishaparvan, three sons, Druhyu, Anu, and Pûru. Being cursed by Śukra, in connection with his marriage to the second wife, he became old and infirm before his time. But subsequently, appeasing his first father-in-law, Śukra, he obtained permission to transfer his decrepitude for a thousand years to anyone who would bear it in his place. With the exception of Pûru, all his sons refused, and were cursed by him in consequence. Pûru, however, relieved his father of the infliction, and in return, when the time had expired, was made by his father his principal successor in the sovereignty; his brothers being appointed viceroys under him. — The preceptor of the gods is properly Bṛihaspati. But the epithet seems here to be applied to Śukra, the preceptor of the demons.

[45] Here the descent branches off from the Purâṇic genealogy. According to the *Vishnu-Purâna*, book iv. chap. 16, Turvaśu's son was Vahni; his was Gôbhânu; and so on; and no reference is made to the circumstances mentioned in the present verse.

[46] See note 14 above. [47] See note 17 above. [48] See note 21 above.

vishaya (l. 51) ; **to Mârasimha, the Sôdâ or Sêdâ maṇḍala** (l. 52) ; and to **Vajrahasta (I.), the Kaṇṭaka vartanî.** And thus for thirty-six years he governed **the Kaliṅga countries** (l. 53).

Of him, **Kâmârṇava (I.)** (l. 58), who adorned **the family of the Gaṅgas** (l. 57),—who obtained the fulfilment of all their desires by propitiating the divine Gôkarṇasvâmin (l. 56), established on the pure summit of **the mountain Mahêndra** (l. 55), who is the sole architect for the construction of the universe, and the father of all things animate and inanimate (l. 56) ; and who are of **the Atrêya gôtra** (l. 57),—the younger brother, **Dânârṇava** (l. 59), reigned for forty years.

His son, **the second Kâmârṇava** (l. 60),[49] reigned for fifty years ; his city was **the city named Nagara** (l. 61), in which he built a lofty temple for an emblem of the god Îśa (Śiva) in the *liṅga*-form, to which he had given the name of Madhukêśa (l. 62) because it was produced from, a *madhûka*-tree. His son, **Raṇârṇava** (l. 63), made the earth happy for five years. His son, **the second Vajrahasta** (l. 64), protected the earth for fifteen years. His younger brother, **the third Kâmârṇava** (l. 65), caused the earth to be prosperous for nineteen years. His son, **Guṇârṇava (II.)** (l. 66), held the earth in subjection for twenty-seven years. His son, **Jitâṅkuśa** (l. 67), kept the earth without a rival wife in his affection for fifteen years. Then his brother's son, **Kaligalâṅkuśa** (l. 67), adorned **the Kaliṅga countries** for twelve years. Then his father's brother, king **Guṇḍama (I.)** (l. 69), was the ornament of the earth for seven years. His younger brother, **the fourth Kâmârṇava** (l. 69), enjoyed the earth for twenty-five years. Their younger brother, **Vinayâditya** (l. 70), protected the earth for three years. Then **the fourth Vajrahasta** (l. 72), the son of his elder brother **Kâmârṇava (IV.)**, reigned for thirty-five years ; and made the earth as soft as clay with the water that was the rut of a thousand elephants given away by him. Then his son, **the fifth Kâmârṇava** (l. 74), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, **the second king Guṇḍama** (l. 74), reigned for three years. His maternal half-brother, **the sixth Madhu-Kâmârṇava** (l. 75), for nineteen years. Then his son, **Vajrahasta (V.)** (l. 76), for thirty years ; the whole earth was filled with the fame of him, the ornament of **the Gaṅgakula** (l. 77) ; and he, **the lord of Trikaliṅga** (l. 82), fully deserved **the name of Vajrahasta** ('he who holds a thunderbolt in his hand'), because he was able to ward off a thunderbolt which, missing its proper path, was falling from the hand of the god Vajrin (Indra) onto the earth. His son **Râjarâja** (l. 83), reigned for eight years ; he first became the husband of the goddess of victory **in battle with the Dramilas** (l. 85), and then wedded **Râjasundarî, the daughter of the Chôḍa king** (l. 86) ; and when **Vijayâditya** (l. 87), beginning to grow old, left **(the country of) Veṅgî**, as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of **the Chôḍas**, he, **Râjarâja**, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time **in the western region** (l. 89). His eldest son, equal to (the ancient king) Vikramâditya in the prowess of his mighty arm (l. 90), was **Chôḍagaṅga** (l. 92), who was anointed king of the whole world **in the Saka year (l. 93) that is numbered by the Nandas (nine), the apertures of the body (nine) and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with Kumbha, in the bright fortnight, on Sunday, joined with the third lunar day, under the Rêvatî nakshatra, and during the Nṛiyugma lagna.** He, the ornament of **the Gaṅgas** (l. 103), first replaced **the fallen lord of Utkala** in his kingdom **in the eastern region** (l. 100), and then **the waning lord of Veṅgî in the western region** (l. 101), and propped up their failing fortunes.

And he, the illustrious *Mahârâja* **Anantavarman** (l. 103), the *Râjâdhirâja*, the *Râjaparamêśvara*,[49] the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the most devout worshipper of the god Vishṇu,[50] who is most

[49] It should be noted how, in most cases, in a very exceptional manner, this record uses the ordinal adjectives to distinguish the different kings of the same name.

[49] Here, line 104, *râjaparamêśvara* seems to be a fuller form of the usual supreme title *paramêśvara*. But, on the analogy of similar epithets in other dynasties, it may be a *biruda* of Anantavarman, meaning 'a very Paramêśvara (Śiva) among kings.'—It is rather curious that, along with one at least of the paramount titles, the feudatory title of *Mahârâja* should be attached to the name of Anantavarman.

[50] See also, contrasted with the Nandi on the seal, and with the epithet *paramamahêśvara* in the other two grants, the use of the epithet *paramavaishṇava* here is rather peculiar. But the grantee, Mâdhava, and his grandfather, Vâsudêva-nâyaka, were plainly Vaishṇavas. And the sectarian title in question was possibly assumed out of compliment to them.

kindly disposed to Brahmaṇs, — he, (otherwise called) the glorious **Chôḍagaṅgadêva** (l. 105), who meditates on the feet (*pâd-ânudhyâta*) of his parents, having called together the cultivators, headed by the *Râshṭrakûṭas* (l. 106), **in the Samvâ vishaya**, issues a command in the presence of the *Purôhita, Amâtya, Yuvarâja, Saṁdhivigrahin, Dauvârika*, and other officials of his retinue :—

" Be it known to you (l. 109) that there was Vâsudêvanâyaka, born in a noble family; whose wife was Gaṇḍamanâyikâ (l. 110). Their son was Bhîmaya; whose wife was Mêḍamanâyikâ (l. 111). Their son is Mâdhava. And to him, my dependent (*pâd-ôpajîvin*), for the increase of the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourself (l. 114), **in the Saka year (l. 115) that is numbered by the sky (nought), the oceans (four), the sky (nought), and the moon (one), on a meritorious day,** with libations of water there has been given by Us, decorated with the rank of **entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala** (l. 115), and residing **at the town of Sindûrapôra** (l. 116), **the village of Tâmarakhaṇḍi** (l. 112), in your *vishaya*, together with the hamlets that have always belonged to it and have been uninterruptedly enjoyed with it, — including its water and dry land (l. 113); free from all exactions; and constituted to endure as long as the sun and the moon. Therefore it should be preserved in grant by future kings also."

No. 180.—VIZAGAPATAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA-CHODAGANGADEVA.
SAKA-SAMVAT 1057.

This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell in the *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 32, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Senior Assistant Collector of **Vizagapatam**, and as belonging to the trustees of **the temple of Saṅgam.**

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 9¼″ by 4⅝″. The edges of the plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; and the inscription is well preserved and legible throughout. — The **ring** on which the plates are strung, is about ⅜″ thick and 5¼″ in diameter; it had been not cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part of a flat oval disc, similar to that of No. 178 above, and measuring about 2″ by 1⅝″, which again takes the place of the ordinary **seal**. On the upper side of this disc again there is fixed an **image** of the bull Nandi, couchant; and on the surface of the disc there are visible the same emblems as in the case of No. 178. — The total **weight** of the three plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 6 lbs. 8 oz. — The **characters** belong to the South-Indian Nâgarî alphabet. As far as the end of line 12, they are of exactly the same type with those of No. 178; but from there to the end they follow a different type of the same class, presenting older characteristics, especially in using the superscript form of the vowel *i* in combination with a consonant. This change in the characters occurs, it will be noticed, at the beginning of the second plate; but the context runs on quite properly; and for this reason, as well as from the uniform size and appearance of the three plates, and from the fact that the ring had not been cut, there seems to be no doubt that the first plate is the one which belongs properly to the second and third. The engraving is good and fairly deep; but the plates are thick and substantial, and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all. As usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. — The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the whole record is in prose, except for five verses in lines 18-23, and 27-31, and one of the customary benedictive verses in line 38. The formal part of the record, as far as the end of line 26, agrees almost word for word with the corresponding portion of No. 178. In line 37, the word *gali-vanra*, or possibly *gali-vandha*, requires explanation. — In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *trinśatam*, lines 13 and 17; and in *vinśati*, line 15; (2) the repetition of *bh*, instead of its doubling by *b*, after *r*, in *chûḍâmaṇêr=bhbhagavatô*, line 4; and (3) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, *e.g.* in *śavda*, line 5; *samupalavdha*, line 6; *avdakân*, line 9; *aṁvuja*, line 22; and *kuṭumvân*, line 26.

This inscription is another record of **king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chôḍagaṅgadêva, of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga**; and, as in the case of No. 178, the charter recorded in it, is issued from **the city of Kaliṅganagara**. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of **the village of Sumuda**, with its hamlet, **in the Sammag or Sammaga vishaya and in the Kaliṅga dêśa**, to a person named Chôḍagaṅga, — evidently a name-sake of the king.

In lines 20 to 23, we have the same verse that occurs in Nos. 178 and 179 above, giving **the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Chôḍagaṅgadêva**. And line 32 f. gives **the actual date of the grant itself**, which, without full details for calculation, is in the month of Vṛiśchika, *i.e.* in the solar month Mârgaśîrsha, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1057, expressed in numerical words. Here, again, the given year is not distinctly specified, either as current or as expired. As an expired year,[1] it is equivalent to A.D. 1135-36.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ôm Svasti Srîmatâm=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dâya[3]-dâna-dâkshiṇya-satya-śaucha-śau-

2 ryya-dhairyy-âdi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrâ(tra)kâṇâm=**Âtrêya-gôtrâṇâṁ** vimala-viyâ(châ)r-âchâra-puṇya-salila-

3 prakshâlita-Kalikâla-kalmasha-mashîṇâṁ mahâ-**Mahêndr-âchala**-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sachar-âchara-gu-

4 rôḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmmâṇ-aika-sûtradhârasya śaśâṅka-chûḍâmaṇi(ṇê)r=bhbha(bbha)-gavatô Gôkarṇṇasvâmi-

5 naḥ ।[4] prasâdât=samâsâdit-aikaśaṅkha-bhêrî-pañchamahâśavda(bda)-dhavalach[chh*]atra-hêmachâmara-varavṛisha-

6 bhalâñcha(ñchha)na-samuj[j*]vala-samasta-sâmrâjya-mahimnâm=anêka-samara-saṅga(ṅgha)-ṭṭa-samû(mu)palavdha(bdha)-vi-

7 jayalakshmî-samâliṅgit-ôt[t*]uṅga-bhujadaṇḍa-maṇḍitânâṁ ।[5] **Trikaliṅga-mahîbhujâṁ** ।[6] **Ga-**

8 **ṅgânâm**=anvayam=alaṅkarishṇôr=Vvishṇôr=iva vikram-âkrânta-dharâmaṇḍalasya **Guṇa-mâ(ma)hârṇṇa-**

9 **va**-mâ(ma)hârâjasya putraḥ ।[7] śrî-**Vajrahastadêva**ś=chatuś-chatvâriṁśatam=avda(bda)-kân kshitim=arakshît

10 ॥ Tat-tanayô **Guṇḍama**-râjâ(jô) varsha-trayam=apâlayat [॥*] Tad=anu tad-anujaḥ **Kâmârṇṇavadêvaḥ** pa-

11 ñcha-triṁśad-varshâṇi ॥ Tasy=ânujô **Vinayâdityaḥ** samâs=tisraḥ ।(॥) Tata[ḥ*] **Kâmârṇṇava-**

12 tanayô **Vajrahasta[ḥ*]** yô mada-galita-galân=gajâna(n) sahasram=artthibhyaḥ samadât=sa

Second Plate; First Side.

13 pañcha-trinśa(ṁśa)tam=avda(bda)kân ॥ Tatas=tad-agra-sûnuḥ **Kâmârnna(ṛṇṇa)vadêvô**=rddha-samâṁ ॥

14 Tatas=tad-anû(nu)jô **Gû(gu)ṇḍa**-mahîpatis[8]=trîṇi va[r*]shâṇi ॥ Tad-anû(nu)jaś=cha dvaimâturaḥ **Kâmâ-**

15 **[r*]ṇṇava** êk-û(ô)na-vinśa(ṁśa)ti-varshâṇi ॥ Tatas=tu **Kâmâ[r*]ṇṇavâd**=**Vaiḍumv-**[9] **ânvaya**-samudbhavâyâṁ

16 **Vinayamahâdêvyâṁ** jâtaḥ śrî-**Vajrahastadêvô** [yô*] divaḥ patantam=atibhîshaṇa-

[1] On the analogy of the results for the dates in No. 178 above.

[2] From the original plates. [3] Read *dayâ*. [4], [5], [6], and [7] These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

[8] See page 163 above, note 11. [9] See page 163 above, note 13.

17 m=aśanim śastry=âbhi[10]jaghâna sa[11] trayas-trinśa(ṁśa)tam=adva(bda)kân=avanim=apâlayat ।(॥)

18 Tatas[12]=tu tasy=âtmabhavô=ri-marddanas=sa **Râjarâja**-kshitipaḥ kshitiṁ samâḥ ।

19 arakshad=ashṭau Varuṇ-âlay-âṁva(ba)râ[ṁ*] nidhir=guṇânâṁ Nidhipâla-sannibhaḥ ॥ Tatô[13] **Râjêṁ-**

20 **drachôlasya** tanayâ **Râjasundarî** râjñas=tasy=âgra-mahishî satî sutam=asûyata ॥ **Śa-**

21 **k[14]-âvdê(bdê) nanda-ranta(ndhra)-grahagaṇa-gaṇitê Kumbha-saṁsthê dinêśê śuklê pakshê tṛitîyâṁ[15]-yuji**

22 **Ravija-dinê Rêvatî-bhê Nṛiyugmê lagnê Gaṅg-ânvavây-âṁvu(bu)ja-vana-dinakṛid=**viśva-viśvambha-

Second Plate; Second Side.

23 râyâś=chakraṁ saṁrakshituṁ sad-guṇa-nidhir=adhika(pa)ś=**Chôḍagaṅgô**=bhishiktaḥ ॥ **Kaliṅga-naga-**

24 **rât**=paramamâhêśvaraḥ paramabhaṭ[ṭ*]âraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-**Trikaliṅgâ**dhipati[ḥ*] śrîmad-**Ana-**

25 **ntavarmmâ Chôḍagaṅgadêvaḥ** kuśalî । samast-âmâtya-pramukha-janapadân=**Sammag**[16]-visha-

26 ya-vâsinaḥ kuṭumvân[17]=sarvân=samâhûya ittham=âjñâpayati [।*] Vidi[ta*]m=astu bhavatâm ।

27 Śrîman[18] Permâḍirâja dvishad-avanibhṛitâṁ śôṇit-âmbhaḥ kavôshṇaṁ tîvr-ôdanyasya pâtuṁ sa-

28 marà-bhuvi bhavat-tîkshṇa-kôshêshakasya[19] । dhârâm=ullaṁghya gaṁtu[ṁ*] ripu-narapatayaḥ kê

29 samarthâ vadadhvam[20]=majjanty=atr=aiva tûrnna(rṇṇa)ṁ ripu-va(ba)la-vipina-prauḍa(ḍha)-kâṁtâra-vahnê ॥ Bhâry[21]=âpi

30 yâ tasya [sa*]majña(?)-rûpâ sat-putra-sûr=Mâṁkama-nâmadhêyâ putras=tayôs=sad-guṇavṛitta-śâlî śrî-Chô-

31 ḍagaṅgaḥ prathit-ôru-śauryaḥ ॥ Tasmai Chôḍagaṅgây=âsmâkam=âpta-kṛi(kri)yâya **Kaliṁga**-dêśê ।[22]

32 **Sammaga**-vishayê **Sumuḍa**-nâma-grâmas=**Tittilliṁgi**[23]-nâma-vâṭakaṁ grâmaś=ch=âsît [।*] śr[î*]-**Śak-âvdê(bdê)-**

33 **shu muni-sa(śa)ra-viyach-chha(cha)ṁdra-gaṇitêshu Vṛiśchika-mâsê** sa-jala-sthalas=sarva-pîḍâ-vivarjitam=â-chaṁdr-ârka-[sa*]mu-

34 pabhôginam=mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhi[vṛi*]ddhayê dhârâ-pûrvvakam=asmâbhir=datta iti ॥

Third Plate.

35 Asya grâmasya sîmâ-liṅgâni likhyantê ॥ Pûrvvataḥ Vêṅgiṁ-vilva-sêtu[ḥ*] âgnê[ya*]taḥ Go-

36 ṅga-râpi[24] । tatô **Ḍommikeṇḍa** । dakshiṇi(ṇa)taḥ trikûṭa-vana-râji-sêtuḥ । paśchima-taḥ kêsa(śa)-va(ba)dara-sê-

---

[10] This *bhi* was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather faintly, between the *syâ* and *tma* of *tasy=âtmabhavô* in the next line.

[11] First *sâ* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *sa* by partial erasure of the *â*.

[12] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

[13] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[14] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[15] Read *tṛitîyâ*.

[16] In line 32 below, this name is written Sammaga.

[17] Read *kuṭumbinas*.

[18] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[19] Read *kaukshêyakasya*. I owe this emendation, without which the verse was unintelligible, to Prof. Kielhorn.

[20] Read *vada tvaṁ*, or *vadasva*.

[21] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[22] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[23] Or perhaps the text is *grâmô=sti trilliṁgi*.

[24] Read *gaṅga-vâpî*; see line 39.

37 tuḥ I uttarataḥ Gaṅga(?)-raṇa-gali-vanraḥ[25] I îśânyataḥ vana-trikûṭa[26]-vaṭa-naṁdi-vṛiksha-sahita-sê-

38 tuḥ II Va(ba)hubhir[27]=vvasuddhâ dattâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ I yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ pa(pha)laṁ II

39 Mahâdêvi(vî)-taṭâk-âbhyantara-Gaṅg-[â*]khya-vâpi(pî) II

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Of the *Mahârâja* **Guṇamahârṇava (II.)** (line 8), who adorned **the family of the Gaṅgas** (l. 7), — who are of **the Âtrêya gôtra** (l. 2); who, through the favour of the divine **Gôkarṇasvâmin** (l. 4), established on the summit of **the great mountain Mahêndra** (l. 3), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate, and the sole architect for the construction of the universe (l. 4), possess all the greatness of complete sovereignty resplendent with the single conch-shell, the kettle-drum, the *pañchamahâśabda*, the white umbrella, the golden *châmara*, and the excellent **crest of a bull** (*vṛishabha-lâñchhana*) (l. 6); and who are the kings **of (the country of) Trikaliṅga** (l. 7), — the son, the illustrious **Vajrahastadêva (III.)** (l. 9), protected the earth for forty-four years.

His son, king **Guṇḍama (I.)** (l. 10), governed it for three years. After that, his younger brother, **Kâmârṇavadêva (IV.)**, for thirty-five years. And his younger brother, **Vinayâditya** (l. 11), for three years. Then **Vajrahasta (IV.)** (l. 12), the son of **Kâmârṇava (IV.)**, reigned for thirty-five years; he presented to applicants a thousand elephants whose throats were trickling with rut. Then his eldest son, **Kâmârṇavadêva (V.)** (l. 13), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, king **Guṇḍa (Guṇḍama II.)**[28] (l. 14), for three years. And then his maternal half-brother, **Kâmârṇava (VI.)**, for nineteen years. Then to **Kâmârṇava (VI.)**, from **Vinayamahâdêvî**, who was born in **the Vaiḍumva**[29] **family**, there was born **Vajrahasta (V.)** (l. 16), who struck back, with his sword, a most terrible thunderbolt, as it fell; he reigned for thirty-three years. Then his son, king **Râjarâja** (l. 18), reigned for eight years. His chief queen (*agramahishî*) was **Râjasundarî** (l. 20), the daughter of **Râjêndrachôla.** And she bore him a son, king **Chôḍagaṅga** (l. 23), the sun of the collection of water-lilies which is **the Gaṅga family** (l. 22), who was anointed king **in the Saka year (l. 21) that is numbered by the Nandas (nine), the apertures of the body (nine), and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with Kumbha, in the bright fortnight, on Saturday, joined with the third lunar day, under the Rêvatî nakshatra, and during the Nṛiyugma lagna.**

From the city of Kaliṅganagara (l. 23), he, the most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, **the supreme lord of Trikaliṅga** (l. 24), the glorious **Anantavarman**, (otherwise called) **Chôḍagaṅgadêva** (l. 25), being in good health, having called together all the cultivators, headed by the *Amâtyas*, **in the Sammag vishaya**, issues a command :—

" Be it known to you (l. 26) :[30] — ' O illustrious Permâdirâja (l. 27),[31] what hostile kings are able to cross the stream that is the edge of thy sharp sword, when in the battle-field it is eagerly thirsting to drink the tepid water which is the blood of inimical princes? say thou, (*since none other can answer the question*): straightway they are drowned in it, O thou mighty

[25] In Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, *vanra* is given as meaning ' a co-partner, a co-heir.' Here, however, it may perhaps be a mistake for *vandha*, i.e. *bandha*. The preceding two syllables, *gali*, may perhaps represent the Kanarese *kali*, ' a valiant man, a hero.'

[26] Here we should probably read *trikûṭa-vana*, as in the preceding line.

[27] Metre, Slôka (Anushṭubh).

[28] See page 163 above, note 11.

[29] See page 163 above, note 13.

[30] The proper context is " to him, Our trusty agent, Chôḍagaṅga, " &c., in line 31. The intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis, introducing the grantee, and giving his parentage.

[31] The Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., whose reign ended only about ten years before the time of this grant, had the name of Permâḍi ; but he does not seem to be the person mentioned in this parenthetical verse. At any rate, the name of Mâṅkamadêvî does not occur in the list of his known wives, who were seven in number (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 49 f.)

forest-fire for (*consuming*) the thicket that is the forces of (*thy*) enemies!'[32] His (Permâḍirâja's) wife was she who had the name of **Mâṅkama** (l. 30).[33] And their son is the illustrious Chôḍagaṅga (l. 31). To him, Our trusty agent,[34] Chôḍagaṅga, **the village named Sumuḍa** (l. 32), **with the hamlet named Tittiliṅgi,**[35] **in the Sammaga vishaya in the Kaliṅga dêśa,** has been given by Us, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our parents and of Ourself, **in the Śaka year (l. 33) that is numbered by the Sages (seven), the arrows (of Kâmadêva) (five), the sky (nought), and the moon (one), in the month of Vṛiśchika;** including all the water and dry land, free from all restrictions, and to be enjoyed as long as the moon and sun may endure."

The boundaries of this village (l. 35) are:—On the east, the bridge or causeway (*sêtu*) called Veṅgiṁvilvasêtu; on the south-east, the irrigation-well called Gaṅgavâpî, and then **(the village of) Ḍommikeṇḍa**; on the south, the bridge or causeway running along by the wood called Trikûṭavana; on the west, the bridge or causeway of the *kêśa* and *badara*-plants; on the north, ... ;[36] and on the north-east, the bridge or causeway on which there are a fig-tree and a *nandi*-tree of the wood called Trikûṭavana (?) (l. 37).

Line 38 contains one of the customary benedictive verses. And the record ends with the statement, in line 39, that the irrigation-well called Gaṅgavâpî, spoken of in line 35-36, is in the interior of the tank called Mahâdêvî-taṭâka.

SOME FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

Kâyâvatâra.

In my article on the Bagumrâ grant of Dadda II., *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 193, note 36, I objected to Dr. Bhagvânlâl Indrâjî's identification of Kâyâvatâra with Kâvi, because the latter town is called Kâpikâ in the Râṭhôr inscription of Gôvinda IV. I was, however, unable to offer a definite counter-proposal. I think I can now make up the deficiency, and show that **Kâyâvatâra is probably the modern Kârvân**, a large village situated at the junction of the B. B. and C. I. and Dabhôî Railways in lat. 22° 3′ N. and long. 73° 10′ E. According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII. pp. 550-551, it is an ancient place of great sanctity, famous for its Śaiva temples. The local Mâhâtmya, the legends of which look modern and apocryphal, still retains the tradition that the name of the village is connected with Kâya. It asserts that Kârvân is derived from Kâyavirôhan or Kâyârahun (p. 19). Philological reasons make it impossible to agree with these derivations. But it is very possible that the first syllable of the word Kâr-vân represents Kâyâvatâra. For in Prâkṛit the latter would became Kââvaâra, which in Gujarâtî must be contracted to Kâvâr, and, on the analogy of Vaṭapadra-Vardla, Râivaka-Râyâ(mâla), and so forth, might even become Kâr. The termination *vân* has probably to be taken as the adjectival affix corresponding to Sanskṛit *vat*. The whole name would thus mean '(the village) possessing the Kâya-manifestation.' Now this appellation would suit particularly well, because in Kârvân the chief deity is Brahmêśvara-Mahâdêva, which might also be called Kâyêśvara, because Ka and Brahman are synonyms. An ancient *liṅga*, which, as the *Gazetteer* states, was found some years ago, shows how the name Brahmêśvara arose. Its front part is "shaped into an image of Brahman with a small Vishnu on its head." I may add that Kârvân is not very distant from the village of Sâmrî where Jayabhaṭa IV. granted a field while encamped at Kâyâvatâra.

---

[32] In giving me the emendation which cleared up the meaning of this verse, Prof. Kielhorn has adduced the following analogous verse by Hêmachandra:—

Mûlaraj-âsi-dhârâyaṁ nimagnâ yê mahîbhujah |
Unmajjantô vilôkyantê svarga-Gaṅgâ-jalêshu tê ||

[33] Owing to the construction of the text, this name has a masculine termination. Her real name may be taken either as Maṅkamadêvi (Sanskṛit), or Maṅkamma (Kanarese).

[34] *âpta-kriya*; compare *âpta-kârin*, in Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary.

[35] Or perhaps Trilliṅgi; see note 23 above.

[36] The meaning of *gaṅga-raṇa-gali-vanra*, line 37, is not apparent.

The villages mentioned in the Chaulukya grant No. 4.

The Chaulukya grant No. 4, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 197, plate II. ll. 3-4, disposes of two objects, (1) of the village of **Sâṁpâvâḍâ** in the Varvvi (read Vardhi) Pathaka, (2) of the piece of land "out of the middle of the village at Sêshadêvati, (but) belonging to the village of **Ḍôḍiyâpâṭaka** in the Gambhûtâ Pathaka" (*tathâ Gambhûtâpathakê Śêshadêvatigrâmamadhyât Ḍôḍiyâpâṭakasatkabhûmikhaṁḍa* 1. The following lines 6-11 describe the boundaries of the village and of the piece of land. A comparison of their contents with the actualities on No. 77 of the Trigonometrical Survey Map, Gujarât Series, yields the following results:—

According to the inscription.		*According to the map.*
	(1) Sâṁpâvâḍâ,	Sâmpawârâ { lat. 23° 33′ N. long. 72° 3′ E.
bounded east by	Śêshadêvata	o
„ south	Phîṁchaḍî	Phêchari.
	Hâṁsalapura	Hasalpur [Vîramgâm Tâlukâ].
„ west	[names lost]	
„ north	Râṇêlôya	o
	Khâmbhila	Khambêl.
	Âḍhiyâvâḍâ	Âdivârâ.
	(2) Land in Śêshadêvati	o
	belonging to Ḍôḍiyâpâṭaka	Dôriwârâ { lat. 23°, 32′, N. long. 72° 5′ E.
bounded east by	Iṭilâ[1]	Indla.
	Kâlharî	Kâlrî.
	Vahichara	Bechar [Map No. 78].
„ south	Phîṁchaḍî	Phêchari.
„ west	Bhaṭṭâraka-Śêshadêvatâ	o
„ north	Ḍôḍiyâpâṭaka	Dôriwârâ.

Though the Trigonometrical Survey Map does not give the names of Śêshadêvati and Śêshadêvatâ, it still indicates their sites. For it marks about a mile south of Dôriwârâ a nameless temple near a tank. This is the Śêshadêvatâ of our grant, as may be recognised from the two statements, 1st, that it lay east of Sâmpawârâ; 2nd, that it lay west of the land in Śêshadêvati, which itself lay south of Dôriwârâ. Śêshadêvati was, of course, a hamlet built close to the temple and lay just east of it. The grantees of the village and the piece of land were according to the grant, *loc. cit.* ll. 5—6, the temples of Analêśvara and of **Salakhaṇêsvara** in Salakhaṇapura. The latter village is without a doubt the modern Sankhalpur in lat. 23° 2′ N. and long. 72° 4′ E. As happens frequently in Gujarâtî words, two letters in this case, *n* and *l* have been transposed. As regards the districts named, the **Vardhi Pathaka** is the modern Vaḍhiâr (*vriddhikâra*) which according to popular usage is the name for the eastern coast of the Ran of Kachh, and comprises parts of the Vîramgâm Tâlukâ, of the Gaikôvâḍi division of Kaḍi. and of Râdhanpur. Our inscription shows that Sâṁpâvâḍâ-Sâmpawârâ lay on its eastern boundary. For Ḍôḍiyâpâṭaka, Dôriwârâ and Śêshadêvati immediately to the east of Sâṁpâvâḍâ belonged to the **Gambhûtâ Pathaka.** The latter, therefore, corresponded with the eastern portion of the Vâdâvli sub-division of the Kaḍi district. According to the colophon of MS. 13, described in Prof. Kielhorn's Report of 1880-81, App. p. 11, it was a rather large district, containing one hundred and forty-four villages (*Gambhûtâchatuśchatvâriṁsachhatapathakê*). If the village Châharapalli mentioned there, is identical with Chârol[2] in lat. 23° 24′ N. and long. 72° 14′ E. (Trig. Survey Map. Guj. Ser. No. 78), it extended chiefly southwards. Its name appears to be derived from a village or town called Gambhûtâ, which is identical with the modern **Gâmbhu,** just south-east of Vâdâvli in lat. 23° 36′ N. and long 72° 14′ E. The names correspond exactly according to the

[1] This is a mis-spelling for Indilâ, which form occurs in grant No. 3.

[2] The names agree exactly, but there may have been another Chârol which has disappeared.

principles of Gujarâtî phonetics, and it is still a considerable place with 1813 inhabitants according to the Trig. Surv. Map. This Gambbûtâ-Gâmbhu is, of course, the place where Śîlâṅkâchârya wrote his *Âchârâṅgaṭîkâ*, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 188. Mr. Fleet's suggestion, *loc. cit.*, that Gambhûtâ might possibly be Cambay, appears to me untenable also for other reasons. For the word Gambhûtâ can never be corrupted to Cambay. Moreover, the correct name of Cambay is Khambhâyat; and the Prâkṛit form is Khambhaittha, derived from Skambhatîrtha. The latter is a synonym for Stambhatîrtha, the usual Sanskṛit name of Cambay in the Prabandhas and the inscriptions.

The villages mentioned in the Chaulukya grant No. 10.

In the Chaulukya grant No. 10, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 208ff., Tribhuvanapâla presents to the *Sattrâgâra* in the Talapada of Mâûla,[3] (1), the village of **Bhâṁshara** in the **Vishaya** Pathaka (plate I. l. 13); and (2), the village of **Râjapurî** in the Daṇḍâhî Pathaka (plate I. l. 13). The boundaries of the two villages are described with great accuracy on plate II. ll. 3-9. Nearly all the places named there are found on Nos. 76 and 78 of the Trig. Survey Map, Gujarât Series. A comparison of the statements in the inscription with the actualities on the maps, gives the following results :—

	According to the inscription.	*According to the map No. 76.*
	(1) Bhâṁshara	Bhâkhar { lat. 23° 51′ N. long. 72° 28′ E.
bounded east by	Kuralî Dâsayaja	o Dâsaj
„ south	Kuralî Tribha	o Tarabh
„ west	Araṭhaura Uṁjhâ	Aithôr[4] Unjha
„ north	Uṁjhâ Dâsayaja Kâmbalî	Unjha Dâsaj Kâmbli [actually north]
	(2) Râjapurî	Rajapur { lat. 23° 19′ N. long. 72° 26′ E. } Map No 78.
bounded east by	Kûlâva[saṇa] Dâṁgaraṇâ	Jhulâsan [Map No. 6]. Dângarwa
„ south-east	Chaṁḍâvasaṇa Indrâvaḍa	Charâsan Idarâd
„ south	Âhîrâṇâ	Irânâ
„ west	Sirasâvi Naṁdâvasaṇa	Sarsâô Nandâsan
„ north-west	Uṁtaûyâ Sirasâvi	Utwa Sarsâô
„ north	Naṁdâvasaṇa	Nandâsan
north-east	Kuîyala	Kiôl.

I may add that Kuralî probably exists. The map, No. 4, on which it ought to stand, is at present not accessible to me. I suspect that there is a mistake in one of the two names, Kûlâva-[saṇa] and Jhulâsan, which do not properly correspond. Possibly the sign on the inscription has been misread. In Kuîyala-Kiôl, the transposition of the second and third letters ought to be noted.

The results show that the **Vishaya Pathaka** included the districts south-east of Sidhpur, and the **Daṁḍâhî Pathaka** those east of Kaḍi. The meaning of the first name is clear; that of the second I am unable to explain.

[3] As the chief priest in Maṇḍalî-Mâudal (plate II. line 13) is made the manager of the villages, Mâûla probably lay close to the latter town.

[4] The correct name is Athôr, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII. p. 619.

SIRPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SIVAGUPTA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, which, at Mr. Fleet's request, I edit from rubbings supplied by General Sir A. Cunningham, was discovered in 1874 by Mr. Beglar,[1] at a temple of the village of **Sirpur,** — or **Srîpura,** as it is called in the inscription itself, — about forty miles east by north from **Râypur,** in the Central Provinces; and an account of it, accompanied by a photo-zincograph,[2] was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archæol. Survey of India,* Vol. XVII. pp. 25-26, and Plate xviii. A. When first discovered, and when the rubbings were taken, it was complete; according to Sir A. Cunningham, in 1881 the upper proper right corner of the stone had subsequently peeled off, carrying away the beginning of each of the first three lines.

The inscription contains 17 lines. The **writing** covers a space of about 13½″ broad by 14½″ high, and was, at the time when the rubbings were taken, in a fair state of preservation; Judging from the rubbings, about ten *aksharas* were even then almost completely effaced; but every one of these can be readily supplied, so that the actual reading of the inscription, in my opinion, does not admit of any doubt whatever. The **size of the letters** is between ⅜″ and ½″ The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; they resemble those of the Ghôsrâwâ inscription, of which a photo-lithograph is given *ante,* Vol. XVII. p. 310, and may be referred to about the eighth or ninth century A. D. The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, excepting the introductory *ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya,* the inscription, composed by Kṛishṇanandin, the son of Dêvanandin, is in verse. In respect of **orthography,** I have only to note that *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v.*

The proper object of the **inscription** is, to record that two persons, named Nâgadêva and Kêśava, subjects of a prince Śivagupta, assigned certain funds for providing garlands of flowers for the worship of Śiva at the town of **Srîpura.** And, by way of introduction, it is stated that **Sivagupta,** also styled Bâlârjuna, was a son of **Harshagupta,** the son of **Chandragupta,** who was a son of **Nannadêva,** also called Nannêśvara, the son of **Indrabala,** who was a son of the prince **Udayana,** of the family of Śaśadhara, 'the Moon,' *i.e.* **of the lunar race;** not, as has been stated elsewhere, in consequence of a misreading, 'of the race of Śavaras' or 'of the Śavara lineage.' Considering the promise given by Mr. Fleet in *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 294, I will only state here that, of these princes, Indrabala and Naṅnadêva are clearly the two chieftains who are mentioned in line 16 of the Râjim Copper-plate Inscription of Tîvaradêva, *ib.* p. 295.

The inscription is **not dated,** but it may, as intimated above, on palæographical grounds, be referred to the eighth or ninth century A.D. And this, too, is the time to which, on the grounds of language and style, I would assign the copper-plate grant of Tîvaradêva. I am, at any rate, convinced that neither inscription can be older than A.D. 700.

In *Archæol. Survey of India,* Vol. XVII. Plates xviii. B., and xix. C.D., Sir A. Cunningham has given photo-zincographic copies of **three other (fragmentary) inscriptions** from Sirpur, the characters of which closely resemble those of the present inscription, and which also are undated. Of these, the inscription B. has the name of **Sivagupta** in line 11; and C., the name of **Harshagupta,** which was followed by that of his son **Si[vagupta],** in line 4, and also the name of **Srîpurî,** in line 8; as has been pointed out already by Sir A. Cunningham. I cannot attempt to edit these inscriptions from the published photo-zincographs.

TEXT.[3]

1 Ôṁ[4] namaḥ Śivâya ‖ Pâyâd[5]=âliṅgitâ yushmân=ka[ṇṭha]-mêchaka-rôchishâ । Śaṁbhô[r=bha][5]-

[1] *Archæol. Survey of India,* Vol. VII. p. 169.

[2] This photo-zincograph appears to have been taken from a rubbing so much touched up by hand that some of the letters are quite disfigured and spoilt; notably, at the end of line 2, the first *śa* of *śaśadhar-ânvayaḥ.* It is a matter for regret that the rubbings before me are not suitable for photo-lithography.

[3] From the rubbings. [4] Expressed by a symbol. [5] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); here, and throughout.

2 sm-âṅgarâgasya chchhâyâ-kṛi[shṇâ ta][6]nu-chchhaviḥ ‖ Âsîd=**Udayanô** nâma nṛipaḥ [**Sa**][7]-
3 **sadhar-ânvayaḥ** । abhûd=Valabhidâ tulyas=tasmâd=**Indrava(ba)lô** va(ba)lî ‖ **Tataḥ** śrî-
4 **Nannadêvô**=bhûd=abhimâna-mahôdayaḥ । pûrṇṇâṁ **Nannêśvar**-âkhyô yaś=chakâr=ô[r]vv[îṁ Si ?]-
vâlayaiḥ ‖ **Chandraguptô** bhuvô gôptâ tasya jajñê sut-ôttamaḥ । tata[ḥ]
6 śrî- **Harshaguptô**=bhû[j]=ja[gad-dha][8]rsha-niva(ba)ndhana[m] ‖ Tasy=âjanisht=êshṭa-raṇaḥ
7 **Śivaguptô** mahîpatiḥ । dhanur-vvijñâna-mukhyô yaḥ khyâtô **Vâ(bâ)lâ**-
8 rjun-âkhyayâ ‖ Śyâmâm=asi-latâṁ saṁkhyê kṛitvâ yaḥ kara-saṅgin[îṁ] ।
9 priyâm=iv=âlaṅkurutê matta-mâtaṅga-mauktikaiḥ ‖ Yasya nirjjitya nirjjitya
10 su-bhṛitya iva sâyakaiḥ । [vyu]tthitaṁ râjakam=iva strainam=arppayati
11 Smaraḥ ‖ Tasya bhṛitya-[vi]śêshô=sti Nâgadêvô dvij-ôttamaḥ । Kêśavaś=cha
12 kal-ôdagrô vyagraḥ sukṛita-karmmabhiḥ ‖ Tâbhyâṁ saṁbhûya sâdhubhyâṁ gṛihî-
13 tvâ vitta-vistaraiḥ । sarvva-**Śrîpura**-vâsibhyô mâlikêbhyas=Triśûlinê ‖ Kṛi-
14 [tsna][9]-kilvisha-vighnâya kasht-âpat-pratighâtinê । purusha-pramâṇaṁ dattaṁ [ku]su-
15 ma-srak-sha(cha)tushṭaya[ṁ] ‖ Êtad=â mêdinî-nâśâd=âmôd-ônmada-shaṭpadaṁ । astu
16 shaṭpada-kaṇṭhasya Śrîkaṇṭhasy=ârchchanâ-kṛitê [‖] Praśastim=atanôd=êtâṁ vaidya-
17 śrî-Dêvanandinaḥ । śrî-Kṛishṇanandî tanayô naya-praṇaya-kêtanaṁ ‖

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ ! Adoration to Śiva !

(L. 1.)—May the hue of the body of Śambhu, who covers himself with ashes, guard you,—which is darkened as it were by a shadow, encircled as it is by the dark-blue lustre of (*his*) neck !

(L. 2.)—There was, of the family of the Moon, a prince named **Udayana**. From him sprang the mighty **Indrabala**, equal to the destroyer[10] of Vala. From him sprang the illustrious **Nannadêva**, the possessor[11] of self-reliance ; who, called 'Nanna, the lord,'[12] filled the earth with temples of (the lord) Śiva. As his most excellent son, there was born **Chandragupta**, a protector of the earth ; (*and*) from him sprang the illustrious **Harshagupta**, a cause of joy to the world. To him was born the lord of the earth, **Śivagupta**, fond of war ; who, foremost in the knowledge of the bow, is famous under the appellation of **Bâlârjuna** ;[13] who in battle, holding the dusky creeper-like sword in his hand, decorates it, like a mistress, with the pearls (*struck out of the frontal globes*) of infuriated elephants ; (*and*) to whom the god of love, like a good adherent, hands over the women-folk, having repeatedly conquered them with (*his*) arrows, like unto the lawless kings (*subdued by his master Śivagupta*).

(L. 11.)—His devoted servant is Nâgadêva, a distinguished twice-born ; and Kêśava, highly proficient in the arts (*and*) zealous in the performance of good deeds. These two good men together have given four garlands of flowers,[14] of the measure of (*the height of*) a man, to the bearer of the trident,[15] who takes away all sin (*and*) counteracts misery and misfortune, having obtained them for abundant money from all[16] the gardeners dwelling at **Śrîpura**. Until the

[6] These *aksharas* are almost completely effaced.

[7] This *akshara* is faintly visible, but sufficiently clear to enable me to say that it is *śa*, and bears no resemblance whatever to the *tê* in Sir A. Cunningham's photo-zincograph. The second *akshara* of the following line, too, is distinctly *dha*, and cannot possibly be read *va* (or *ba*).

[8] These *aksharas* are almost completely effaced.

[9] This *akshara* is almost completely effaced.

[10] *i.e.* Indra.

[11] *mahôdaya* = *svâmin*, a meaning for which the dictionary has no quotation.

[12] Or Nannêśvara.

[13] *i.e.* the young Arjuna ; Arjuna was famous as an archer.

[14] In connection with the verse in line 15-16, I understand this to mean that they provided funds for always decorating the idol of Śiva with four garlands, or made a payment to that effect to the gardeners of Śrîpura.

[15] *i.e.* Śiva.

[16] I take the word *sarva* of the text to refer to *mâlikêbhyas*.

destruction of the earth, may these (*garlands*), the fragrance of which intoxicates the bees, serve for the worship of Śrîkaṇṭha, whose neck is (*black*) like a bee!

(L. 16.) — The illustrious Krishṇanandin, a home of prudence and kindness, the son of the illustrious Dêvanandin, the physician,[17] has composed this eulogy.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from Vol. XVII. p. 345*).

7. kusîlaparibhâsiyaṁ °bhâsâ V, kuśîlaparibhâshâ, with 30 vv.; *sarvê jîvâḥ sukhaishiṇaḥ*.

8. vîriyaṁ with 26 vv.; of *bâla* and of *paṁḍiya*; in v. 25 buddhâḥ in a good sense = *jnâtatattvâs*.

9. dhammô with 36 vv.; in v. 1 *mâhaṇêna maïmayâ*, *brâhmaṇêna matimatâ* referred by the Schol. to Vîra. It concludes: *gôravâṇi ya savvâṇi nivvâṇaṁ saṁdhaê*[1] *muṇi tti bêmi* [264].

10. samâhî, samâdhi, with 24 vv.; it concludes: *nô jîviam nô maranâ 'bhikaṁkhî charejjâ bhikkhû valagâ vimukko tti bêmi*; in place of *valagâ* we find in 12,22, 13,23, where the same conclusion recurs: valayâ, and in the schol. *valayam* is explained by *bhâvavalayaṁ*, *mâyâ*, *saṁsâraḥ*. If this reading is correct, perhaps Vêdic *valaga* might be thought of.[2]

11. maggô, mârga, with 36 vv.; in v. 1 *mâhaṇêṇa matîmatâ* as in 9, 1.

12. samôsaraṇaṁ, samava°, with 22 vv.; *kumârgatyâgaḥ*; four *samavasaraṇâni paratîrthikâbhyupagamasamûharûpâṇi*, i.e. the 180 *kiriyâvâi* etc. (see p. 259, 266).

13. ahatahaṁ, yathâtatham (hence by the ampliative *ika* or *ya* also): *âhattahiê*, âhittihiê, *âhattahijjam*; *avitaha* (*Âv.*), with 23 vv.; *samyakcharitram*.

14. gaṁtha (gaṁdhô V), grantha, with 27 vv.; *graṁthaṁ dhanâdikaṁ tyaktvâ*. . .

15. jam-aîam, yam atîtam (according to the opening words), or *âdâṇîyaṁ*; with 25 vv.

16. gâhâ or gâthâshôḍaśakaṁ;[3] despite this name, a prose explanation of the names mâhaṇa, samaṇa, bhikkhu, niggaṁtha and their identical signification (*êkârtha*).

b. Second śrutaskandha.

1. puṁḍarîê, °riyaṁ V, puṇḍarîka.[4] Comparison of the bhikkhu with a lotus flower in the middle of a pond; it begins (see above, p. 248): *suaṁ mê âusaṁ, têṇaṁ bhagavayâ* [265] *êvam akkhâyam: iha khalu poṁḍariya nâmaṁ ajjhayaṇê, tassa ṇaṁ ayaṁ aṭṭhê pannattê*. This introductory formula, the second part of which occurs again in *aṅga* 6 *et seq.*, is repeated with corresponding modification in *ajjh.* 2-4. All four *ajjh.* are in prose.

2. kiriyâṭhâṇaṁ, of the 12 or 13 *kriyâsthâna*.

3. âhâraparinnâ, °parijñâ. In the schol. a variant of the scholars of Nâgârjuna is adduced with the words Nâgârjunî(yâ)s tu paṭhaṁti. *Nâgajjuṇavâyaga*, or °*ṇâyaria*, °*ṇarisi*, is mentioned with great honour in the opening of the *Nandî* and of the *Âv.*, in the list of teachers v. 39, 40, 45, and in fact as separated by three gradations merely — Bhûadinna, Lôhichcha and Dûsagaṇi — from the author himself, whom the scholiast calls Dêvavâchaka = Dêvarddhigaṇi, Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 15n.

4. pachchakkhâṇakiriyâ, pratyâkhyânakriyâ.

5. in S. *Âv.* V. aṇagâraṁ (°*rasuya* S.); here however correctly aṇâyârasutam, anâchârasrutam, in 34 vv.; it opens as follows: âdâya baṁbhachêraṁ cha âsupannê (âsuprajñaḥ paṇḍitaḥ) imaṁ charaṁ | assiṁ (asmin) dhammê aṇâyâraṁ n'âyareyyâ kayâ i vi ||

6. Addaïjjaṁ, Ârdrakîyaṁ, in 55 vv. A sermon of Ârdraka, the son of a merchant who, according to the scholiast, from the sight of a picture of Jina sent to him as a debt of

[17] Or, simply, 'the learned.'

[1] môksham saṁdadhyât

[2] cf. also the manner of death valayamayakam up I 70 "death by magic arts?" Little can be made out of the commentaries. See the excellent glossary of Leumann which reaches me, May 1883, while these sheets are in the press

[3] gâthâshôḍaśâkhyaṁ shôdaśam adhyayanam. In V: *gâhâs'lasagô nâmagaô*.

[4] *cf. anga* 6, 1, 19.

gratitude by Abhayakumâra (the son of the king Srêṇika of Râjagṛiha), obtained *jâtismaraṇam* and turned to *pravrajyâ* so as to receive the *pratyêkabuddha* dignity, etc. The sermon appears to be addressed to Gôśâla. In the last verse: *buddhassa ânâê imaṁ samâhiṁ* (*tattvajñasya* śrî Vîrasya *âjñâyâṁ* . .), buddha is used directly as a name of Vîra [266].

7. Nâlaṁdaïjjam, °dâ V., Nâlaṁdîyam,[5] in prose; śrâvakavidhiḥ).[6] Legend of Udaya (Udaka) Pêḍhâlaputta Mêtajja,[7] a Pâsâvachchijja, Pârśvâpatyîya, i.e. scholar, or follower of Pârśva, whom the *bhagavaṁ* Goyama (Indrabhûti) leads to Mahâvîra, after he has heard the same from the *Kumâravuttiyâ* (Kumâraputrîya), *nâma samaṇâ niggaṁthâ*. Udaya thus[8] leaves the châujjâma dhamma of Pârśva and accepts the paṁchamahavvaïyaṁ sapaḍikkamaṇaṁ dhammam of Mahâvîra.

The **table of contents** in *aṅga* 4 (or *Nandî*) is as follows: — kiṁ taṁ sûyagaḍê ?[9] sûyagaḍê ṇaṁ sasamayâ sûijjaṁti parasamayâ s. sasamayaparasamayâ s., jîvâ s. ajivâ s. jîvâjîvâ s., lôgô s. alôgô s. lôgâlôgô s.;[10] sûyagaḍê ṇaṁ jîvâjîva[11]-punna-pâv'-âsava-saṁvara-nijjara-baṁdha-môkkhâvasâṇâ payatthâ sûijjaṁti; samaṇâṇaṁ achirakâlapavvaïyâṇaṁ kusamayamôhamatimôhiyâṇaṁ saṁdêhajâya-sahajabuddhi-pariṇâma-saṁsaïyâṇaṁ[12] pâvakaramaliṇamaïguṇavisôhaṇatthaṁ, asîyassa kiriyâvâisayassa, chaürâsîê akiriyâvâîṇaṁ, sattaṭṭhîê annâṇiyavâîṇaṁ, vattîsâê vêṇaiyavâîṇaṁ, tiṇhaṁ têsaṭṭhâṇaṁ annadiṭṭhiya[13] sayâṇaṁ bûhaṁ[14] [267] kichchâ sasamaê ṭhâvijjaï;[15] nâṇâdiṭṭhâaṁta[16] vayaṇâ nissâraṁ suṭṭhu darisayaṁtâ vivihavittharâṇugamaparamasabbhâva-guṇavisiṭṭhâ môkkhapahôdâragâ[17] udârâ annâṇatam'aṁdhakâraduggêsu dîvabhûyâ sôpâṇâ chêva siddhisugaïgharuttamassa[18] nikkhôbhaṇippakampasuttatthâ.[19]

I have before me the **commentary** of *Harshakula*,[20] from the *Tapâgacha*. It was composed "*varshê* 1583," but not after Vîra, but after Vikrama, i.e. A.D. 1527.[21] The origin of the *Tapâgacha* dates from Vîra 1755.

III. The third aṅgaṁ, ṭhâṇam sthânam; an enumeration arranged in categories designed for the instruction of the more advanced and in fact for the eighth year of their instruction.[22] The categories comprise successively subjects or conceptions conceived as one, two, and so on up to ten. Hence the whole text consists of 10 *ajjhayaṇa*, which are called *êkasthâna*, *dvisthâna*, etc.; *ajjh.* 2—4 each contain 4 *udd.*, *ajjh.* 5 three *udd*, the rest of the *ajjh.* have no such sub-division, and exist as *êgasarâṇi* (V) of one *udd.* each.

From the miscellaneous contents of this compendium I extract the following: — the *nakshatras*: *addâ*, *chittâ*, *sâti* [268] are designated as *êgatârê*, and then the number of the stars of the other *nakshatras* is enumerated.[23] In an enumeration of the divisions of time in 2, 4 — beginning with *âvaliyâ* and reaching to *sîsapahêliya*,[24] *pallôvama*, *sâgarôvama*, *ôsappiṇî*, *ussappiṇî* — the

[5] Named from Nâlandâ, a suburb (? *bâhirikî*) of Râjagṛiha.

[6] In the preceding 22 *ajjh.* sâdhv-âchâraḥ prarûpitaḥ.

[7] *Mêdâryagôtrêna* schol.; I conjecture that this is a misunderstanding for Mêvârya — see above, p. 235. *Mêtaryâ* is regarded as the tenth scholar of Mahâvîra; see Hêm. v. 32.

[8] s. Bhagavatî 2, 185 and Jacobi, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 160.

[9] sûchanât sûtraṁ, sûtrêṇa kṛitaṁ tat sûtrakṛitaṁ.

[10] In N. we first read lôê alôê, lôyâlôê, then jîvâ aj. j. lastly sasamaê p. sasamaaparasamaê; so also in the following *aṅgas*. The verb is in each of the nine instances in the plural: sûijjaṁti. The triads: jîvâjîvâjîvaṁ (jîvâ ajîvâ jîvâjîvâ) lôkô'lôkô lôkaḥ (lôkâlôkaḥ), sat asat sad-asat are assigned specially to the Têrâsiyas, Trairâśika, by Abh. on aṅga 12, 1.

[11] jîvâjî° to visôhaṇattham is omitted by N.

[12] saṁdêhajâtâś cha sahajabuddhipariṇâmasaṁśayitâś cha yê.

[13] pâsaṁḍiya N.

[14] pratikshêpam.

[15] °vijjaṁti N.

[16] ṅâṇâ° etc. omitted in N.

[17] môkshapathâvatâraka.

[18] gṛihôttamasya.

[19] sûtraṁ châ'rthaś cha niryukti-bhâshya-saṁgrahaṇî-vṛitti-chûrṇi-paṁjikâdirûpa iti sûtrârthaḥ.

[20] We have a commentary to the fourth *païnna* by a certain Harshakuśala.

[21] The statements in reference to genealogy at the end are in agreement with Dharmasâgara's *Gurvâvalî* of the *Tapâgacha*, of the members of which patriarchs 44, 52-57 are mentioned; so that between 53 and 54 a *Jagachchandramuni* is referred to. See Kl. p. 257 ab.

[22] tatra bhavyasya môkshâbhilâshiṇaḥ sthitagurûpadêśasya prâṇinô, 'shṭavarshapramâṇapravrajyâparyâyasyai 'va sûtratô 'pi sthânâṁgaṁ dêyam, Abhayadêva; see above, p. 223, 224.

[23] See my treatise on the *nakshatras*, 2, 381. *Ind. Stud.* 9, 448. 10, 293. Accord. to the schol. we have here to do with the *kṛittikâ* series cf. *Bhag.* 1, 373. 441. The names of the nakshatras appear here invariably in their secondary form: dhaniṭṭha, bhaddavayâ, etc. The name of the ahibudhnya is (2, 3) corrupted into *vividdhî* (see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 296).

[24] A number of 194 places! tasyâṁ chaturnavatyadhikaṁ aṁkasthânaśataṁ bhavati.

yuga is inserted between the year and the century as intermediate gradation and the quinquennial *yugam* is thereby still used as a means of calculation. On the other hand, we have here the same enormous extension of periods of time, which we find in *upâṅga* 6 (*Jaṁbuddîvapannatti*), and in the *Anuyôgadvârasûtra*; see *Bhagav.* 1, 427,[25] though the latter works contain some modifications not present here. The existence of the above-mentioned *upâṅga* is furthermore recognized directly in 4, 1: *chattâri pannattîu aṁgabâhiriyâu paṁ(nattâu), taṁ (jahâ): chaṁdapannatti, sûrapannatti, Jaṁbuddîvapannatti, dîvasâgarapannatti.* The three *pannattis*, which are here mentioned in addition, occur again in 3, 1: *taô pannattîu kâlênam ahijjaṁti, taṁ: chaṁdapannatti, sûrapannatti, dîvasâgarapannatti.* Here and in 4, 1, are found the titles of *upâṅga* 7, 5, 6, in 3, 1, those of *up.* 7, 5; to which in both cases the *dîvasâ°* is joined, which, though not an independent member of the *Siddhânta*, appears however as a section of the third *upâṅga*. That we have here to deal with the *upâṅgas* respectively named so and not merely [269] with homonymous doctrines, is proved by one circumstance especially; that besides the above-mentioned enumeration of the periods of time, the *abhijit* series of the *nakshatras*, which belongs to these works, is here already known — see *ajjh.* 7 near the end.[26] And even if the direct mention of *upâṅga* texts is in this case doubtful because such mention in the *aṅgas* does not occur in the text, but in the insertions at the hand of the redactor, in this case the designation (in 4, 1) of the four texts as *aṅgabâhiriya* is so distinct and so points to their actual existence apart from the *aṅgas*, that all doubts are put at rest. How far the *existing* texts of *upâṅga* 7, 5, 6, are meant by this, is, as we shall soon see, still an open question. One circumstance is worthy of note: — the order of names here is different from that of the existing texts; and the fourth name is equivalent merely to a part of the third *upâṅga* and not to the *upâṅga* itself.

We find in chapter 10 a second and more important statement or mention of texts existing apart from the *aṅgas*. In that chapter are specified not merely the names [270] of ten *dasâu* (*i.e.*, texts containing ten *ajjhayaṇas*), but also the names of each of the 10 *ajjh.* Among these are the names of four *aṅgas* (7 — 10), references to a fifth (11), and the name of the fourth *chhêdasûtra*; the other four names have in our *Siddhânta* no place whatever (*asmâkam apratîtâḥ*, *Abh. fol.* 285a).

At the head stand the **kammavivâgadasâu**; by this name the eleventh *aṅga* is meant — *vivâgasuê*, *vipâkaśrutam*; it contains, however not merely 10 but 20 *ajjh.*; and the names adduced here as being those of the ten *ajjh.* are found only in part in *aṅga* 11. Two of them, at least, are exactly the same (1, 4) and three partly so (6—8); so that we cannot gainsay that there is some connection[27] between these *dasâu* and *aṅga* 11. The names of the ten *ajjh.* here are: Miyâputtê,[28] Guttâsê,[29] *aṁḍe*,[30] Sagaḍe *'ti â varê*[31] । *mâhaṇê*, Naṁdisêṇê[32] ya, Sorie[33] ya, Uduṁbarê । *sahassuddâê âmalaê*[34] *kumârê* Lêchhaî *'ti ya* ।. It is well to be noted that in *aṅga* 4 (§ 43) too a text entitled *kammavivâya* is mentioned, [271] though 43 *ajjh.* are ascribed to it; and in the *Kalpasûtra Jinachar.* (§ 147) 55 *ajjh.* are attributed to the *pâvaphalavivâyâiṁ* alone: this was a subject which invited repeated working over!

The titles of *aṅgas* 7 — 9 appear as **dasâu 2 — 4**; and complete agreement exists in reference

[25] According to Leumann's communication this occurs also in *aṅga* 5, 5, 1. 6, 7, 25, 5.

[26] mahânakkhattê sattatârê paṁ taṁ: abhitiâiyâ ṇam satta nakkhattâ puvvadâriyâ paṁ taṁ: abhîi, savaṇê, dhaṇiṭṭhâ, sattabhisayâ, uttarabhaddavayâ, rêvatî: assiṇîyâdiyâ ṇaṁ satta nakkhattâ dâhiṇadâriyâ paṁ, taṁ: assiṇî, bharaṇî, kattiyâ, rôhiṇi, magasira, addâ, puṇavvasû; pussâtiyâ ṇaṁ satta nakkhattâ avaradâriyâ paṁ, taṁ: pussê, asilêsâ, mahâ, puvvâphagguṇî, uttarâphagguṇî, hattho, chittâ; sâtiyâdiyâ ṇaṁ satta nakkhattâ uttaradâriyâ paṁ, taṁ: sâti, visâhâ, anurâhâ, jêṭṭhâ, mûlâ, puvvâ âsâḍhâ, uttarâ âsâḍhâ. cf. *Naksh.* 2, 377n, *Ind. Stud.* 10, 304, and see my comments on *aṅga* 4, 7.

[27] *Abh.* identifies them directly with the first *śrutaskandha* of the eleventh *aṅga* and represents the names and the contents of the single 10 *adhy.* as being all in harmony with the contents of the 10 *adhy.* found there.

[28] Mṛigâ, wife of Vijaya, king of the city Mṛigagrâma.

[29] gâs trâsitavân iti Gôtrâsô . . idam êva chô 'jjhitaka nâmnâ Vipâkaśrute ujjhitakam uchyatê.

[30] cf. *aṅga* 6, 1, 3,; kukkuṭâdyanêkavidhâṁdakabhâṁdavyavahâriṇô . .; Vipâkaśrutê châ 'bhaggasêna iti 'dam adhyayanam uchyatê.

[31] śakaṭam iti châ 'paraṁ. [32] Vipâkaśrutê cha Naṁdivardhanaḥ śrûyatê. [33] Saurika.

[34] sahassuddâê A (with *h* fallen out), sahasuddâhê B: sahasâ akasmâd uddâhaḥ prakrishṭô dâhaḥ sahasrâṇâṁ vâ lôkasyô 'ddâhaḥ sahasrôddâhaḥ, âmalaê tti raśrutêr laśrutir ity âmarakaḥ samastyêna mârir . .

to the *uvâsagadasâu* (*aṅga* 7), even as regards the names of the ten *ajjhayaṇas*. The eighth and ninth *aṅga*, the *aṁtagaḍadasâu* and the *aṇuttarôvavâtiyadasâu* have here however only ten *ajjh*. allotted them, whereas in the *Siddhânta* they have 93 or 33. The names of the ten *ajjh*. are for *aṁtagaḍad* : Namî Mayaṁgê Somilê Râmaguttê[35]* Sudaṁsaṇê chêva | Jamâlî ya Bhagâlî ya Kiṁkammê Pillatê ti ya | Phâlê Aṁbaṭṭhaputtê[36] ya êm (êvam) êtê dasa âhiyâ || Among these I can discover but one name, *Bhagâlî*, which shows any connection with *aṅga* 8, 4, 2 (Mayâlî); or perhaps we may extend the number to two names connected with 9, 3, 4, 5 Pellaê, Râmaputtê. The names of the ten *ajjh*. of the *aṇutt°* are, Isidâsê ya Dhannê ya Sunakkhattê kattitê (Kârttika) ti ya | Saṁdhâṇê Sâlibhaddê ya Âṇaṁdê Têyalî[37] ti ya | Dasannabhaddê Aïmuttê êm êtê dasa âhiyâ || Among these there are at least three names which recur in *aṅga* 9, 3, 1-3

It is perfectly manifest that the author of *aṅga* 3 possessed entirely different texts of *aṅgas* 8, 9, than those in our possession. The same holds good in the case of *aṅga* 4, since it ascribe to these *aṅgas* only ten *ajjh*. each. See below. The means made use of by Abhayadêva to reconcile this discrepancy are very simple. He says, on *aṅga* 8, after [272] recognizing the fact of the discrepancy: — *tatô vâchanâṁtarâpêkshayâṇi* (*°kâṇi* ?) '*mâṇi*' *ti saṁbhâvayâmô, navajanmâṁtaram apêkshayai 'tâni bhavishyaṁti 'ti vâchyaṁ, janmâṁtarâṇâṁ tatrâ 'nabhidhiy' mânatrâd iti* — and likewise on *aṅga* 9:-*tad êvam ihâ 'pi vâchanâṁtarâpêkshayâ adhyayanavibhâga uktô, na punar upalabhyamânavâchanâpêkshayê 'ti*. His statements in reference to the stories themselves are given with tolerable detail on *aṅga* 9.

As the fifth member of the ten dasâu the **âyâradasâu** are enumerated. The names cited for the ten *ajjh*. belonging to these are identical with those of *chhêdasûtra* 4. This therefore proves that the latter is to be understood by the âyâradasâu.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICE.

REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MSS. in the BOMBAY PRESIDENCY during the year 1883-84 by R. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., Bombay Government Central Press, 1887. Pp. 479, viii.

Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's Second Report is a worthy successor of the first It shows the most conscientious devotion to the Search, and is full of instructive and interesting matter. The beginning describes the results of a journey to Aṇhilvâḍ-Pâtan (this, not Pâthan, is, p. 1 note, the correct spelling), which Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar undertook in 1883 together with Professor A. V. Kâthvâte of Ahmadâbâd. The two scholars visited the old Jaina Bhaṇḍârs, which I saw in 1875 and 1879, and obtained access to some hitherto unknown important Brâhmanical libraries. In the Bhaṇḍârs they found at least something to glean, though most of the works, which Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar enumerates as inspected, are represented by one or several copies in the earlier portions of the Deccan College collection. To these books, known already some years ago and partly copied for Government from the Pâtan MSS, belong the important *Vyutpattidîpikâ*, the *Prâmâṇamañjarî*, the *Vijayapraśasti*, the *Śêshasaṁgraha*, the *Kumârapâlacharitas* of Jinamaṇḍana and, if I mistake not, of Jayasimhasûri, the *Saṁmatitarka-ṭîkâ*, the *Âptamîmâṁsâlaṁkara*, and the *Kâvyakalpalatâvṛitti*. Among the new finds, on the other hand, may be mentioned as particularly valuable a good old copy of the rare *Kîrtikaumudî* and a mutilated *Abhilashitachintâmaṇi* Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar had also made a catalogue of the Bhaṇḍâr of the Tapâgachha and prints it in Appendix I. Another copy, which I had prepared in 1875, ought to be in the Deccan College I did not print it, because the descriptions of the books are too imperfect. I merely marked certain books which Paṇḍit Nâruśaṁkar examined, and some of which, *e. g.* the *Vijayapraśasti*, and the *Naranârâyaṇânandakâvya* by Vasantapâla, *recte* Vastupâla, I then had copied, and included in the collection of 1875-77. Among the Brâhmanical libraries discovered at Pâṭan by Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar, that of Jasvantrâi Gôpâlrâi seems to be the most important, as it contains six of the, in Western India, rare Saṁhitâs of the Bhâgavata-Pâñcharâtra sect.

35* *Râmaputra*, with the Digambaras, see the *Tattvârthavârttika* in Prof. Peterson's Second Report, p. 157. Also the existent Śvêtâmbara text presents *Râmaputte*, see below p. 324.—L.

36* Thus B. *Avvaddha°* A. With the Digambaras we find (l. c.) *Yamalî* kavalika-Nishkambala-Pâl'. *Âmbashṭaputra*. In some better MS. the first name might turn out to be Yamâlî and in the second some name corresponding to Bhagâlî may be hidden.—L.

37 Taitalisuta iti yô jñâtâdhyayanêshu (*aṅga* 6, 1, 14) śrûyatê sa nâ 'yaṁ, tasya siddhigamanaśravaṇât. We have here in all probability an intentional variation.

Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's important new views on the doctrines and the age of the Bhâgavatas will be noticed below. His discoveries make it desirable that all the sacred works of the sect should be collected and be carefully studied. I would recommend that copies of those not yet procured should be obtained from the Sârasvata Bhâṇḍâgâra of the Mahârâja of Mysore (see Dr. Kielhorn's Supplementary Catalogue). The great Bhâgavata Maṭh at Mulhêr in Khândêsh, which I have never been able to visit, might also be tried.

Two MSS. acquired at Pâṭan, a copy of Halâyudha's *Kavirahasya* and a curious fragment of a brief history of Gujarât from the beginning of the Châpôtkaṭa dynasty down to the reign of Aurangzeb, induce Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar to offer some historical remarks. With respect to the former work he maintains, in my opinion correctly, that it was written during the reign, not of Kṛishṇarâya of Vijayanagara, but of an older Râshṭrakûṭa prince, called Kṛishṇa. The verses printed in App. III. are found in all MSS. from Bombay and Gujarât, and occur also in a copy of my private collection, (now in the India Office Library), which is accompanied by the commentary of one Ravidharman. The Dekhanî text, which leaves out the name of the Râshṭrakûṭas, is, as Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar shows, not worth much. I also agree with Dr. Bhâṇḍarkar in believing it probable that the *Abhidhânaratnamâlâ* has been written by the author of the *Kavirahasya*. It is an ancient Kôsha, as it is quoted by Hêmachandra and his pupil Mahêndra, and probably has been used by Yâdavaprakâśa for his *Vaijayantî* about 1000 A.D. Which of the three Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇarâjas is the theme of Halâyudha's laudation, cannot be determined for the present. It may have been Kṛishṇarâja I., as Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar thinks, but there is no proof for the assertion. The *Kavirahasya* is, however, certainly more than 900 years old.

A full account of the contents of the historical fragment is given in pp. 9-14 and App. III. L. The piece is certainly very interesting. But I doubt that it deserves the great confidence which Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar places in it. Among its dates and statements which we can control, there are numerous errors. In the Hindu period the dates of Kumârapâla and Mûlarâja II. are, as Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar admits, very much out. Its assertion, too, that Kumârapâla's mother was a sister of Siddharâja-Jayasiṁha is incredible. Tribhuvanapâla, the father of Kumârapâla, was Jayasiṁha's second cousin. Hence a marriage with the sister of the latter would have been opposed to the sacred law and to the custom of the Râjputs, who all practice exogamy and are very strict in this respect. Jinamaṇḍana's statement in the *Kumârapâlacharita*, that the mother of his hero was a Kaśmîrian princess, is more plausible. In the statements on the Muhammadan period there are a number of very bad errors. Mudâpar (Muzaffar) began to reign, not in V. S. 1418 or 1361-62 A.D., but in 1396 A. D.; Ahimud (Ahmad I.), not in V.S. 1436 or 1379-80 A.D., but in 1412 A.D. The reigns of Sultân Muhammad from 1443 A.D. and of Kutb from 1451 A.D. have been left out. Dâud Shâh did not reign 36 *years* from V. S. 1468 or 1411-12 A.D., but *for seven days* in 1459 A.D. Under these circumstances I cannot consider the new document more trustworthy than the *Vichâraśrêṇi* of Mêrutuṅga, for my reliance on which Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar blames me. The text of the latter work no doubt contains mistakes which are due to clerical errors in the original of the bad copies of the Government and Bhâû Dâjî's collections. (Thirteen or fourteen years ago I saw a really good copy at Barôdâ, but could not obtain it.) But late researches have convinced me that the mistakes are not as formidable, as I formerly thought, and as Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar holds. I am now able to prove that an old tradition existed, which asserted the existence of *eight* Châpôtkaṭa kings, and assigned a *long* reign to the last of them. Hence I do not attach any weight to the new dates for Tribhuvanapâla, Vîsaladêva, and the other Vâghêlâ kings. The latter, though corroborated by another late writer, Dharmasâgara, p. 150, are contradicted by a Paṭṭâvali, an abstract of which Mr. Bhâû Dâjî published in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. IX. p. 137. According to this work, Tribhuvanapâla ruled not *four years* but *two months and twelve days*, Vîsaladêva 18 years, 7 months and 11 days, Arjunadêva 13 years 7 months and 26 days, Sâraṅgadêva 21 years, 8 months, and 8 days. These circumstantial statements look more trustworthy than the round figures of the other sources. But I would not now pin my faith on any Paṭṭâvali or Prabandha, whose assertions, like those of the Purâṇas, can only be accepted provisionally in the absence of really historical information from contemporary works, inscriptions, and MSS.

On his return from Pâṭan, Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar looked over some portions of the Jaina Bhaṇḍârs at Ahmadâbâd. His personal examination of their contents was rewarded by several very interesting discoveries. The most important find is a large fragment of a second copy of Bilhaṇa's *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, including cantos i. 62 to vii. 76. The MS., though much younger than the Jêsalmîr copy, is yet, as Professor Bhâṇḍârkar says, very valuable. On examining the *varietas lectionum* given in App. III. R., I find that it allows us to correct the printed text in 41 verses, while in some

other cases it confirms the corrections which I pointed out as necessary in the Addenda and Corrigenda. Two of these various readings are also important in other respects, as they make it probable that Bilhana wrote the first copy of his poem in the Śâradâ characters of his native country. The Jêsalmir copy reads, v. 7, तन्मदाद्रि-रदपारच्यूर्णितं सैन्यमेककवलं चकार सः ॥, while the Ahmadâbâd MS. has उन्मद°. The latter is without a doubt the correct reading. The error of the writer of the Jêsalmîr MS. is most easily explained, if it is assumed that he transcribed from a Śâradâ MS., because in that alphabet त and उ are almost indistinguishable. The same supposition best explains in vi. 49 the mistake जवमनुमितधावनानुरूपं for जवसमुचितधावनानुरूपा. For in the Śâradâ alphabet there is very little difference between म and स and between मि and चि. The majority of the remaining 180 or 190 new readings is made up of mistakes, or is due to the rage of the Paṇḍits for altering the old texts, which has caused so much mischief in most classical Sanskṛit works. I trust that at some future visit to Ahmadâbâd Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's hope of finding the missing portion of the MS. may be realized.

Another very valuable find is Sômêśvara's second Mahâkâvya, the *Surathôtsava*, pp. 19-20, App. III. S, which in its fifteenth canto gives an account of the author's ancestors, the Purôhitas of the Chaulukya kings, and contains various important notes on the history of Gujarât. The name of Sômêśvara's family was, according to the Sanskṛit text, Gulêcha, not Gulêva, as Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar doubtingly writes on p. 20, and this race belonged to the Nâgara sub-division of the Gujarât Brâhmaṇs. Even this note possesses considerable interest, as it shows that the Nâgaras were in the tenth century as influential as they are in the present day, and that the modern Gulêchas, whose name I remember to have met with in Gujarât, can boast of a prouder pedigree than most of the noble houses of Europe. The first member of the family who attained to the dignity of domestic priest to the sovereign of Gujarât was Sôla, and the king who appointed him was Mûlarâja I., the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty. These statements too possess a considerable significance. The appointment of a new Purôhita proves that on Mûlarâja's accession considerable changes in the royal household were made. Such things would not have happened, if the Chaulukya prince had ascended the throne of Gujarât by the right of succession on the extinction of the Châuḍâ line. But they were only too natural, if Mûlarâja I., as his land-grant asserts, "conquered the Gûrjaramaṇḍala by the strength of his arm." Among Sôla's descendants was Âma who saved the life of the sixth Chaulukya prince, Karṇa. Regarding him it is said that he made a Kṛityâ or evil spirit, which the Purôhita of the king of Mâlvâ had raised, turn against its author. The reason which moved the Mâlava priest to use his magic skill is stated to have been, that the territory of his master was harassed by the king of Gujarât. Here we have again an indication that the reign of "goodman" Karṇa, was not as peaceable as the *Dvyâśrayamahâkâvya* and the Prabandhas represent it to have been. While these works do not mention any wars, Bilhana's drama, *Karṇasundarî*, which Paṇḍit Durgâprasâd has lately discovered and published in the *Kâvyamâlâ*, speaks of a successful expedition against the Muhammadan rulers of Sindh and their Kâbulî allies. Now we learn that the hereditary feud between Mâlvâ and Gujarât did not sleep during Karṇa's reign. I will add that a contemporary of Sômêśvara makes the same assertion, as a paper to be published in the *Transactions* of the Vienna Academy will show. It is also interesting to see that in the eleventh century A.D. the Purôhitas had to show their skill in the foul rites of the Atharvavêda, which made their office the object of much obloquy. In the notes on the exploits of Siddharâja, the employer of Âma's son, Kumâra, the assertion that the king humbled the prince of the Sapâdalaksha country, or of Śâkambharî-Sâmbhar in Râjputânâ, deserves attention. Curiously enough Hêmachandra, Siddharâja's court Paṇḍit and annalist, does not speak of this war, nor do the later Prabandhakâras. Only Sômêśvara mentions it in the *Kîrtikaumudî*, and again in the *Surathôtsava*. In spite of Hêmachandra's silence it is perfectly credible, because it helps to explain Arṇôrâja's attack on Gujarât, which occurred immediately after Jayasiṁha's death. It may, however, be doubted whether the result of the war was as favourable to Gujarât as Sômêśvara asserts. It is more probable that Jayasiṁha tried to extend his sway also to the north-east, but failed. That would explain Hêmachandra's otherwise inexplicable silence regarding the event. The next name in the list of Sômêśvara's ancestors, that of Âmiga, is chiefly interesting because it occurs in the Prabandhas. Mêrutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 205 (Bomb. edition), and the *Prabhâvakacharita*, tell of a squabble of his with Hêmachandra. The latter work places the event in the reign of Jayasiṁha, while Mêrutuṅga, I think with Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar, more correctly assigns it to the time of Kumârapâla. Both works mention that Âmiga held the office of Purôhita. The remarks on Âmiga's sons contain too, something new. First, the statement that

Kumârapâla, though a convert to Jainism, received an orthodox burial and that his ashes were thrown into the Ganges, possesses some interest. It shows that the Brâhmaṇical reaction on Ajayapâla's accession to the throne was indeed complete, as the Jaina Prabandhas too assert. More startling and hardly credible is the second statement that Kumârapâla had a son who became king. According to the *Surathôtsava*, xv. 31-32, it looks as if Sômêśvara meant to say that this son of Kumârapâla was Ajayapâla. All the Prabandhas, as well as Kṛishṇâjî, the author of the *Ratnamâlâ*, assert that Kumârapâla had no son, and that Ajayapâla was the son of his brother Mahîpâla, whom, according to some, he tried to set aside in favour of his daughter's son, Pratâpamalla (see my essay *Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemachandra* p. 50, *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie* 1889). It may be that Sômêśvara has made a slip, just as in the *Kîrtikaumudî* ii. 32, where he calls the king of Mâlvâ, made prisoner by Jayasiṁha, Naravarman, while it was Yaśôvarman, Naravarman's son, according to Hêmachandra, an eye-witness of the king's triumphal entry on his return from Mâlvâ. It would lead me too far, if I were to discuss the further details on the history of Sômêśvara's father, Kumâra, who was Âmiga's second son, those on the author's own life, and those on Vastupâla, his Jaina patron and friend. I will only add that the panegyric on Vastupâla indicates that the work was written before the death of the latter in Vikrama-Samvat 1297. The Dabhôi Praśasti of V. S. 1311 shows that Sômêśvara survived his friend by many years.

Amongst the other works which Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar saw in Ahmadâbâd the complete copy of Jayanta's commentary on the *Kâvyaprakâśa* possesses a considerable value, as it proves that Mammaṭa's treatise was in great repute at the end of the 13th century even in Gujarât, and as the author turns out to have been the son of the Purôhita of king Sâraṅgadêva's minister. The date of the work V. S. 1350 is the same as that of Sâraṅgadêva's inscription at Âbû. To Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's remarks, p. 17, No. 13, on the Prâkṛit *Subhâshitâvali* of Jayavallabha, which is variously called in the MSS. *Vajjâlayô, Vijjâlayô, Vijjâlaggâ* and *Vijjâhalao*, I may add that I have drawn attention to its existence in my Report for 1874-75, when I was shown a copy by the keeper of Hêmachandra's Bhaṇḍâr at Pâṭan. I then secured one copy, and later, in 1879-80, a second. With respect to No. 8, I must state that I believe the title *Kâśikâṭîkâ* which is given on p. 65, to be the correct one. The copy in my private collection (now in the I. O. L.) of a portion of the work, which was transcribed from a MS. of the Madras Government Collection, gives too *Kâśikâ*, not *Kârikâ*.

The next portion of Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's Report, pp. 23-157, contains very full and most instructive notes on the MSS. purchased for Government in 1883-84. The number of his acquisitions amounts (see App. II.) to 737, 325 of which come from Gujarât and North-Western India, and 412 from the Marâṭhâ Country. Under the heading Vêdas, there is, besides some not very important works, at least one curiosity, a MS. containing portions of the *Vâjanêyisaṁhitâ* in the Krama- and Jaṭâ-pâṭhas. I have seen a similar MS. in the library of the Asiatic Society in Bombay.

In the second section we have large fragments of the Śrautasûtras of Âśvalâyana, Baudhâyana, Âpastamba, and Kâtyâyana, accompanied by the glosses of ancient commentators, and a host of Kârikâs and Prayôgas, together with a sprinkling of works belonging to the other Aṅgas. Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar offers short remarks on the majority of their authors, and gives a full analysis of the authorities quoted by Trikâṇḍamaṇḍana-Bhâskaramiśra, of whose important Kârikâs he has obtained a complete MSS. He shows that Trikâṇḍamaṇḍana is quoted by Hêmâdri, and must therefore be anterior to the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. His authorities, of course, date from still earlier times. To them belong Karka, the commentator of the Sûtras of Kâtyâyana, Dhûrtasvâmin, the author of a Bhâshya on Âpastamba, Gârgya-Nârâyaṇa, and Bhavanâga, commentators of Âśvalâyana, and Bhavasvâmin, the commentator of Baudhâyana. Among these Bhavasvâmin must be particularly ancient, because he is quoted by Kêśava, the author of the *Prayôgasâra*, who himself is one of the authorities of Trikâṇḍamaṇḍana. Bhavasvâmin must therefore have flourished before the tenth century. The same may be said of Dêvasvâmin, according to whose commentary on Âśvalâyana [Gârgya-] Nârâyaṇa composed his own Vṛitti on the Śrautasûtras. Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar further remarks that among the ancient commentators and writers on Mîmâṁsâ, as well as in ancient inscriptions, the title *svâmin* is common, while it does not occur during the last six centuries. He therefore thinks with Professor Weber that it is a mark of antiquity. With respect to Śabarasvâmin, the most ancient commentator on Mîmâṁsâ, he shows that he cannot be placed later than 400 or 500 A.D., as his Bhâshya was explained by Kumârila, who lived about 700 A.D. He finally conjectures that Bhavasvâmin, Dêvasvâmin and Agnisvâmin flourished about the same time. I can only say that I fully

agree with Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar in thinking that most of the Bhâshyas on the Sûtras belong to a very much higher antiquity than European Sanskṛitists usually assume. With respect to Naidhruva-Nârâyana, the son of Divâkara and author of the *Gṛihyavṛitti*, and Dêvasvâmin, this may also be proved by means of the *Âśvalâyana-gṛihyakârikâ* by Bhaṭṭa-Kumârilasvâmin, a copy of which, No. 509, is in Dr. Bhâṇḍarkar's collection of 1883-84. This work, which I know through a MS. of my private collection (now in the I. O. Library), frequently quotes the opinions of Nârâyana, of Jayanta, the author of the *Vimalôdaya-mâlâ*, and of the Bhagavadvṛittikâra. In the verses appended to the printed Vṛitti of Nârayaṇa (Calcutta ed., p. 264), it is stated that the Bhâshya of the Gṛihyasûtras was composed by Bhagavat-Dêvasvâmin, and that the Vṛitti was written by his favour, *i. e.* cribbed from the Bhâshya. Now it seems to me from the style of the Kârikâs that they really belong, as Dr. Burnell too says in his remarks on the Tanjore copy, to the great Mîmâṁsaka Kumârilabhaṭṭa. Thus we obtain the sequence: Kumârila, *circiter* 700 A.D., quotes Naidhrava-Nârâyana, who in his turn quotes Bhagavat-Dêvasvâmin. The title *bhagavat* given to the latter, indicates that he was in Nârâyaṇa's times a half-mythical personage and lived centuries before him. As Naidhruva-Nârâyaṇa himself cannot be placed later than 600 A.D. Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's estimate that Dêvasvâmin flourished about 400 or 500 A.D. is very moderate, — in fact too moderate.

In Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's notes on the Śrautasûtras quoted by Trikâṇḍâmaṇḍana, pp. 29-30, the discovery that Upavarsha, the Mîmâṁsaka, wrote a work of this class, is valuable. He probably belongs to the historical times of India, and if his works were recovered, we might get a chance of settling a portion of the chronology of the so-called Vêdic period. The discovery of the existence of a Pâṇinîya-Charaṇa is also interesting, though it could be inferred from the quotations from a lawbook by a Pâṇini. With respect to Laugâkshi, it may be noted that according to Dêvapâla's commentary on his Gṛihyasûtra, it contained 39 Adhyâyas. The Bhâradvâja Śrautasûtra is not so very rare as Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar thinks. There is a copy of nine Praśnas in the Bombay University Library, another in Munich, and a third in Berlin, all three of which are transcripts of the Barôdâ MS. And Dr. Oppert's Catalogue enumerates various MSS. in the Madras Presidency, the original home of the Charaṇa. A portion of the Gṛihyasûtra with the commentary of Kapardisvâmin is in the Elphinstone College Library Collection of 1866-68.

Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar next turns, pp. 32-44, to a brief description of the Śrauta rites, interspersed with remarks on their development. His views on the latter show that he may be reckoned as an adherent of the critical and historical school of philology, and is a good deal ahead of most of his compatriots. There is only one point on which I must differ from him. I do not think that the arguments which he brings forward on p. 34, are sufficient to show that Baudhâyana is younger than Bhâradvâja and Âpastamba. There is too distinct a current of tradition, corroborated by much circumstantial evidence, that Baudhâyana, the Pravachanakartâ, wrote the first Sûtra of the Taittirîya school. It is, however, quite a different question if his Śrautasûtras have not been largely added to. This is certainly the case with the Dharma and Gṛihya-sûtras.

In the third class there is a copy of the *Nîla-mata-Purâṇa* or, as Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar prefers to call it, "the Kaśmîramâhâtmya according to Nîlamata," which, he says, is complete. If so, it is a very valuable acquisition, because the copies which I brought from Kaśmîr are, with the exception of that restored by Sâhebrâm, certainly full of lacunæ, especially in the beginning. In this portion occur the statements which Kalhaṇa used for his *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, and it would be well worth the while to print them. I would ask Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar to do this in the Appendix to his next Report. As regards the title, Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar will find one of the reasons why I have called the work a Purâṇa at the end of the extracts in my Kaśmîr Report, p. lx. l. 10. Another reason is that in Kaśmîr, its home, all the Paṇḍits call it a Purâṇa, not a Mâhâtmya, though, as I have shown at length in my Report, p. 41, its contents are the same as those of a Mâhâtmya. The larger Mâhâtmyas are sometimes, *gauravârtham*, called Purâṇas; compare *e. g.* the so-called Sthalapurâṇas of Southern India. Under these circumstances I do not think it necessary to alter the title of the work.

Under Dharma also there are some valuable acquisitions, such as a second copy of the Kaśmîr text of Manu (the first being that which I acquired in 1876), two Kâṇḍas of Aparâditya's commentary on Yâjñavalkya, of which the Deccan College has now a fine store, a MS. of the *Madanapârijâta*, of the *Âśvalâyanagṛihyakârikâ* of Bhaṭṭa Kumârilasvâmin, as well as numerous more modern treatises, the dates of which Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar mostly settles very satisfactorily. In connection with the subject I am glad to point out that Mr. Śrîdhar R. Bhâṇḍârkar's date for Viśvêśvara exactly agrees with that which I have given at p. cxxv. of the introduction to my translation of Manu on the strength of Dr. Schram's calculations. I took the

verse from Mr. Sarvâdhikârin's Tagore Lectures, but have since verified it, as well as the pedigree of Madanapâla in the copies of the *Madanavinôdanighaṇṭu* preserved in the India Office Library. Visvêśvara's date is of some importance, because his commentary on the *Mitâkshurâ* is held to be of authority, and because his patron rescued the *Manubhâshya* of Mêdhâtithi from destruction. The remarks on the *Vivâdârṇavabhañjana* have been made before in Dr. Peterson's Second Report, p. 53.

In the next class, — Poems, Plays, and Fables, there are some new anthologies, one of which comes from Kaśmir, and a new commentary on the *Mahânâṭaka* by Balabhadra. The Vṛittis on Kâlidâsa's and Bhâravi's poems are already represented in the earlier collections, and among them Jônarâja's commentary on the *Kirâtârjunîya*, by five copies which I brought from Kaśmir. Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar shows that Jônarâja wrote this work in Śaka-Saṁvat 1370.

An ancient copy of a portion of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* on Pâṇini's Sûtras permits Dr Bhâṇḍârkar, p. 58, to slightly modify the prevailing opinion as to the share which each of the two joint authors took in its compilation. Jayâditya, it now appears, wrote the notes on Adhyâyas i.-v. and (not i.-iv.) and the remainder belongs to Vâmana. The general results of an elaborate note, pp. 59-60, on the family of Râmachandra, the author of the *Prakriyâkaumudî*, are, that it belonged to the Tailaṅgî subdivision of Brâhmaṇs, and that it counted among its members several writers on the Sâstras. From the copy of the Puna Sanskṛit College Collection it appears that Râmachandra wrote in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Under the heading Kôshas, p. 61ff., Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar gives, in connection with the description of a copy of Râyamukuṭa's *Padachandrikâ*, a list of the authors and works quoted by that voluminous scholiast in his notes on Kâṇḍa i. of the Amarakôsha. This list is further extended to Kâṇḍas ii -iii., on p. 467ff., by Paṇḍit Durgâprasâd. It seems to have escaped the notice of Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar that the same task had already been done according to three MSS by Professor Aufrecht in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXVIII. pp. 109-121, still more elaborately and on principles which make the verification of the quotations much easier.

In the next section Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar discusses the contents of the philosophical works purchased, among which those on Râmânuja's system and on Kaśmirian Śaivism are particularly interesting. Here we have also, pp. 69-74, the nucleus of his new theory on the Bhâgavata sect, which has been set forth more fully in his valuable paper inserted in the *Abhandlungen der Arischen Section des VII. Intern. Orientalisten Congresses*, pp. 101-109. He shows that the Viśishta Advaita system of Râmânuja is a somewhat modified and more methodical form of the ancient Bhâgavata, Pâñcharâtra or Sâttvata religion, which is named and described in the *Śântiparvan* of the Mahâbhârata. This creed, which inculcates the worship of the supreme Vâsudêva and teaches the doctrine of *bhakti*, has originally nothing to do with the Vêdas and Upanishads. It arose from the same current of thought from which the Bhagavadgîtâ sprang. Its sacred books are the Saṁhitâs of the Nâradapañcharâtra, some of which turned up at Aṇhilvâḍ, while one has been printed and known long ago. Its founder was a Kshatriya, like Śâkyamuni-Gôtama and Vardhamâna, the Jñâtṛika who originated the systems known as Buddhism and Jainism. He seems to have been Vâsudêva of the Sâttvata sub-division of the Yâdava tribe. Or it may be that this Vâsudêva was a king of the Sâttvatas, who after his death was deified, that a body of doctrines grew up in connection with his worship, and that the religion spread from his clan to other classes of the Indian people. In its origin this religion must have developed into the Pâñcharâtra system of the Saṁhitâs. Then it was mixed with other elements, indicated by the names of Vishṇu, Nârâyaṇa, Kṛishṇa, Râma, gods and deified heroes, who were identified with Vâsudêva. Hence arose the various forms of modern Vaishnavism. In order to prove the great age of the original worship of Vâsudêva, Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar points to the often-quoted Sûtra of Pâṇini, iv. 3, 98, where the formation of the name of a devotee of Vasudêva is taught, and to the remarks of Patañjali thereon, who states that the Vâsudêva meant is *tatrabhagavat*. He further shows that the Pâñcharâtra system was known to Śaṁkarâchârya as well as to Bâṇa, and that one of the Saṁhitâs is quoted by Râmânuja.

I believe that Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar is on the right track, and that, if he fully works out his ideas with the help of all available materials, he will be able to offer the outlines of the earlier history of Vaishṇavism. The task is of course a very difficult one. It will require a careful study of the Saṁhitâs, and of their history, and a careful utilization of the hints contained in Brâhmaṇical, Jaina, and Buddhist literature, as well as in the inscriptions.

It will, I firmly believe, eventually appear that both Vaishnavism and Śaivism, which Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar too declares, p. 76, to be perhaps as old as the worship of Vishṇu, are co-eval with even the earlier portions of the so-called Vêdic period.

Already in my discussion of the great Nânâghâṭ inscription of Queen Nâyanikâ, *Arch. Surv. W. India*, Vol. V. p. 74, I have pointed out that the invocation *namô Saṁkaṁsana-Vâsudêvânaṁ Chandasû*[*tâ*]*naṁ* furnishes additional proof for the age of the worship of Krishṇa in India. Of late an apparently still older inscription has been discovered in Râjputânâ and published by Kavirâj Śyâmaladâsa and Dr. Hoernle in the *Proceedings of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. VI. p. 77ff., in which "the worship of Bhagavat Saṁkaṁsana and Vâsudeva," and a Vaishṇava temple, are mentioned. This is another valuable piece of evidence for the antiquity of the worship of Vâsudêva. The earliest mention of the Sâttvata sect, known to me, occurs in the Tuśâm rock inscription, *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 270, where an *âryya-Sâttvatta-yôgâchârya* is mentioned; Mr. Fleet assigns it to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Professor Kern, who too is convinced that Vaishṇavism does not date from modern times, states, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, Vol. I. p. 17, that the Âjîvikas, who existed in Buddha's times, and who received caves from Aśôka, and from his son, Daśaratha, were Brâhmaṇical ascetics worshipping Nârâyaṇa. Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar will, perhaps, be able to say in a future report whether this assertion receives support through the Saṁhitâs of the Pâñcharâtra religion.

No less interesting are Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's remarks on Kaśmîrian Śaivism, which show that the doctrines of the Spandasûtras, in spite of numerous points of resemblance, yet differ from Sâyaṇa's *Śaivaśâstra*, with which I identified it in my Kaśmîr Report. The system is, it now appears, non-dualistic, and a pure idealism like the Pratyabhijñâdarśana, of which it seems to have been the forerunner. In his notes on its literature, Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar tries to make out that the Spandakârikâs belong, not to Vasugupta, but to his pupil Kallaṭa. As the tradition is conflicting, the point must remain doubtful. With respect to Utpala's *Spandapradîpikâ*, he shows that its author is different from the Utpala who wrote on the Pratyabhijñâ-system. The former was the son of Trivikrama, while the father of the latter was called Udayâkara.

The MSS. on Kaśmîrian Śaivism purchased in 1882-83 are eleven in number, and they are all represented in the earlier parts of the Deccan College collection. But Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar was right in taking them, as they come not from Kaśmîr itself, but from the Pañjâb, where frequently better texts are obtainable than in the valley (see my Kaśmîr Report, p. 83).

In the 13th section there are no works of any great importance. But the extracts from a Kaśmîrian *Khaṇḍakhâdyôddharaṇa* are interesting, as they furnish new rules for converting Laukika into Śaka years. Their results agree with those obtained by means of the verse given to me by the Kaśmîrian Jôshîs, if the Kali years are considered as *past*, and the Laukika years as *current*. I believe it will be advisable to test these and all other statements regarding the Saptarshi era by calculations of the numerous dates with week days added, which are found in the MSS. of the Deccan College collection and elsewhere. Dr. Kielhorn's articles on the Chêdi and Nêpâl eras show that the labour expended on such calculations is by no means useless.

Under the heading Tântrika literature, p 87, we find twenty works written in the Śâradâ character, more than half of which, as Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar remarks, are not included in my collection of 1875-77. The very clear sketch of the *Śâmbhavadarśana*, pp. 89-90, is interesting and most amusing. One of the aims of the faithful student is, it appears, to imagine that he is a woman. Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar adds — "There is a Śâkta ascetic in a village in the vicinity of Poona, who, I am told, dresses himself like a female."

The purchases in the first sub-division of Class XVII. Digambara literature, amount to about forty, and contain several important novelties, such as the *Niyamasâra* of Kundakundâchârya, one of the ancient teachers of the Nagnâṭas. The *Pravachanasâra* of the same author, which Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar takes to be a new acquisition, is already contained in No. 639 of my Collection of 1875-77. The steady growth of the store of Digambara books in the Bombay collections is most satisfactory. Both Dr. Peterson and Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar have made year by year very important additions, the purchases being chiefly effected at Jaypur and in the Pañjâb. I think it would be advisable if efforts were made to obtain also books from the Southern Marâṭhâ country, Kanara, and the Madras Presidency. The operations will be somewhat more difficult in these districts, but they will eventually yield ample reward, because a very large number of the more ancient Digambara works have been composed in Southern India, and the northern MSS. are transcripts from southern copies written in Kanarese, Telugu, or Grantha characters. Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's extracts from the Digambara works, which he purchased, pp. 92-126, are most judiciously and carefully made, and furnish much important new information. His analysis of the contents of the *Pravachanasâra*, of Sakalakîrti's *Tattvârthasâradîpikâ*, and of the *Kârttikêyânuprêkshâ* with Śubhachandra's commentary, gives a very clear and intelligible view of the religious teaching of

the Digambaras and of their tradition regarding the Jaina literature; while the extracts from a number of Praśastis furnish a considerable number of new dates and statements regarding the succession of the teachers of the sect. In between we find also other valuable historical and literary notes, such as, pp. 104-105, those on the Paramâra princes of Mâlvâ in the thirteenth century, under whom that most fertile author Âśâdhara wrote his numerous works, and those on the Râshṭrakûṭas Amôghavarsha and Akâlavarsha, p. 121; see also Corrigenda, p. II. It is impossible for me to notice in detail all the important points in this portion of the Report, but I strongly recommend its study to scholars interested in the religious history of India. In connection with his abstracts, Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar gives us also his views on the origin and the history of the Jaina sect. Like Professor Jacobi, myself, and other Sanskritists, he denies, p. 102 and p. 125, that the Jainas are a Buddhist sect, and admits that their founder may have been a contemporary of Śâkyamuni-Gautama. But he holds that Jainism as a system is later than Buddhism, that it was remodelled about the first century of our era, after the men who knew the original doctrines by heart, had died, and that it received a new set of sacred books about the year 139 A.D. He thinks that the sect must have been unimportant up to that period, and adds that this view is corroborated by the scarcity of ancient Jaina inscriptions. It would lead me too far if I were to enter on a discussion of these views and the arguments by which they are supported. I will only say this much, that I am glad to note our agreement as to one of the main points, — the independent origin of the Jaina religion. With respect to the other points, on which I must differ from Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar, I will add that the Aśôka inscriptions, which speak of "countless religious communities consisting of ascetics and householders," mention by name only *three, the Buddhists, the Nigaṁṭhas* or *Jainas,* and the *Âjîvikas,* which therefore must have been those most noteworthy in the 3rd century B.C. and that the Mathurâ inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period which confirm the Śvêtâmbara (not the Digambara) tradition regarding the old teachers and schools, become every year more numerous. Last year brought us Dr. Burgess's important inscription, dated in the seventh year of Kanishka; this year Dr. Führer has unearthed four very valuable documents of the same period. Among the thirty-seven Śvêtâmbara MSS. purchased in 1883-84, there does not seem to be anything new or very important. In making his extracts, pp. 144-155, from Dharmasâgara's *Pravachanaparîkshâ* or *Kupakshakauśikâditya,* Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar seems to have overlooked that Professor Weber has published an elaborate treatise on the same work in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy. A great portion of the extracts, p. 138 ff., from Samayasundara's commentary on the Kalpasutra had already been given by Professor Jacobi in the notes to his edition of the Kalpasûtra.

The concluding pages of the Second Report are directed against a remark which I made in my review on Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's First Report, *ante,* Vol. XIV. p. 62. I there pointed out that it was not safe to refer every date in the MSS. to which the word Saṁvat is prefixed to the Vikrama era, because at least some cases occurred in which the word referred to the Śaka era, and I gave two instances to the point. Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar answers that the meaning of the word Saṁvat admits of no dispute, and during the last five centuries has always been used to denote the Vikrama era. He maintains that, if the usual interpretation of the word Saṁvat leads to wrong historical results, the cause must be a mistake of the writer, and he suggests that the writer may have copied a real old Saṁvat date from his original, and have added some historical note regarding his own time, or that he may have put in a wrong date by a slip of the pen. With respect to one of my cases, that of the MS. of the Iḍar copy of the Mahâbhâshya, he thinks that it will not do to take Saṁvat 1514 as equivalent to 1592 A D, because Râô Nârâyaṇadâsa lost his throne in 1576, and Mr. K. Forbes immediately after speaks of his successor Vîramadêva. Dr. Bhâṇḍarkar then goes on to prove his main point by giving a number of Saṁvat, *i.e.* Vikrama-Saṁvat dates which in MSS. occur together with Śaka dates, and by quoting a passage from a commentary on the *Bhâsvatîkaraṇa,* composed in Śaka-Saṁvat 1577, where the author declares that the era of Vikramâditya bears the name Saṁvat

The question whether particular dates in the MSS to which the word Saṁvat is prefixed, do refer to the Śaka era, cannot, it seems to me, be decided on general grounds, but only on the merits of each single case. I therefore deal first with Dr Bhâṇḍârkar's objections to my two cases and with his attempts at explaining them in a manner differing from mine. As regards the difficulty about Râô Nârâyanadâsa II.,[1] the fuller informa-

[1] As the *Gazetteer, loc. cit.* pp. 402-403, shows, there was an earlier Râo Nârâyaṇadâsa I., who began to rule in 1428 A.D. He died (the date is not mentioned), before 1445 A.D., in which year Râô Bhân was on the throne. He cannot be meant in the colophon of the MS. of the Bhâshya, as its dates, if referred to the Vikrama era, would be equivalent to 1455-56 and 1456-57 A.D.

tion in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V p. 404, shows that he was conquered by Akbar in 1576 A.D. and that his capital fell into the hands of his foes. But the *Gazetteer* adds:—" Following his usual policy, Akbar, asking for no more than an admission of his supremacy, restored the Râo to his state, and made him commander of 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry." His reign did, therefore, not come to an end in 1576, and there is no reason why he may not have been alive and ruler of Idar in 1592. Unfortunately the *Gazetteer* does not give the date of the beginning of his successor's reign, and I have no means to supply the omission. As regards the suggestion that the writer may have put in an older Saṁvat date and have added an historical note referring to his own time, that is, in my opinion, very improbable. For the fact that an historical note is given, shows that the man did not work mechanically, but did think about the date, and it is hence not likely that he made so absurd a mistake. It is, however, unnecessary to continue this discussion of the probabilities, as there is another case in which no doubt or other explanation than that given by me is possible. This is the date of the oldest MS of the *Gaṇaratnamahôdadhi*, see Professor Eggeling's edition, p. v. Its colophon runs as follows: *saṁvak* (i. e. *saṁvat*) 1151 *virôdhî*-(i. e. *virodhi*)-*saṁvatsarê kârttika vadi* (i. e. *badi*) 5 *budhê*. That this is a date of the Saka-Saṁvat is proved, as Professor Eggeling has first stated, by the mention of the Virôdhi *saṁvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, which corresponds only to Saka 1151, according to the southern luni-solar system. It is further proved by Dr Schram's calculation of the *tithi* and of the week-day, the whole being equivalent to 7 Nov. 1229 A D. which was a Wednesday. In this case the figures of the date cannot have been copied from an older MS. dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1151, because the *Gaṇaratnamahôdadhi* was composed when 1197 years of that era had elapsed (Eggeling, *loc. cit.* p. viii.). Nor is an error of the copyist in the figures possible, because the details agree accurately with the requirements of the Saka era The fact that this writer uses *Saṁvat*, or to be quite exact *Saṁvak*, for *Sakakâlê* or *Sakasaṁvat*, is therefore indisputable, and it is very remarkable, because Colonel Tod obtained this MS. from one of the Jaina libraries of Râjputânâ. The Jaina scribes have since even earlier times than the thirteenth century A.D. very frequently and as a rule used Saṁvat for the era of Vikramâditya, and this era alone has been the official and the popular one in Râjputânâ as well as in Gujarât, at least since the tenth century. Yet we have here an indisputable deviation from an otherwise hard and fast rule. Whatever the explanation may be, the fact, it seems to me, makes it advisable to be cautious with Saṁvat dates, even if they occur in MSS. coming from districts where the term Saṁvat is usually understood to denote the era of 58 B.C. Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's assertion that the term Saṁvat is used in the present day and has been used since some centuries for the Vikrama era is, with certain restrictions, perfectly correct. The restrictions are that the conventional use of the term does not extend to Kaśmir and the adjacent Hill-states of the Pañjâb nor to Nêpâl. In Kaśmîr and the hill territory Saṁvat still refers as a rule to the Saptarshi era or Lôkakâla, and in Nêpâl to the era of A.D. 878-9. In the other parts of India of which I have personal knowledge, the majority of the Paṇḍits and Jôshîs would unhesitatingly make the same remark about Saṁvat which, as Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar shows, a commentator of the *Bhâsvatîkaraṇa* has put down in writing. This point I have not disputed and do not dispute. What I mean to say is that in spite of this state of things, there are cases in which the writers of MSS. have used Saṁvat for Saka-Saṁvat, and that it is advisable to make certain of the meaning of Saṁvat in all cases where it is worth the while and possible to do so. For as long as these apparent counter-instances are not removed, the popular usage creates only a strong presumption, not an absolute certainty, that in each given case a Saṁvat date is a Vikrama-Saṁvat date. If Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar succeeds in removing them, I shall be glad of his success, as he will have eliminated one of the many elements of uncertainty which have to be taken into account by those dealing with Hindu dates.

In conclusion, I cannot but give expression to my conviction that Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar has again proved by his Second Report how eminently useful the search for Sanskrit MSS. may be made for Oriental philology, and that he is entitled to the gratitude of all his fellow-workers for his patient industry and for the ability with which he has utilized his materials. I would add the request that his Third Report may not be delayed too long, and that his promise to issue preliminary annual lists of his purchases may be kept. I would also ask both him and Dr. Peterson to extend their operations to the South of India, at least by procuring MSS. from the Madras Presidency. Dr. Oppert's Catalogue shows that many valuable works not yet represented in the Deccan College collection, and probably not obtainable in the Bombay Presidency, are extant in Madras; and in Bombay agents are available to whom, it seems, *na kiṁchid agamyam*.

G. BÜHLER.

Vienna, 20th February, 1889.

THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

WHILE engaged in calculating or verifying Hindu dates in which the year of one era or another is coupled with a year of the **Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter,** I have had frequent occasion to resort to the third memoir of Warren's invaluable *Kâla-Saṁkalita*, pp. 197-216, and I have often admired the ingenuity and clearness with which that great scholar has treated his subject. At the same time, I cannot but confess that the use of Warren's Tables is somewhat troublesome; and it has appeared to me that the process of finding the exact beginning and end of a cycle-year, according to the different rules, might be simplified by giving certain fractions of days, etc., in decimals of days, and by expressing the epochs of the several eras, as well as other items, in days of the Julian period, a method which has been followed successfully by Dr. Schram in his *Hilfstafeln für Chronologie.*[1] Besides, Warren's book is now difficult to obtain. The following simple rules and Tables may therefore not be altogether unwelcome to scholars who either do not possess a copy of the *Kâla-Saṁkalita* themselves, or have no large public library within easy reach.

A.—The beginning and end of the Cycle-year according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta.

(*a*)—According to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, **the epoch of the Kaliyuga,** expressed in days of the Julian period, and in such a manner as to yield current days and hours, etc., after mean sunrise (at Ujjain), in the final results, is —

588 465·7500 days.[2]

(*b*)—**The length of one solar year** is—

365·2587565 days.[3]

(*c*)—**The length of one year of Jupiter's cycle, without Bîja or correction,** is —

361·02672103 days.

(*d*)—**The length of one year of Jupiter's cycle, with Bîja or correction,** is —

361·0346511 days.

Rules.

1. **To find the beginning of any year of the Kaliyuga**, in accordance with the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, multiply (*b*), *i.e.* the length of one solar year, by the number of years expired, and to the product add 588 463·6024 (*i.e.* the epoch of the Kaliyuga diminished by 2·1476, the time by which the apparent Mêsha-saṁkrânti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, according to Warren, preceded the epoch). Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II.

Thus, for the beginning of Kaliyuga 4871, current, we find—

365·2587565 × 4870
1778 810·1441550
+ 588 463·6024
2367 273·7466 days of the Julian period, which by Tables I. and II. correspond to

9th April, A.D. 1769, new style, 17 h. 55·1 m.

In other words, the solar year Kaliyuga 4871, current, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, commenced 17 h. 55·1 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 9th April, A.D. 1769, new style.

[1] That portion of Dr. Schram's work which has reference to the Hindu luni-solar calendar, has now been re-cast by the author, and will be published in a following number of this Journal. Dr. Schram's Table for converting a day of the Julian period into the European date, (the use of which will appear from the examples given at the end of this article) is, for the sake of ready reference, by the author's permission, appended also to the present paper (Table I.).

[2] *i.e.* midnight between the 17th and 18th February, 3102 B.C.

[3] These figures (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) are based on the following data:—The number of civil days in a Mahâyuga is 1577917828; in the same period there are 4320000 revolutions of the sun; revolutions of Jupiter (without correction) 364220; and revolutions of Jupiter, as corrected by the Bîja, 364212.

2. **To find the end of any one year of Jupiter's cycle,** without or with Bîja, multiply either (*c*), *i.e.* the length of one cycle-year without Bîja, or (*d*), *i.e.* the length of one cycle-year with Bîja, by the number which that particular year holds in the series of Jupiter's years counted from the beginning of the Kaliyuga (and which, as will be shown under 3, below, in practice can be readily ascertained), and to the product add (*a*), *i. e.* the epoch of the Kaliyuga. Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II., as before.

Thus, assuming a year Vilamba to be the 4926th of Jupiter's years, counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, we find—

(*a*) for the end of Vilamba without Bîja :—

361·02672103 × 4926
1778 417·62779378
+ 588 465·7500
2366 883·3778 days of the Julian period, which by Tables I. and II. correspond to

15th March, A.D. 1768, new style, 9 h. 4 m.

In other words, the year Vilamba without Bîja ended (and the following year Vikârin commenced) 9 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 15th March, A.D. 1768, new style.

(*b*) for the end of Vilamba with Bîja :—

361·0346511 × 4926
1778 456·6913186
+ 588 465·7500
2366 922·4413 days of the Julian period, which by Tables I. and II. correspond to

23rd April, A.D. 1768, new style, 10 h. 35·5 m.

In other words, the year Vilamba with Bîja ended (and the following year Vikârin commenced) 10 h. 35·5 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 23rd April, A.D. 1768, new style.

Having found the end of Vilamba, we find the commencement of Vilamba by deducting the length of one cycle-year, without or with Bîja, as the case may be, thus :—

end of Vilamba without Bîja, 2366 883·3778
less one year without Bîja, — 361·0267
remainder 2366 522·3511,

i.e. 20th March, A.D. 1767, new style, 8 h. 25·6 m., — beginning of Vilamba without Bîja;

end of Vilamba with Bîja, 2366 922·4413
less one year with Bîja, — 361·0347
remainder 2366 561·4066,

i.e. 28th April, A.D. 1767, new style, 9 h. 45·5 m., — beginning of Vilamba with Bîja.

3. **How to find the number of any year of Jupiter, mentioned in a date, in the series of Jupiter's years counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, may be best shown by two examples :—**

First Example.

An inscription on a Satî-pillar at 'Boram-Dêo' in the Central Provinces, (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII. Plate xxii.) is dated—

Saṁvat 1445 **Bhâva**-nâma-saṁvasa(tsa)rê Âsvi(śvi)na-sudi 13 Sômê ;

i.e. 'the (Vikrama) year 1445, in (Jupiter's) year named **Bhâva**, the 13th of the bright half of Âśvina, on Monday ;' — and the corresponding European date (for the northern expired Vikrama year 1445) is Monday, 14th September, A.D. 1388, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. after mean sunrise.

The question here is : — Which year of Jupiter, counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, was the year **Bhâva** (the 42nd year in the Sixty-Year Cycle, when counted from Vijaya as No. 1 ; see Table III.), which is mentioned in this date ?

To answer this question, we substitute for the Vikrama year (1445) of the date the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga (4489), obtained by adding 3044; this year of the Kaliyuga (4489) we divide by 85; and we add the quotient to the dividend, counting fractions exceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ as 1, thus (4489 divided by 85 $= 52\frac{69}{85} = 53$; $4489 + 53 = 4542$); dividing the sum (4542) by 60, the remainder will be, approximately, the number which the year we are concerned with holds in the Sixty-Year Cycle, when counted from Vijaya as No. 1; (4542 divided by 60 leaves remainder 42). Where the remainder actually corresponds with the number of the year of the date in the Sixty-Year Cycle, counted from Vijaya, (as is the case in the present instance), the sum previously divided by 60 (here 4542), is the very number sought (here 4542). But where the remainder falls below or exceeds that number (which would have been the case here if the remainder had been 41 or 44), the difference (in the assumed case, either 1 or 2) must be either added to, or subtracted from, the sum (here 4542) divided by 60 (in which case the year sought would have been either 4543 or 4540, respectively).[4]

In the present date, then, **Bhâva** was the 4542nd year of Jupiter from the commencement of the Kaliyuga; and we now find, by the rule given under 2, —

(*a*) for the end of Bhâva without Bîja :—

361·02672103 × 4542

1639 783·36691826
+588 465·7500

2228 249·1169, *i.e.* 12th August, A.D. 1388, 2 h. 48·3 m.;

(*b*) for the end of Bhâva with Bîja :—

361·0346511 × 4542

1639 819·3852962
+588 465·7500

2228 285·1353, *i.e.* 17th September, A.D. 1388, 3 h. 14·8 m.

The result is, that the year Bhâva, whether without or with Bîja, was current at the commencement of the solar year Kaliyuga 4489 (= V. 1445) expired; and that, with Bîja, it actually included the day (the 14th September, A.D. 1388) which is mentioned in the inscription.

Second Example.

My manuscript of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* is dated —

Saṁvat 1464 varshê Âshâḍha-vadi tṛitîyâyâṁ tithau **Manmatha**-saṁvatsarê Budhê ;

i.e. 'in the (Vikrama) year 1464, on the third lunar day of the dark half of Âshâḍha, in (Jupiter's) year **Manmatha**, on Wednesday.'

Here it so happens that, had the year Manmatha not been mentioned in the date, the corresponding European date might be either, —

for the northern expired Vikrama year 1464, by the *pûrṇimânta* reckoning, Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1407, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise; or —

for the southern expired Vikrama year 1464, by the *amânta* reckoning, Wednesday, 11th July, A.D. 1408, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

In fact, the question as to which of these two dates is the date on which the writing of my MS. was finished, must and can only be decided by the year Manmatha.

Manmatha is the 3rd year of the Sixty-Year Cycle, counted from Vijaya; and proceeding as before, we have : — Vikrama 1464 + 3044 = Kaliyuga 4508; 4508 divided by 85 $= 53\frac{3}{85}$; 4508 + 53 = 4561; 4561 divided by 60 leaves remainder 1; this being 2 less than Manmatha

[4] It will be clear from the above that, the first thing to do. is always to substitute for the year of the date the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga; and in this respect it makes no difference whatever whether, the Vikrama year of a date is a northern or southern year. Should the year of the date be a Śaka year, we should also first substitute the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga, obtained by adding 3179; and we should proceed similarly in the case of any other era.

(3), we have 4561 + 2 = 4563 as the number (from the commencement of the Kaliyuga) of the year Manmatha of our date. We now find —

(*a*) for the end of Manmatha without Bîja :—

361·02672103 × 4563
1647 364·92805989
+ 588 465·7500
2235 830·6781, *i.e.* 15th May, A.D. 1409, 16 h. 16·5 m.;

and for the beginning of Manmatha without Bîja, by deducting one year without Bîja :—

2235 830·6781
— 361·0267
2235 469·6514, *i.e.* 19th May, A.D. 1408, 15 h. 38 m.

(*b*) for the end of Manmatha with Bîja :—

361·0346511 × 4563
1647 401·1129693
+ 588 465·7500
2235 866·8630, *i.e.* 20th June, A.D. 1409, 20 h. 42·7 m.;

and for the beginning of Manmatha with Bîja, by deducting one year with Bîja :—

2235 866·8630
— 361·0347
2235 505·8283, *i.e.* 24th June, A.D. 1408, 19 h. 52·8 m.

The year Manmatha, without Bîja, therefore lasted from—

19th May, A.D. 1408, 15 h. 38 m., to 15th May, A.D. 1409, 16 h. 16·5 m.; and the same year, with Bîja, from —

24th June, A.D. 1408, 19 h. 52·8 m., to 20th June, A.D. 1409, 20 h. 42·7 m.; and it is clear that of the two otherwise possible European equivalents of the Hindu date (Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1407, and Wednesday, 11th July, A.D. 1408) only the second can be the true date, because only this date falls in the year Manmatha.

4. It is apparent that the above rules may be combined **to ascertain or verify the occasion of a kshaya or expunged year of Jupiter.** Thus it may be shown that Śubhakṛit, the 10th year of the cycle, counted from Vijaya (inclusive), with Bîja, was such a year in Kaliyuga 4873, current. By the above we find that Kaliyuga 4872 ended, and Kaliyuga 4873 began —

365·2587565 × 4872
1779 540·6616680
+ 588 463·6024
2368 004·2640680, *i.e.* 10th April, A. D. 1771, new style, 6 h. 20·3 m.;

and that Kaliyuga 4873 ended —

2368 004·2640680
+ 365·2587565
2368 369·5228, *i.e.* 9th April, A.D. 1772, new style, 12 h. 32·8 m.

We also find that (since Śubhakṛit in Kaliyuga 4873 must have been the 4930th year of Jupiter from the commencement of the Kaliyuga) Śubhakṛit with Bîja commenced, or the preceding year Plava (4929) ended —

361·0346511 × 4929
1779 539·7952719
+ 588 465·7500
2368 005·5452719, *i.e.* 11th April, A.D. 1771, new style, 13 h. 5·2 m.;

and that 'Subhakṛit with Bîja ended —

2368 005·5452719
+ 361·0346511
2368 366·5799, *i.e.* 6th April, A.D. 1772, new style, 13 h. 55·1 m.

It is therefore clear that 'Subhakṛit, since it commenced after the beginning of Kaliyuga 4873 current, and ended before the end of Kaliyuga 4873 current, *was* a *kshaya* or expunged year in 4873. And by deducting the sum of days for the commencement of Kaliyuga 4873 from the sum of days for the commencement of the year 'Subhakṛit, we find that the commencement of 'Subhakṛit with Bîja was due 1 day, 6 h. 44 m. 54 s. after the commencement of Kaliyuga 4873 current.

5. By Warren's Rules and Tables the Jupiter's years will be found to begin and end about 2·1476 days, = 2 days 3 h. 32 m. 30 s., earlier than by the above rules. Thus, according to the *Kâla-Saṁkalita*, p. 201, the commencement of the year Vikârin (or the end of Vilamba), with Bîja (above, 2), fell on 21st April, A.D. 1768, new style, instead of falling on the 23rd April; and the solar time of Vikârin expired, at the commencement of Kaliyuga 4871 current, according to Warren, was —

353 days 27 d. 10 p. 31·0640 c., *i.e.* about 353 days 10 h. 52·2 m. = 353·4529 days, whereas by my rule it was only 351·3053 = (353·4529 — 2·1476) days. Similarly, by Warren's Tables, the year Bhâva, with Bîja, (above, 3, *First Example*), would end on the 14th September, A.D. 1388, 23 h. 42·2 m., whereas by my rule it ended on the 17th September, A.D. 1388, 3 h. 14·8 m., *i.e.* 2 days 3 h. 32·6 m. later. And according to the *Kâla-Saṁkalita*, p. 266, Plava, with Bîja, was an expunged year in Kaliyuga 4872, current, while by the above rules 'Subhakṛit was an expunged year in Kaliyuga 4873, current.

The reason of this difference is that Warren has calculated the Jupiter's years from the apparent Mêsha-saṁkrânti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, whereas they should have been calculated from the mean Mêsha-saṁkrânti or the vulgar epoch of the Kaliyuga, which, according to Warren, was 2·1476 days later than the apparent Mêsha-saṁkrânti. **This important correction I owe in the first instance to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit,** and I have found Mr. Dîkshit's remarks on the subject confirmed by the practice of four MS. calendars in the Royal Library at Berlin. Thus, to give only one instance, in a calendar for the expired northern Vikrama year 1841 we read:—

Saṁvat 1841 Sâkê 1706 . . . . . **Râkshasa**-nâma-saṁvatsara-pravṛittiḥ I Tasya guru-mânêna mêshât prâg bhukta-mâsâdi 3 2 33 36 I;

i.e., at the commencement of the (expired) Vikrama year 1841 or the (expired) 'Saka year 1706 (= Kaliyuga 4885, expired), the Jupiter's year current is **Râkshasa** (the 4943rd year from the commencement of the Kaliyuga): and of this year there have elapsed at the time of the Mêsha-saṁkrânti (of Kaliyuga 4885 expired) 3 months, 2 days, 33 daṇḍas, 36 palas, = 92·5600 days, of Jupiter's own time.

By my own rules, we have —

end of Kaliyuga 4885, current, = 2372 752·6279
— beginning of Râkshasa, without Bîja, = 2372 659·8053
remainder 92·8226;

i.e., the beginning of the year Râkshasa, without Bîja, preceded the commencement of Kaliyuga 4885, expired, by 92·8226 solar days. To convert these into days of Jupiter's own time, say, as 361·0267 solar days (the length of the Jupiter's year without Bîja) to 360 days of Jupiter's own time, so are 92·8226 solar days to 92·5586 days of Jupiter's own time. Deducting 92·5586 from 92·5600, the remainder will be 0·0014 days = 2 minutes, by which the year Râkshasa, according to my rule, will commence later than it does according to the MS. calendar. According to Warren, the commencement of Râkshasa, without Bîja, would precede the commencement of Kaliyuga 4885, expired, by about 94·9721 solar days, *i.e.* Râkshasa would commence about 2 days 3 h. 33·3 m. earlier than it is made to begin by the MS. calendar.

B.—The beginning and end of the Cycle-year according to the Jyôtistattva.

(*a*)—According to the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, **the epoch of the Saka era**, expressed in days of the Julian period, and in such a manner as to yield current days and hours, etc., after mean sunrise (at Ujjain), in the final results, is —
1749 621·1979 days.

(*b*)—**The length of one solar year** is —
365·25868055 days.

Rules.

1. **To find the beginning of any year of the Saka era**, in accordance with the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, multiply (*b*), *i.e.* the length of one solar year, by the number of years expired, and to the product add (*a*), *i.e.* the epoch of the Saka era. Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II.

Thus, for the beginning of Saka 1680, current, we find—

$$\begin{array}{r} 365{\cdot}25868055 \times 1679 \\ \hline 613\ 269{\cdot}32464345 \\ +\ 1749\ 621{\cdot}1979 \\ \hline 2362\ 890{\cdot}5225 \end{array}$$

2362 890·5225, *i.e.* 9th April, A.D. 1757 new style, 12 h. 32·4 m., which differs by six seconds from the commencement of Saka 1680, current, as given in Warren's First Chronol. Table, p. xxiv.

And similarly, for the beginning of Saka 1311 expired (or 1312 current) we find—

$$\begin{array}{r} 365{\cdot}25868055 \times 1311 \\ \hline 478\ 854{\cdot}13020105 \\ +1749\ 621{\cdot}1979 \\ \hline 2228\ 475{\cdot}3281 \end{array}$$

2228 475·3281, *i.e.* 26th March, A.D. 1389, 7 h. 52·5 m. which agrees to the very second with the result obtained from Warren's Table XLVIII., Second Part.

2. **The Jyôtistattva rule** yields, for the commencement of any expired Saka year, the last *expired* Jupiter's year; and since it furnishes the means of determining what portion of the current Jupiter's year had elapsed at the commencement of the said Saka year, it enables us to calculate accurately the moment when the last expired Jupiter's year ended or the current one commenced. The rule is given by Davis (*Asiat. Res.* Vol. III. p. 214) and Warren (*Kâla-Saṁkalita*, p. 202), as follows:—

"The Saka year note down in two places. Multiply (one of the numbers) by 22. Add (to the product) 4291. Divide (the sum) by 1875. The quotient (its integers) add to the second number noted down, and divide (the sum) by 60. The remainder or fraction will show the year last expired, counting from Prabhava (inclusive) as the first of the cycle. The fraction, if any, left by the divisor 1875, may be reduced to months, days, etc., expired of the current [Jupiter's] year."

Applying this rule, *e.g.* to the expired Saka year 1311, we find—

$$\frac{1311 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 17\,\frac{1258}{1785};\ \text{and}\ \frac{1311 + 17}{60} = 22\,\frac{8}{60}.$$

Here the numerator of the second fraction $(\frac{8}{60})$ shows that at the beginning of Saka 1311, expired, the last expired year of Jupiter was the 8th, counted from Prabhava (inclusive), *i.e.* Bhâva. And the first fraction $(\frac{1258}{1875})$ indicates that the end of Bhâva occurred $\frac{1258}{1875}$ of one solar year[5]

[5] This may be seen from the fact that 1875 reduced to days by Table IV. yields one solar year (in accordance with the *Ârya-Siddhânta*):—

$$\begin{array}{rl} 1000 = & 194{\cdot}80463 \text{ days.} \\ 800 = & 155{\cdot}84370\ \ ,, \\ 70 = & 13{\cdot}63632\ \ ,, \\ 5 = & 0{\cdot}97402\ \ ,, \\ \hline 1875 = & 365{\cdot}25867 \text{ days.} \end{array}$$

before the commencement of Saka 1311, expired, (or the end of Saka 1311, current). This fraction may be reduced to days by my Table IV. (which is based on Warren's Tables XIV. and XVI.), as follows:—

numerator	1000	=	194·80463	days.
„	200	=	38·96093	„
„	50	=	9·74023	„
„	8	=	1·55844	„
	$\frac{1258}{1875}$	=	245·06423	days.

And deducting this amount from the commencement of the expired Saka year (which in the present instance has been found already under 1), we find exactly when the year Bhâva ended, or, which is the same, when the following year Yuvan began:—

Saka 1311 expired	2228	475·3281
	—	245·0642
remainder	2228	230·2639,

i.e. 24th July, A.D. 1388, 6 h. 20 m.,—end of Bhâva or commencement of Yuvan.

Or, to give another example (*Kâla-Saṁkalita*, p. 203), for the commencement of Saka 1 current, = Saka 0 expired, we find—

$$\frac{0 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 2\,\frac{541}{1875};\ \text{and}\ \frac{0+2}{60} = 0\,\frac{2}{60};$$ *i.e.* Jupiter's year expired 2 = Vibhava.

And numerator	500	=	97·40231	days;
„	40	=	7·79218	„
„	1	=	0·19480	„
	$\frac{541}{1875}$	=	105·38929	days;

i.e., at the commencement of the Saka year 1 current, there had elapsed of the current Jupiter's year 3 = Sukla, 105 days 9 h. 20·6 m., which agrees with Warren's result to the very second;[6] and the year Sukla began—

epoch of Saka era	1749	621·1979
	—	105·3893
remainder	1749	515·8086,

i.e. 19 h. 24·4 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 29th November, A.D. 77.

3. The working of the Jyôtistattva rule shows that, according to the rule, the length of the ordinary Jupiter's year is $\frac{1853}{1875}$ of a solar year, *i.e.* 360·9730 (or, more accurately, 360·972978706) days; and, having found the end of one Jupiter's year, we therefore find the beginning of the same year, or the end of the following year, by simply either deducting that amount from, or adding it to, the number of days previously found (without starting afresh from the preceding or following Saka year). For instance, —

end of Bhâva (under 2)	2228	230·2639
	—	360·9730
remainder	2227	869·2909,

[6] In a note on pp. 203 and 204 Warren has shown by an elaborate calculation that, by the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, there had elapsed of the year Sukla, at the end of Kaliyuga 3179 or the commencement of Saka 1 current — 70 days 8 d. 56 p. 30·9865 c. = 70 days 3 h. 34 m. 36s. = 70·1490 days.

As the year Sukla (the 37th year of the cycle, when counted from Vijaya) in Kaliyuga 3179 was the 3217th year, and the preceding year Vibhava the 3216th year of Jupiter, from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, we find —

end of Kaliyuga 3179	= 1749	621·1893
less end of Vibhava	= 1749	553·1878
remainder		68·0015;

i.e. the end of Vibhava or commencement of Sukla preceded the end of Kaliyuga 3179 really by only 68·0015 days (or by 2·1475 days less than was found by Warren).

i.e. 29th July, A.D. 1387, 6 h. 5·89 m., — beginning of Bhâva ;

end of Bhâva (under 2)	2228	230·2639
	+	360·9730
sum	2228	591·2369,

i.e. 20th July, A.D. 1389, 5 h. 41·1 m., — end of Yuvan.

And in a similar manner it would be possible, without starting a new calculation, to ascertain the end of any previous or subsequent year (as will be shown below, *not separated* from the year the end of which has already been found, *by an expunction*), by either subtracting or adding one ordinary Jupiter's year multiplied by the difference in the Sixty-Year Cycle between the year the end of which we know and the year the end of which we wish to find. For instance, given the end of Bhâva (No. 8), we find the end of the year Târaṇa (No. 18), by adding 360·9730 (or 360·97298) × 10, thus :—

end of Bhâva	2228	230·2639
+ (360·97298 × 10) =	3	609·7298
sum	2231	839·9937,

i.e. 11th June, A.D. 1398, 23 h. 50·9 m., — end of Târaṇa (No. 18).

4. Were we to calculate the Jupiter's years, *e.g.*, for the expired Śaka years 60 and 61, the result would be as follows :—

$$\frac{60 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 2\,\frac{1861}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{60 + 2}{60} = 1\,\frac{2}{60};$$
$$\frac{61 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 3\,\frac{8}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{61 + 3}{60} = 1\,\frac{4}{60}.$$

Here the numerators of the second fractions $\left(\frac{2}{60} \text{ and } \frac{4}{60}\right)$ tell us that, at the commencement of Śaka 60 expired, the Jupiter's year last expired was No. 2 = Vibhava, and the Jupiter's year current was No. 3 = Śukla ; and that, at the commencement of Śaka 61 expired, the Jupiter's year last expired was (*not* No. 3, but) No. 4 = Pramôda. The year Pramôda accordingly commenced after the beginning of Śaka 60 expired ; and since it ended before the close of the same year, it was **a kshaya or expunged year.** And from the first fractions $\left(\frac{1861}{1875} \text{ and } \frac{8}{1875}\right)$ we see that the duration of the year preceding the expunged year amounted to exactly one solar year, as may also be clearly demonstrated by the following figures :—

Numerator 1861 by Table IV.	=		362·53141
" 8 " " "	=		1·55844
Beginning of Śaka 60 expired	=	1771	536·71873
deduct for $\frac{1861}{1875}$	—		362·53141
End of No. 2 = Vibhava ...		1771	174·18732
Beginning of Śaka 61 expired.........	=	1771	901·97741
deduct for $\frac{8}{1875}$	—		1·55844
End of No. 4 = Pramôda ...		1771	900·41897
deduct for end of No. 2 = Vibhava.	—	1771	174·18732
remainder...........			726·23165 days;
which is made up of one solar year...	=		365·25868
+ one ordinary Jupiter's year...........	=		360·97297
sum			726·23165 days.

With the above datá, and assuming the occasions of expunged years to be known,[7] we might now of course calculate the end of any of Jupiter's years whatever, taking as our basis the end of any one year which may happen to be already known to us. For instance, the end of the

[7] Expunged years fell within the expired Śaka years 60, 145, 231, 316, 401, 486, 571, 657, 742, 827, 912, 998, 1083, 1168, 1253, 1339, 1424, 1509, 1594, 1679, 1765.

year Bhâva, which precedes 'Saka 1311 expired, being known, we find the end and value of the Jupiter's year immediately preceding the present year, Śaka 1811 expired, thus :—

('Saka 1311), end of Bhâva	2228 230·2639
(Śaka 1811—1311 =) 500 ordinary Jupiter's years . .	180 486·4888
6 solar years, for six expunctions between 'Saka 1311 and 1811	2 191·5521
sum	2410 908·3048;

i.e. 27th September, A.D. 1888, new style, 7 h. 18·9 m., — end of the Jupiter's year which preceded the commencement of Śaka 1811 expired. And since Bhâva was the 8th year of the cycle, the year, the end of which we have thus ascertained, is $(8 + 500 + 6 = \frac{514}{60} = 8\frac{34}{60})$ Śarvarin, the 34th year of the cycle.[8]

C.—The Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ rule.

The Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ rule (Kern's translation, *Jour. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. V. p. 48, agrees with the Jyôtistattva rule, except that, — instead of multiplying by 22, adding 4291, and dividing by 1875, — we are directed to multiply by 44, to add 8589, and to divide by 3750. Applying this rule to the 'Saka year 1311 expired, we find :—

$$\frac{1311 \times 44 + 8589}{3750} = 17\frac{2523}{3750}, \text{ and } \frac{1311+17}{60} = 22\frac{8}{60}.$$

The fraction $\frac{2523}{3750}$, being equal to $\frac{1261\frac{1}{2}}{1875}$, is converted into days by Table IV. as follows :—

numerator 1000	=	194·80463 days;
„ 200	=	38·96093 „
„ 60	=	11·68828 „
„ 1	=	0·19480 „
„ ½	=	0·09740 „
$\frac{1261\frac{1}{2}}{1875} = \frac{2523}{3750}$	=	245·74604 days.

Deducting this amount from the commencement of

'Saka 1311 expired =	2228 475·3281
	— 245·7460
we obtain	2228 229·5821,

i.e. 23rd July, A.D. 1388, 13 h. 58·2 m., for the end of Bhâva or commencement of Yuvan, according to the Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ rule.

In other words, the Jupiter's year, by this rule, ends earlier than it does by the Jyôtistattva

---

[8] Calculating in the ordinary way, we have—

$$\frac{1811 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 23\frac{1008}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{1811 + 23}{60} = 30\frac{34}{60}.$$

Year last expired: 34 = Śarvarin, the end of which precedes the beginning of Śaka 1811 expired by

numerator 1000	=	194·80463
„ 8	=	1·55844
$\frac{1008}{1875}$	=	196·36307 days.

Beginning of Śaka 1811 expired :	365·25868055 × 1811
	661483·47047605
	+1749621·1979
	2411104·66837
deduct for $\frac{1008}{1875}$	— 196·36307
remainder	2410908·3053 ; which differs from the above result by 42 seconds.

I may state that handy Tables for the Jupiter-years according to the Jyôtistattva, based on the above *data*, and similar Tables for the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, will be published in a following number of this Journal.

rule (B 2, above), exactly as much as $\frac{8589}{3750}$ is larger than $\frac{4291}{1875}$. The difference between these two fractions amounts to $\frac{7}{3750} = \frac{3\frac{1}{2}}{1875} =$

numerator 3 = 0·58441 days,
 „ ½ = 0·09740 „

$\frac{7}{3750}$ = 0·68181 days;

and this is the very difference between the results of the two rules;[9] for —

	end of Bhâva by Jyô. t. rule	2228	230·2639;
deduct	„ „ „ „ Bṛi. S. rule	2228	229·5821;
end of Bhâva by Jyôt. t. rule, later by			0·6818 days = 16 h. 21·8 m.

D.—The Cycle-year according to the so-called Têliṅga rule.

According to this rule, the Jupiter's year coincides with the luni-solar year; and the name of the current Jupiter's year may be found thus:—To the expired year of the Kaliyuga add 13; to the expired Śaka year, 12; and from the expired Vikrama year subtract 3; divide (the sum or the remainder) by 60; the remainder gives the number of the current Jupiter's year, counting from Prabhava (inclusive).[10] Thus—

for K. Y. 4490 expired, = S. 1311 expired, = V. 1446 expired, we have:—

4490	1311	1446
+ 13	+ 12	— 3
4503	1323	1443,

divided by 60 in every case the remainder is 3 = Śukla.

Simplification of a portion of the preceding Rules.

The working of the Sûrya-Siddhânta and Jyôtistattva rules, as described above, is rendered somewhat tedious by the various multiplications which have to be gone through to find the ends of the several years. To facilitate this part of the process, I append Tables V. and VI., from which the ends of the years may be found simply by addition. In these Tables the figures for the epochs of the eras have been included in the figures for the days corresponding to the units of the years; and, as regards their use, it need only be observed that the figures for the days corresponding to the year 0 must necessarily be added up with the rest, whenever the unit of the figures for the year is 0.

To show the working of these Tables,[11] we will ask:—

(a) On what day of the Julian period, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, did the solar year Kaliyuga 4870, current, end (or the year 4871, current, begin)?

(b) When did Jupiter's year 4926 (Vilamba), without Bîja, end?

(c) According to the *Árya-Siddhánta*, when did Śaka 1311, expired, begin?

---

[9] So far as I can see, the only important difference in the results obtained by the Brihat-Saṁhitâ rule is that, in accordance with it, expunctions take place in the expired Śaka years 230, 997, and 1338, instead of taking place, as is the case by the Jyôtistattva rule, in the expired Śaka years 231, 998, and 1339.

[10] When I wrote the above, I had not seen the following passage in Alberuni's *India*, Sachau's Translation, Vol. II. p. 129:—"This is the method for the determination of the years of the *shashṭyabda*, as recorded in their books. However, I have seen Hindus who subtract 3 from the era of Vikramâditya, and divide the remainder by 60. The remainder they count off from the beginning of the great *yuga*. This method is not worth anything. By-the-bye: it is the same whether you reckon in the manner mentioned, or add 12 to the Śakakâla."

[11] The results obtained from Table VI. for the commencement of the Śaka year, in accordance with the *Árya-Siddhânta*, agree exactly with the beginnings of the years, as put down in Warren's First Chronological Table, pp. xxi—xxvi. As regards the results obtained from Table V., A., for the commencement of the solar year in accordance with the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, I may state that they will be found to be uniformly later by 28 minutes 36 seconds than the results obtained from Professor Keru Lakshman's and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, published *ante*, Vol. XVII., pp. 269-272. Professor Keru Lakshman's results being for Bombay time and my own for Ujjain time, the real difference is 15 minutes 36 seconds, by which my results are uniformly later, and by which, accordingly, Keru Lakshman has put the Mêsha-saṁkrânti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga earlier than I have done. Taking the difference between Ujjain time and Bombay time to be 13 minutes, Keru Lakshman's Mêsha-saṁkrânti, expressed in days of the Julian period, would be 588 463·5916 days.

TABLE I.

For converting a day of the Julian period into the European date.

Old Style.

Year A.D.	Day of Julian period.
0	1721 057
100	1757 582
200	1794 107
300	1830 632
400	1867 157
500	1903 682
600	1940 207
700	1976 732
800	2013 257
900	2049 782
1000	2086 307
1100	2122 832
1200	2159 357
1300	2195 882
1400	2232 407
1500	2268 932
1600	2305 457
1700	2341 982

New Style.[12]

Year A.D.	Day of Julian period.
1700	2341 971
1800	2378 495
1900	2415 019

Year.	I Jan.	II Feb.	III March	IV April	V May	VI June	VII July	VIII Aug.	IX Sept.	X Oct.	XI Nov.	XII Dec.
00	{12 g.K.} 001	032	060	091	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335
00	000	031	060	091	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335
01	366	397	425	456	486	517	547	578	609	639	670	700
02	731	762	790	821	851	882	912	943	974	*004*	*035*	*065*
03	1 096	127	155	186	216	247	277	308	339	369	400	430
04	461	492	521	552	582	613	643	674	705	735	766	796
05	827	858	886	917	947	978	*008*	*039*	*070*	*100*	*131*	*161*
06	2 192	223	251	282	312	343	373	404	435	465	496	526
07	557	588	616	647	677	708	738	769	800	830	861	891
08	922	953	982	*013*	*043*	*074*	*104*	*135*	*166*	*196*	*227*	*257*
09	3 288	319	347	378	408	439	469	500	531	561	592	622
10	653	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11	4 018	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
12	383	414	443	474	504	535	565	596	627	657	688	718
13	749	780	808	839	869	900	930	961	992	*022*	*053*	*083*
14	5 114	145	173	204	234	265	295	326	357	387	418	448
15	479	510	538	569	599	630	660	691	722	752	783	813
16	844	875	904	935	965	996	*026*	*057*	*088*	*118*	*149*	*179*
17	6 210	241	269	300	330	361	391	422	453	483	514	544
18	575	606	634	665	695	726	756	787	818	848	879	909
19	940	971	999	*030*	*060*	*091*	*121*	*152*	*183*	*213*	*244*	*274*
20	7 305	336	365	396	426	457	487	518	549	579	610	640
21	671	702	730	761	791	822	852	883	914	944	975	*005*
22	8 036	067	095	126	156	187	217	248	279	309	340	370
23	401	432	460	491	521	552	582	613	644	674	705	735
24	766	797	826	857	887	918	948	979	*010*	*040*	*071*	*101*
25	9 132	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
26	497	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
27	862	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
28	10 227	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
29	593	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
30	958	989	*017*	*048*	*078*	*109*	*139*	*170*	*201*	*231*	*262*	*292*
31	11 323	354	382	413	443	474	504	535	566	596	627	657
32	688	719	748	779	809	840	870	901	932	962	993	*023*
33	12 054	085	113	144	174	205	235	266	297	327	358	388
34	419	450	478	509	539	570	600	631	662	692	723	753
35	784	815	843	874	904	935	965	996	*027*	*057*	*088*	*118*
36	13 149	180	209	240	270	301	331	362	393	423	454	484
37	515	546	574	605	635	666	696	727	758	788	819	849
38	880	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
39	14 245	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
40	610	641	670	701	731	762	792	823	854	884	915	945
41	976	*007*	*035*	*066*	*096*	*127*	*157*	*188*	*219*	*249*	*280*	*310*
42	15 341	372	400	431	461	492	522	553	584	614	645	675
43	706	737	765	796	826	857	887	918	949	979	*010*	*040*
44	16 071	102	131	162	192	223	253	284	315	345	376	406
45	437	468	496	527	557	588	618	649	680	710	741	771
46	802	833	861	892	922	953	983	*014*	*045*	*075*	*106*	*136*
47	17 167	198	226	257	287	318	348	379	410	440	471	501
48	532	563	592	623	653	684	714	745	776	806	837	867
49	898	929	957	988	*018*	*049*	*079*	*110*	*141*	*171*	*202*	*232*

Year.	I Jan.	II Feb.	III March	IV April	V May	VI June	VII July	VIII Aug.	IX Sept.	X Oct.	XI Nov.	XII Dec.
50	18 263	294	322	353	383	414	444	475	506	536	567	597
51	628	659	687	718	748	779	809	840	871	901	932	962
52	993	*024*	*053*	*084*	*114*	*145*	*175*	*206*	*237*	*267*	*298*	*328*
53	19 359	390	418	449	479	510	540	571	602	632	663	693
54	724	755	783	814	844	875	905	936	967	997	*028*	*058*
55	20 089	120	148	179	209	240	270	301	332	362	393	423
56	454	485	514	545	575	606	636	667	698	728	759	789
57	820	851	879	910	940	971	*001*	*032*	*063*	*093*	*124*	*154*
58	21 185	216	244	275	305	336	366	397	428	458	489	519
59	550	581	609	640	670	701	731	762	793	823	854	884
[illegible]	915	946	975	*006*	*036*	*067*	*097*	*128*	*159*	*189*	*220*	*250*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	615
62	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
63	23 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
64	376	407	436	467	497	528	558	589	620	650	681	711
65	742	773	801	832	862	893	923	954	985	*015*	*046*	*076*
66	24 107	138	166	197	227	258	288	319	350	380	411	441
67	472	503	531	562	592	623	653	684	715	745	776	806
68	837	868	897	928	958	989	*019*	*050*	*081*	*111*	*142*	*172*
69	25 203	234	262	293	323	354	384	415	446	476	507	537
70	568	599	627	658	688	719	749	780	811	841	872	902
71	933	964	992	*023*	*053*	*084*	*114*	*145*	*176*	*206*	*237*	*267*
72	26 298	329	358	389	419	450	480	511	542	572	603	633
73	664	695	723	754	784	815	845	876	907	937	968	998
74	27 029	060	088	119	149	180	210	241	272	302	333	363
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	28 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	855	886	914	945	975	*006*	*036*	*067*	*098*	*128*	*159*	*189*
80	29 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
81	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
82	951	982	*010*	*041*	*071*	*102*	*132*	*163*	*194*	*224*	*255*	*285*
83	30 316	347	375	406	436	467	497	528	559	589	620	650
84	681	712	741	772	802	833	863	894	925	955	986	*016*
85	31 047	078	106	137	167	198	228	259	290	320	351	381
86	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
87	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
90	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*207*
91	33 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	572
92	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	908	938
93	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*273*	*303*
94	34 334	365	393	424	454	485	515	546	577	607	638	668
95	699	730	758	789	819	850	880	911	942	972	*003*	*033*
96	35 064	095	124	155	185	216	246	277	308	338	369	399
97	430	461	489	520	550	581	611	642	673	703	734	764
98	795	826	854	885	915	946	976	*007*	*038*	*068*	*099*	*129*
99	36 160	191	219	250	280	311	341	372	403	433	464	494

12 When calculating for one of the secular years 1700, 1800, 1900, new style, use the line 00 {g. K.}, not 00.

(a) End of Kaliyuga 4870 current, by Table V, A.	(b) End of Jupiter's year 4926, without Bîja, by Table V, B.	(c) Commencement of Saka 1311, expired, by Table VI.
4000 = 1461 035·02600	4000 = 1444 106·88412	1000 = 365 258·68055
800 = 292 207·00520	900 = 324 924·04893	300 = 109 577·60416
70 = 25 568·11295	20 = 7 220·53442	10 = 3 652·58681
0 = 588 463·60240	6 = 590 631·91033	1 = 1749 986·45658
4870 = 2367 273·74655;	4926 = 2366 883·37780;	1311 = 2228 475·32810;

just as has been found above, pp. 193, 194, and 198, by multiplication and by the addition of the epochs.

The Saṁkrântis and Solar Months.

For those who would wish to use the Tables V. A. and VI. to ascertain the exact end of a solar month or the occasion of a Saṁkrânti, I have added Table VII. which gives the collective numbers of days of the solar months. To give an example for the use of this Table, we will ask :—When did the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, take place in Vikrama 1234 = Kaliyuga 4278 expired (above, p. 138) ?

By Table V. A,	4000 =	1461 035·02600
	200 =	73 051·75130
	70 =	25 568·11295
	8 =	591 385·67245
By Table VII., Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti	=	275·65844
	sum	2151 316·22114 ;

which by Tables I. and II. corresponds to 25th December, A.D. 1177, 5 h. 18·4 m. Accordingly, in Vikrama 1234 expired, the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti took place, at Ujjain, 5 h. 18·4 m. after mean sunrise of 25th December, A.D. 1177.

An Example for All Rules.

To show the working of the above rules, I select a date which is given in Professor Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. II. p. 55, and which runs thus:—

Saṁvat 1531 Śâkê 1396 pravarttamânê **Subhakṛita(n)**-nâmni saṁvatsarê......Kârttika-śudi 9 Budha-vâsarê Dhanishṭhâ-nakshatrê Vṛiddhi-yôgê Kaulava-karaṇê . . . . *i.e.* 'while the (Vikrama) year 1531 (and) the Saka year 1396 is proceeding, in (Jupiter's) year **Subhakṛit,** on the 9th of the bright half of Kârttika, on Wednesday, the *nakshatra* being Dhanishṭhâ, the *yôga* Vṛiddhi, and the *karaṇa* Kaulava' . . . .

The corresponding European date (for the Vikrama year 1531 and the Saka year 1396, both expired, notwithstanding the expression *pravartamânê* in the date), undoubtedly is **Wednesday, 19th October, A.D. 1474,** when the 9th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karaṇa* Kaulava ended 13 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in Dhanishṭhâ up to 12 h. 29 m., and the *yôga* was Vṛiddhi up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. And what concerns us now, is to find the beginning or end, or both, of the year **Subhakṛit** which is mentioned in the date, in accordance with the different rules.

(a). The year Subhakṛit according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta.

To find the commencement of Subhakṛit, is equivalent to finding the end of the preceding year Plava, which is the 9th year of the cycle counted from Vijaya (inclusive). We now have :—

Vikrama 1531 + 3044 = Kaliyuga 4575 ; divided by 85 = 53 $\frac{70}{85}$ = 54; 4575 + 54 = 4629 ; divided by 60 leaves remainder 9.

Accordingly Plava (the 9th year of the cycle, from Vijaya) was the 4629th year of Jupiter

TABLE II.

For converting the decimals of the day into hours and minutes.

d 0.	h	m	d 0.	h	m	d 0·00	m	d 0·00	m
00	0	0·0	50	12	0·0	00	0·0	50	7·2
01	0	14·4	51	12	14·4	01	0·1	51	7·3
02	0	28·8	52	12	28·8	02	0·3	52	7·5
03	0	43·2	53	12	43·2	03	0·4	53	7·6
04	0	57·6	54	12	57·6	04	0·6	54	7·8
05	1	12·0	55	13	12·0	05	0·7	55	7·9
06	1	26·4	56	13	26·4	06	0·9	56	8·1
07	1	40·8	57	13	40·8	07	1·0	57	8·2
08	1	55·2	58	13	55·2	08	1·2	58	8·4
09	2	9·6	59	14	9·6	09	1·3	59	8·5
10	2	24·0	60	14	24·0	10	1·4	60	8·6
11	2	38·4	61	14	38·4	11	1·6	61	8·8
12	2	52·8	62	14	52·8	12	1·7	62	8·9
13	3	7·2	63	15	7·2	13	1·9	63	9·1
14	3	21·6	64	15	21·6	14	2·0	64	9·2
15	3	36·0	65	15	36·0	15	2·2	65	9·4
16	3	50·4	66	15	50·4	16	2·3	66	9·5
17	4	4·8	67	16	4·8	17	2·4	67	9·6
18	4	19·2	68	16	19·2	18	2·6	68	9·8
19	4	33·6	69	16	33·6	19	2·7	69	9·9
20	4	48·0	70	16	48·0	20	2·9	70	10·1
21	5	2·4	71	17	2·4	21	3·0	71	10·2
22	5	16·8	72	17	16·8	22	3·2	72	10·4
23	5	31·2	73	17	31·2	23	3·3	73	10·5
24	5	45·6	74	17	45·6	24	3·5	74	10·7
25	6	0·0	75	18	0·0	25	3·6	75	10·8
26	6	14·4	76	18	14·4	26	3·7	76	10·9
27	6	28·8	77	18	28·8	27	3·9	77	11·1
28	6	43·2	78	18	43·2	28	4·0	78	11·2
29	6	57·6	79	18	57·6	29	4·2	79	11·4
30	7	12·0	80	19	12·0	30	4·3	80	11·5
31	7	26·4	81	19	26·4	31	4·5	81	11·7
32	7	40·8	82	19	40·8	32	4·6	82	11·8
33	7	55·2	83	19	55·2	33	4·8	83	12·0
34	8	9·6	84	20	9·6	34	4·9	84	12·1
35	8	24·0	85	20	24·0	35	5·0	85	12·2
36	8	38·4	86	20	38·4	36	5·2	86	12·4
37	8	52·8	87	20	52·8	37	5·3	87	12·5
38	9	7·2	88	21	7·2	38	5·5	88	12·7
39	9	21·6	89	21	21·6	39	5·6	89	12·8
40	9	36·0	90	21	36·0	40	5·8	90	13·0
41	9	50·4	91	21	50·4	41	5·9	91	13·1
42	10	4·8	92	22	4·8	42	6·0	92	13·2
43	10	19·2	93	22	19·2	43	6·2	93	13·4
44	10	33·6	94	22	33·6	44	6·3	94	13·5
45	10	48·0	95	22	48·0	45	6·5	95	13·7
46	11	2·4	96	23	2·4	46	6·6	96	13·8
47	11	16·8	97	23	16·8	47	6·8	97	14·0
48	11	31·2	98	23	31·2	48	6·9	98	14·1
49	11	45·6	99	23	45·6	49	7·1	99	14·3

TABLE III.

The Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

(The figures to the right refer to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule only.)

No.	Name.	No.	No.	Name.	No.
1	Prabhava	35	31	Hêmalamba ...	5
2	Vibhava	36	32	Vilamba	6
3	Śukla............	37	33	Vikârin.........	7
4	Pramôda	38	34	Śarvarin	8
5	Prajâpati	39	35	Plava............	9
6	Aṅgiras.........	40	36	Śubhakṛit......	10
7	Śrîmukha	41	37	Śôbhana	11
8	Bhâva	42	38	Krôdhin	12
9	Yuvan	43	39	Viśvâvasu......	13
10	Dhâtṛi	44	40	Parâbhava ..	14
11	Îśvara	45	41	Plavanga	15
12	Bahudhânya...	46	42	Kîlaka	16
13	Pramâthin ...	47	43	Saumya.........	17
14	Vikrama	48	44	Sâdhârana ...	18
15	Bhṛiśya	49	45	Virôdhakṛit...	19
16	Chitrabhânu...	50	46	Paridhâvin ...	20
17	Subhânu	51	47	Pramâdin......	21
18	Târaṇa	52	48	Ânanda.........	22
19	Pârthiva	53	49	Râkshasa	23
20	Vyaya	54	50	Anala	24
21	Sarvajit.........	55	51	Piṅgala.........	25
22	Sarvadhârin...	56	52	Kâlayukta ...	26
23	Virôdhin	57	53	Siddhârthin...	27
24	Vikṛita	58	54	Raudra.........	28
25	Khara	59	55	Durmati	29
26	Nandana	60	56	Dundubhi......	30
27	Vijaya	1	57	Rudhirôdgârin	31
28	Jaya	2	58	Raktâksha ...	32
29	Manmatha ...	3	59	Krôdhana......	33
30	Durmukha ...	4	60	Kshaya.........	34

TABLE IV.

For converting the fraction of the first term of the Jyôtistattva and Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ rules into days.

Numerator.	Days.	Numerator.	Days.	Numerator.	Days.
1000	194·80463	100	19·48046	10	1·94805
900	175·32417	90	17·53242	9	1·75324
800	155·84370	80	15·58437	8	1·55844
700	136·36324	70	13·63632	7	1·36363
600	116·88278	60	11·68828	6	1·16883
500	97·40231	50	9·74023	5	0·97402
400	77·92185	40	7·79218	4	0·77922
300	58·44139	30	5·84414	3	0·58441
200	38·96093	20	3·89609	2	0·38961
100	19·48046	10	1·94805	1	0·19480
				½	0·09740

since the commencement of the Kaliyuga; and to find the end of Plava (or commencement of Śubhakṛit), without Bîja, we proceed by Table V, B.: —

4000	=	1444 106·88412
600	=	216 616·03262
20	=	7 220·53442
9	=	591 714·99049
4629	=	2259 658·4416,

i.e. 10th August, A.D. 1474, 10 h. 35·9 m., — end of Plava, or commencement of Śubhakṛit, without Bîja; and, to find the end of Śubhakṛit without Bîja, by adding one year without Bîja, —

2259 658·4416
+ 361·0267
2260 019·4683,

i.e. 6th August, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 14·4 m., — end of Śubhakṛit, without Bîja.

Similarly, for the end of Plava (or commencement of Śubhakṛit) with Bîja, we have by Table V, C.:—

4000	=	1444 138·60424
600	=	216 620·79064
20	=	7 220·69302
9	=	591 715·06186
4629	=	2259 695·1498,

i.e. 16th September, A.D. 1474, 3 h. 35·7 m., — end of Plava, or commencement of Śubhakṛit, with Bîja; and, for the end of Śubhakṛit with Bîja, by adding one year with Bîja,—

2259 695·1498
+ 361·0347
2260 056·1845,

i.e. 12th September, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 25·7 m., — end of Śubhakṛit, with Bîja.

Anyone who will take the trouble to calculate, *e.g.*, the commencement of Śubhakṛit with Bîja, by Warren's Tables, will find that, according to them, Śubhakṛit began 194 days 16 h. 4 m. 38 s. before the commencement of Kaliyuga 4576 expired; while according to my result it began only 192 days, 12 h. 32 m. 6 s. before the same moment, *i.e.* 2 days, 3 h. 32 m. 32 s. later (Kaliyuga 4576 expired having begun, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, 27th March, A.D. 1475, 16 h. 7·8 m.,—though for us this is of no moment whatever). And in the present case, one disadvantage of the rules given in the *Kâla-Saṁkalita* is that, starting as we must from Vikrama 1531 = Kaliyuga 4575 expired, we do not find the beginning of Śubhakṛit at all, and that, after we have written out one set of figures and have discovered the uselessness of proceeding any further, we must start a new calculation and write out another set of figures, with the basis of Kaliyuga 4576 expired.

(b). The year Śubhakṛit according to the Jyôtistattva.

Here it must be borne in mind that Śubhakṛit is the 36th and Plava the 35th year of the cycle, counted from Prabhava inclusive.

Starting now from Śaka 1396 expired, the year mentioned in the date, we have —

$$\frac{1396 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 18\frac{1253}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{1396 + 18}{60} = 23\frac{34}{60}.$$

Here the numerator of the second fraction $(\frac{34}{60})$ at once shows that, at the commencement of Śaka 1396 expired, the last expired year of the cycle was only 34 = Śarvarin; but (to avoid a fresh start with the basis of Śaka 1397 expired) we shall nevertheless go on with our calculation, to find the end of Śarvarin; to which we shall then add one ordinary Jupiter's year to find the end of Plava (or commencement of Śubhakṛit); having found which, we shall add another year

TABLE V.

For finding the end of any solar year of the Kaliyuga, and of the Cycle-year without or with Bîja, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta.

Years.	A.—Days for solar years.	B.—Days for cycle-years without Bîja.	C.—Days for cycle-years with Bîja.
5000	1826 293·78250	1805 133·60515	1805 173·25530
4000	1461 035·02600	1444 106·88412	1444 138·60424
3000	1095 776·26950	1083 080·16309	1083 103·95318
2000	730 517·51300	722 053·44206	722 069·30212
1000	365 258·75650	361 026·72103	361 034·65106
900	328 732·88085	324 924·04893	324 931·18595
800	292 207·00520	288 821·37682	288 827·72085
700	255 681·12955	252 718·70472	252 724·25574
600	219 155·25390	216 616·03262	216 620·79064
500	182 629·37825	180 513·36051	180 517·32553
400	146 103·50260	144 410·68841	144 413·86042
300	109 577·62695	108 308·01631	108 310·39532
200	73 051·75130	72 205·34421	72 206·93021
100	36 525·87565	36 102·67210	36 103·46511
90	32 873·28808	32 492·40489	32 493·11860
80	29 220·70052	28 882·13768	28 882·77208
70	25 568·11295	25 271·87047	25 272·42557
60	21 915·52539	21 661·60326	21 662·07906
50	18 262·93782	18 051·33605	18 051·73255
40	14 610·35026	14 441·06884	14 441·38604
30	10 957·76269	10 830·80163	10 831·03953
20	7 305·17513	7 220·53442	7 220·69302
10	3 652·58756	3 610·26721	3 610·34651
9	591 750·93121	591 714·99049	591 715·06186
8	591 385·67245	591 353·96377	591 354·02721
7	591 020·41370	590 992·93705	590 992·94256
6	590 655·15494	590 631·91033	590 631·95791
5	590 289·89618	590 270·88361	590 270·92326
4	589 924·63743	589 909·85688	589 909·88860
3	589 559·37867	589 548·83016	589 548·85395
2	589 194·11991	589 187·80344	589 187·81930
1	588 828·86116	588 826·77672	588 826·78465
0	588 463·60240	588 465·75000	588 465·75000

TABLE VI.

For finding the end of any solar year of the Saka era according to the Ârya-Siddhânta.

Years.	Days for solar years of the Śaka era.
1000	365 258·68055
900	328 732·81249
800	292 206·94444
700	255 681·07638
600	219 155·20833
500	182 629·34027
400	146 103·47222
300	109 577·60416
200	73 051·73611
100	36 525·86805
90	32 873·28125
80	29 220·69444
70	25 568·10764
60	21 915·52083
50	18 262·93403
40	14 610·34722
30	10 957·76042
20	7 305·17361
10	3 652·58681
9	1752 908·52602
8	1752 543·26734
7	1752 178·[illegible]
6	1751 812·71998
5	1751 447·45130
4	1751 [illegible]
3	1750 716·97[illegible]
2	1750 351·71526
1	1749 986·15658
0	1749 621·19790

TABLE VII.

For collective days of Solar Months.

	End of month	Saṁkrânti.	By Surya-Siddhânta.	By Ârya-Siddhânta.
1	Vaiśâkha.	Vṛisha	30·92557	30·92556
2	Jyaishtha.	Mithuna.	62·32891	62·32890
3	Âshâdha.	Karkaṭa ; Dakshiṇâyana	93·93948	93·93946
4	Śrâvana	Siṁha	125·40949	125·40947
5	Bhâdrapada.	Kanyâ	156·44562	156·44558
6	Âśvina.	Tulâ	186·90174	186·90170
7	Kârttika	Vṛischika.	216·86370	216·86365
8	Mârgaśiras	Dhanuḥ	246·31068	246·31062
9	Pausha.	Makara ; Uttarâyaṇa	275·65844	275·65838
10	Mâgha.	Kumbha.	305·11290	305·11283
11	Phâlguna.	Mîna.	334·91958	334·91950
12	Chaitra.	Mêsha.	365·25876	365·25868

to find the end of 'Subhakṛit (the next expunction being due only in 'Saka 1424 expired). We have then—

numerator	1000 =	194·80463	days
„	200 =	38·96093	„
„	50 =	9·74023	„
„	3 =	0·58441	„
	$\frac{1253}{1875}$ =	244·09020	days ;

and for the commencement of 'Saka 1396 expired, by Table VII. —

1000 =	365 258·68055	
300 =	109 577·60416	
90 =	32 873·28125	
6 =	1751 812·74998	
1396 =	2259 522·3159	commencement of 'Saka 1396 expired ;
	— 244·0902	
	2259 278·2257	end of 'Sarvarin (No. 34) ;
	+ 360·9730	
	2259 639·1987	end of Plava (No. 35) or commencement of 'Subhakṛit ;
	+ 360·9730	
	2260 000·1717	end of 'Subhakṛit (No. 36).

Converting now the days of the Julian period for the beginning and end of 'Subhakṛit, we find :—

commencement of 'Subhakṛit : 22nd July, A.D. 1474, 4 h. 46·1 m. ;
end of 'Subhakṛit : 18th July, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 7·2 m.

(c). The year 'Subhakṛit by the Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ rule.

Having already found the commencement and end of 'Subhakṛit by the Jyôtistattva rule, we find the same, in accordance with the Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ rule, by deducting from the sums of days found, in either case, 0·6818[1].

Commencement of 'Subhakṛit by Jyôtistattva rule : 2259 639·1987
— 0·6818
2259 638·5169,

i.e. 21st July. A.D. 1474, 12 h. 24·3 m., — commencement of 'Subhakṛit by Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ rule.

End of 'Subhakṛit by Jyôtistattva rule : 2260 000·1717
— 0·6818
2259 999·4899,

i.e. 17th July, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 45·5 m., — end of 'Subhakṛit by Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ rule.

(d). By the Tĕlinga rule

the Jupiter's year for Vikrama 1531 and 'Saka 1396, both expired, would be the 28th year of the cycle, counted from Prabhava, *i.e.* Jaya, and the year 'Subhakṛit would not be due till Vikrama 1539 or 'Saka 1404, expired.

The result then is that the year **'Subhakṛit,** which is mentioned in the date, lasted, —

by the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, —
without Bîja, from 10th August, A.D. 1474, 10 h. 35·9 m., to 6th August, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 14·4 m. ;
with Bîja, from 16th September, A.D. 1474, 3 h. 35·7 m., to 12th September, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 25·7 m. ;

by the Jyôtistattva rule, —
from 22nd July, A.D. 1474, 4 h. 46·1 m., to 18th July, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 7·2 m. ;

by the Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ rule, —
from 21st July A.D. 1474, 12 h. 24·3 m., to 17th July, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 45·5 m.

And accordingly, by every one of the three rules, the date, **Wednesday, the 19th October, A.D. 1474**, did fall in the year **Subhakṛit**, and the writer of the date was strictly correct in quoting that year. — The result shows how necessary it may be to calculate exactly the commencement of a Jupiter's year; for, in accordance with the ordinary (and on the whole very useful) Tables, the writer certainly ought to have quoted the year Plava, because that year was current at the commencement of the solar year in which the date was written.

Illustration of the use of Table I.

(*a*) What was the European date (old style) for the day 2259 999 ?

Given the day...	2259 999		
Deduct next lower figure in column of centuries...	— 2232 407	=	A.D. 1400 (old style)
Remainder	27 592		
Deduct next lower figure in table of years.........	— 27 575	=	75, July ;
Remainder	17,		A.D. 1475, July.

Answer :—17th July, A.D. 1475, old style.

(*b*) What was the European date (new style) for the day 2410 637 ?

Given the day...	2410 637		
Deduct next lower figure in column of centuries (new style)	— 2378 495	=	A.D. 1800 (new style);
Remainder	32 142		
Deduct next lower figure in table of years..................	— 32 111	=	87, December ;
Remainder	31,		A.D. 1887, December.

Answer:—31st December, A.D. 1887, new style.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF CHEDI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit the first four of these inscriptions from rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Fleet, to whom they were made over by Sir A. Cunningham. And my account of the fifth inscription is also from a rubbing received in the same way; but in this instance, owing partly to the condition of the original inscription and partly to the deficiencies of the rubbing, I can do little more than point out the names of royal personages, which happen to be legible in the record, as it presents itself to me in the rubbing.

A. — Têwar Stone-Inscription of Gayâkarṇadêva.

The (Chêdi) year 902.

This inscription, according to Sir A. Cunningham,[1] is on a light-green stone, which appears to have been found at **Têwar**, the ancient **Tripurî**, once the capital city of the main branch of **the Kalachuri rulers of Chêdi**, and now a village about six miles to the west of Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces. No information is available as to where the stone is at present.

The inscription contains 22 lines. The **writing** covers a space of 12¾″ broad by 14¾″ high, and with the exception of perhaps one *akshara*, which is indistinct in the rubbing, it is in a state of perfect preservation. The **size of the letters** is between ⅜″ and $\frac{7}{16}$″. The **characters** are **Nâgarî**. The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, with the exception of the introductory *ôṁ namaḥ Sivâya*, the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards **orthography**, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, everywhere except in *bbhavêt*, line 16, *abdhiḥ*, line 19, and *abda* (?), line 21; and the dental is twice put for the palatal sibilant.

[1] *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 90, No. vi.

The **inscription** was composed by Prithvîdhara, the son of Dharaṇîdhara, and engraved **by** Mahîdhara[2] (lines 17-20); and its proper object is to record (in lines 5-17) the erection of **a** temple of 'Siva by a Pâśupata (or *pâñchârthika*[3]) ascetic, named Bhâvabrahman, a disciple of **the** ascetic Bhâvatêjas of the Ananta *gôtra*. There is nothing of special interest in this part of **the** inscription, excepting the name Gâhuṇḍa in line 15, which appears to be a local designation of 'Siva.

By way of introduction it is stated (in lines 3-4) that **in the gôtra of Atri** there was the king **Karṇadêva,** whose son was the king **Yaśaḥkarṇa,** from whom again sprang the ruling king **Gayakarṇadêva**; and (in lines 4-5) the wish is expressed that this **Gayâkarṇa,** together with his son, the *Yuvarâja* or heir apparent, **Narasiṁha,** may rule the earth for ever. **And Gayâkarṇadêva** is mentioned again in **the date,** in the concluding lines 20-22, according to which this eulogy was put up "on **Arkavâra or Sunday,** on the first lunar day in the bright half of the month 'Suchi (or Âshâḍha), while the illustrious **Gayâkarṇadêva** was protecting the country, when **the Chêdi time** had gone on increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years;" *i. e*, in the Chêdi year 902, on Sunday, the first of the bright half of Âshâḍha.

In the original, the first portion of the date (*nava-śata-yugal-âbd-âdhikya-gê Chêdi-dishṭê*) is oddly expressed; but as, with the exception of the first *akshara* in line 21, which might possibly be *ṅkâ*, every letter of the original is perfectly clear, and since *nava-śata* is 900 and *yugala* 'a pair' or 'couple' or 'two,' I do not see how *nava-śata-yugala* could mean anything but 902. Nor have I any doubt about the meaning of *Chêdi-dishṭé*; for according to the lexicographers *dishṭa* is one of the synonyms of *kâla*,[4] and *Chêdi-dishṭa* therefore is equivalent to *Chêdi-kâla*, with which may be compared the well-known *Mâlava-kâla*, used to indicate another era. I need hardly point out that, even if it had not been dated, the present inscription, in which Narasiṁha is described as *Yuvarâja*, would necessarily have had to be placed before the Chêdi year 907, the date of Alhaṇadêvî's inscription in which the same Narasiṁhadêva is spoken of as ruling prince.

As regards the European equivalent of the date, I have shown *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 216, No. 5, that, with my epoch of the Chêdi era, it is **Sunday, 17th June, A. D. 1151**; and having convinced myself that Sir A. Cunningham's latest statements regarding the original date are substantially correct, I now attach to the date its due value for helping to fix the epoch of the Chêdi era.

TEXT.[5]

1 Ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya ‖ Trailôkya[6]-sandha-śilpî yas=trivêdî-vâkya-satkaviḥ | nitya-prayatna-vô(bô)dh-êchchhaḥ sô=shṭamûrttiḥ śriyê=stu vaḥ ‖

2 Kaladhauta[7]-śuktir=iva chaṁdra-kalà jayati Smarântaka-śirô-vidhṛitâ | alik-âkshi-vahni-janit-ôgra-trishâ sutayâ gi-

3 rêḥ surasarit-payasê ‖ **Âtrêya**[8]**-gôtrê** 'khila-râja-chakra-jigîshu-râjô=jani **Karṇṇa-dêvaḥ** | tasmâd=**Yaśaḥkarṇṇa**-narêsva(śva)-

4 rô=bhût=tasy=âtmajô=yaṁ **Gayakarṇṇadêvaḥ** ‖ Â-kalpaṁ[9] pṛithivîṁ śâstu **śrîi Gayâkarṇṇa**-pârtthivaḥ | saṁgatô **Narasiṁhêna** yu-

---

[2] The same persons are mentioned in lines 26-29 of the inscription of Alhaṇadêvî of the Chêdi year 907; *Journal Americ. Or. Soc* Vol. VI. p. 508, and *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10. p. 109. And, as was first pointed out by Dr. Hall, in *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p 533, Nâmadêva, the son of Mahidhara, engraved an inscription (unpublished) of the year 926, which is now in the Nâgpur Museum.

[3] The dictionaries have no quotation for this word from the actual literature. Its meaning is evident from the *Sarvadarsana-saṁgraha*; see translation by Cowell and Gough, p 103.

[4] Compare, *e. g.*, *Amarakôsa*, Bo. Ed., p. 22, l. 8, *kâlô dishṭô=py=anêh=âpi.*—The word *dishṭa* does not appear to have been met with before, in this sense, in actual literature. Our writer, in my opinion, preferred it to the ordinary word *kâla*, because it begins with the same syllable with which the word *Chêdi* ends.

[5] From the rubbing.

[6] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[7] Metre, Pramitâksharâ; the second half of this verse does not admit of a proper construction.

[8] Metre, Upajâti.

[9] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

5 varâjêna sûnunâ ॥ Gôtrê[10] ऽ namta-samâhvayê=bhavad=ina-prakhyas=tapas-têjasâ drishtâ-drishta-viśuddha-karmma-niratah śrî-Bhâva-

6 têjâ guruh ॥(।) âchâryô=dbhuta-kêval-ârtha-vachasâm pâñchârtthikô yah sudhîh kâma-krôdha-ja-vargga-durgga-vipina-plôsha-

7 sya dâv-ânalah ॥ Śrutvâ[11] samast-âgama-yôga-śâstram vyâkhyâya cha nyâya-Kaṇâda-śâstram । abhyasya yah Pâśupatam cha yôgam

8 Śivasya sâyôjyam=avâpa vô(bô)dhât ॥ Prathamas[12]=tasya śishyô=yam Bhâva-vra(bra)hma-tapôdhanah । tapah-karmma-ratô nityam karmma-sâ[m]-

9 nyâsikô=pi yah ॥ Kaupînamâtra[13]-vasanah śuchi-bhasma-śâyî pamchârttha-vô(bô)dha-sukritî mita-bhaiksha-bhôjî । yô vra(bra)hmacharya-

10 vidhin=ânya-Sanatkumârah Pâtañjal-âgama-nirûpita-yôga-samgah ॥ Bhiksh[14]-ôpârjjita-kâñchan-ânna-vasanaih samprîṇayaty=a-

11 rtthinah snêhêna praguṇîkarôti sudhiyah samtarpitân=sûnritaih । klêś-ônmûlana-dharmmya-karmma-niratah sâkshâtkrita-

12 Tryamva(ba)kô Bhâvavra(bra)hma-samas=tapasvishu kalau drishṭô na pâñchârtthikah ॥ Parigraha[15]-vimuktô=pi [grihṇâ]ti hridi ya[h*] Śivam ।

13 kâma-krôdhau nigrihṇâti kshamâvân=api sad-vrataih ॥ Prâṇâyâma[16]-samâdhi-siddha-niyama-dhyân-âsanair=anv-aham yah kritvâ

14 hriday-âmvu(bu)jê Smara-ripum vu(bu)ddhyâ samabhyasyati । maitrî tasya sudhî-bhir=âtma-muditâ śâstr-âgamê yôginah śishyâṇâm karuṇâ

15 bhavêch=cha vishay-ôpêkshâ Śiva-jñânatah ॥ Rathayâtrôtsav[17]-ârchchâbhir=Ggâhumḍa-jagatîm=imâm । sô=lamchakâra prâkâra-devâgâra-mathair=a-

16 pi ॥ Pûrtt'na[18] dharmmêṇa nivarttakêna muktir=bbhavêt=samyaminaś=cha vô(bô)dhât । êtad=[d*]vayam prâptum=ayam mumukshur=vvyadhâpayad=dêvam=imam Śivasya ॥

17 Bhikshâ[19]-dhanêna tên=êdam mamdiram Kâma-vidvishah । kâritam muktayê bhaktyâ kîrttayê cha kritâtmanâm ॥ Śruti[20]-smrit-îhâsa[21]-purâṇa-vêttâ

18 viprah sudhîh śrî-Dharaṇîdharô=bhût । vyadhâd=imâm tat-tanayah praśastim Pritthvîdharas[22]=tarkka-viśuddha-vu(bu)ddhih ॥ Yâvan[23]=Mêruh sva-

19 rṇṇa-kumbhah prithivyâm yâvad=Gamgâ varttatê yâvad=abdhih । yâval=lôkê chamdra-sûryau chakâstah Śambhôr=êtat=kîrttanam tâvad=âstâm ॥

20 Viśvakarmma[24]-kritam śâstram vêtti yô=rthêna karmmaṇâ । utkîrṇṇavân=imâm śastâm praśastim sa Mahîdharah ॥ **Nava[25]-sa(śa)ta-yugal-â-**

21 **[bd ?]-adhikya-gê Chêdi-dishṭ[ê] ja[na*]padam=avat=imam śrî-Gayâkarṇṇadêvê । pratipadi Śuchi-mâsa-śvêta-pakshê=rkka-vâ-**

22 **rê** Śiva-śaraṇa-samîpê sthâpit=êyam praśastih ॥ [26] ॥

B.—Lâl-Pahâḍ Rock-Inscription of Narasimhadêva.

The (Chêdi) year 909.

This inscription[1] is rudely engraved on a piece of rock, on the top of a hill called **Lâl-Pahâḍ,** near Bharhut (properly Bharaut) in the Central Provinces; Indian Atlas, Sheet No 89, Lat. 24° 27′ N., Long. 80° 55′ E. It was discovered in 1873-74 by Sir A. Cunningham, by whom a transcript of it, accompanied by a photozincograph, was published in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 94, and Plate ii.

---

[10] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[11] Metre, Upajâti. [12] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [13] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[14] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [15] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [16] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[17] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [18] Metre, Upajâti. [19] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[20] Metre, Upajâti. [21] The writer clearly meant to say *-smrit-îtihâsa*.

[22] For the doubling of the consonant *th* of *prithvî°* see Pâṇini viii., 4, 47.

[23] Metre, Śâlinî. [24] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [25] Metre, Mâlinî.

[26] Between these signs of punctuation there is an ornamental full stop.

[1] *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 1.

The inscription contains eight lines, of which the last appears to be separated from the rest by an empty space. The **writing** of the first seven lines covers a space of about 17½" high by 2′ 6" broad in the first three, and 1′ 9½" broad in the following lines; while the separate eighth line is 16" long. Throughout, the writing appears to be well preserved, though in the rubbing one or two *aksharas* are not as distinct as one could wish them to be. The **size of the letters** is between 1¾" and 2". The **characters** are Nâgarî; and the **language** is Sanskṛit. As regards **orthography,** *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal everywhere except in the word *śrî*.

After the introductory "Ôṁ, may it be well! (*may*) fortune (*attend*)!" the **inscription** (in lines 1-5) has (corresponding to the ordinary "in the reign of victory of," etc.) the words: "the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the illustrious **Narasiṁhadêva,** the lord over **Trikaliṅga,** who by his own arm has acquired the (*title of*) lord over the three *Râjas*, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, — (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the illustrious **Vâmadêva;**" on the particulars of which see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 225. Lines 5-6 state the proper object of the inscription, which, if I understand the words rightly, is to record the construction of a *vaha*,[2] or water-channel, by **Ballâladêvaka,** (or as he calls himself in line 8, the *Râuta*, the illustrious **Ballâladêva**), son of the illustrious **Kêśavâditya,** *Mahâ-râjaputra* of the village of **Vadyavâ,** — probably some official or dependant of the king Narasiṁhadêva.[3]

In line 7 the inscription is **dated** in the year 909, on the 5th of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, on **Budha or Wednesday;** corresponding, as I have tried to show, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 217, No. 7, to **Wednesday, 2nd July, A.D. 1158.** In the same place I have stated that in A.D. 1158 Śrâvaṇa was an intercalary month, and that Wednesday, 2nd July, belonged to the first bright fortnight of the two Śrâvaṇas or the *adhika* Śrâvaṇa; and, to obviate the possible objection that this should have been indicated in the original date, I may for the present point out the date of the Dehli Siwâlik pillar inscriptions of Vîsaladêva,[4] of the (southern) Vikrama year 1220, as a clear and undoubted instance in which (just as is the case in the present inscription) a day of the *adhika* month is denoted by the date, though there is nothing in the wording of the date to show this. Another Chêdi date in which the *adhika* month has not been specified as such, has been already treated of by me, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 217, No. 9.

The village **Vadyavâ,** which is spoken of in the inscription, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[5]

1 [Ôṁ ?][6] svasti śrî[ḥ ॥*] Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhi[r]âja-pava(ra)mêsva(śva)ra-śrî-
2 **Vâmadêva** - pâdânudhyât(ta) - paramabhaṭṭâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja - pa[ra]-
3 mêsva(śva)ra - paramamâhêsva(śva)ra - **Trikaliṁgâdhipati** - nijabhujôpâr[jj]ita - a[7]-
4 sva(śva)pati[8] - gajapati - narapati - râjatry(tray) - âdhipati - [ś]rîman - **Nara-**

[2] Compare *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 206, note 33.

[3] On *Râjaputra*, used probably as the title of some official, see Mr. Fleet's note in *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 218. Mr. Fleet suggests to me that *Mahâ-râjaputra* may denote here an official of higher rank than was held by the *Râjaputra*; and it may be pointed out that, just as in the present inscription the father, Kêśavâditya, is described as *Mahâ-râjaputra*, and the son, Ballâladêva, as *Râuta* (= *râjaputra*), so in the next inscription the father, Jâlhaṇa, is described as *Mâha-râṇaka*, and the son, Chhîhula, as *Râṇaka*.—Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 94, speaks of the 'prince Ballâladêva, the son of Kêśavâditya and grandson of Râja Narasiṁhadêva.' But it appears to me that the genitive *Vadyavâ-grâmakasya* must necessarily be made dependent on *mahâ-râjaputra* as the title of an official, just as in the next inscription °*durgasya* depends on the following *mahârâṇaka*, and since we know from the inscription A. that Narasiṁha in the Chêdi year 902 was still *Yuvarâja*, it is extremely improbable that only seven years later a grandson of his would have been spoken of as Ballâladêva is in the present inscription.

[4] Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. p. 233. This and similar dates will be treated of in a separate paper.

[5] From the rubbing.

[6] Judging from the rubbing, I am almost certain that the symbol for *ôṁ* stands at the beginning of the line.

[7] Read °*jjit-â-*.

[8] The whole word *asvapati* appears to have been originally omitted; and the three *aksharas svapati* are engraved before line 4, while the initial *a* has been added at the end of line 3.

5 **simhadêva**-charaṇâḥ ‖ **Vadyavâ**-grâmakasya mahâ-râ-
6 japutra - śrî**Kêsa(śa)vâditya** - putra - **Va(ba)llâladêvakasya** vahaḥ [‖*]
7 **Sa[ṁ]vat** ।[9] **909** **Srâ(śrâ)vaṇa-sudi** **5** **Vuddh[ê]**[10] [।*] Śrî[ḥ][11] [‖*]
8 Râuta[12]-śrî-**Va(ba)llâladêva**[ḥ ‖*]

C.—Alha-Ghâṭ Stone-Inscription of Narasiṁhadêva.

The (Vikrama) year 1216.

This inscription,[1] together with two others, is on a block of stone which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of the **Alha-Ghâṭ**, "one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table-land of Rêwah to the plain of the Ganges;" Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, about Lat. 24° 55′N., Long. 81° 27′E. It was discovered in 1883-84 by Sir A. Cunningham, by whom a transcript of the text, accompanied by a photolithograph, was published in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 115, and Plate xxviii.

The inscription contains seven lines. The **writing** covers a space of about 2′ broad by 1′ high, and is well preserved nearly throughout. The **size of the letters** is between $1\frac{1}{8}$″ and $1\frac{1}{4}$.″ The **characters** are Nâgarî. The **language** is ungrammatical Sanskṛit, exhibiting, *e.g.* in line 4 the form *karâpitâ*, and in line 6 *vdharitaḥ*, a word which may have its origin in the vernacular and the meaning of which is not apparent. As regards **orthography**, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*; and *j* is used for *y* in *juga*, line 3; *s* for *ś* in *Kausâṁvi*, line 5; and *sh* for *kh* in *lishitaṁ*, line 6.

The object of the **inscription** is, to record (in lines 2-5) that the *Râṇaka*, the illustrious **Chhîhula**, a son of the illustrious **Jâlhaṇa**, *Mahârâṇaka* of **Pipal[ôau ?]durga**, performed some meritorious deed in connection with or near the **Shaṭashaḍikâ Ghâṭ**, which may have consisted in the building of a road or the erection of a temple of the goddess Ambikâ, or both, but the exact details of which are not clear to me. Line 5 appears to mention some person from **Kauśâmbî** who had something to do with carrying out the *Râṇaka's* orders; and lines 6 and 7 give the names of the writer of the inscription and of the artizans who were engaged in the work spoken of before.

But the really important part of the inscription are the introductory lines 1-2, from which we learn that what is stated in the sequel, took place "in the reign of victory of the illustrious **Narasiṁhadêva**,[2] the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* of **Ḍâhâla**," and which contain **the date** — "the year 1216, the first lunar day of the bright half of Bhâdrapada, on **Ravi or Sunday.**" For these statements, on the one hand, give us some idea of how far the kingdom of Narasiṁhadêva extended in the north or north-east; and on the other hand, the date being clearly recorded in the Vikrama era, they enable us to test in a general way the correctness of any conclusion regarding the epoch of the Chêdi era which may be arrived at on other grounds, and they have been so used by me, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 218. As regards the epithet **Ḍâhâlîya** which is applied here to the king Narasiṁha, it has long been known that lexicographers give *Ḍâhala* as a synonym of *Chêdi*; and for passages in which the word is actually used in literature, I may refer to the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*,[3] i. vv. 102 and 103, and xviii. vv. 93 and 95, and to Professor Peterson's *Third Report on Sanskṛit MSS.*, Appendix, p. 243, l. 5, where, in an enumeration of places and countries, Ḍâhâla is placed near Kôsala.

---

9 This sign is superfluous.

10 Read *Budhê*; as the matter is of some importance, I may as well state that the first *akshara* and the consonants of the second *akshara* are clear in the rubbing.

11 I believe that the *akshara śrî* of this word is quite certain.

12 According to Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. pp. 1 and 94, these words (which I give from a separate rubbing) are below the rest, apparently separated from lines 1-7 by an empty space; but they were clearly engraved by the same artizan.

1 *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 114, and preface, p. iv.

2 The name is spelt *Narasiṁghadêva*.

3 Here Karṇa, one of Narasiṁhadêva's ancestors, is described as *śrî-Ḍâhâla-kshitiparivṛiḍha* and *Ḍâhal-âdhîśa*, and his country is called *Ḍâhal-ôrvî*.

The date having to be referred to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents would be :—

for the northern Vikrama year 1216, current, — Tuesday, 26th August, A.D. 1158 ;

for the northern Vikrama year 1216, expired,

or the southern current year, — **Sunday,** 16th August, A.D. 1159, when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise ; and

for the southern Vikrama year 1216, expired, — Thursday, 4th August, A.D. 1160.

The true date therefore is **Sunday, 16th August, A.D. 1159** ; and the year 1216 of the date must accordingly be taken to be the northern expired (or southern current) year.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Kauśâmbî** clearly is the village of Kôsam, of which I have spoken above, p. 137 ; and **Shaṭashaḍikâ-ghâṭa** I take to be the more ancient name of the Alha-Ghâṭ. **Pipal[ôau ?]durga** I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[4]

1 Ôṁ[5] [॥*] **Saṁvata(t) 1216 Bhâdra-sudi-pratipadâ Ravau** ॥ **Ḍâhâlîya**-mahârâjâ-
2 vi(dhi)râja-śrî**Narasiṁghadêva**-vijayarâjyê ॥ **Pipal[ô]**[6]**[au ?]-durgga[sya ?]**[7] mahâ-
3 râṇaka-śrî**Jâlhaṇâ**[8]-putra-râṇaka-śrî**Chchhî**[9]**hulasya** Kali-ju(yu)ga-
4 dharmm-ârtha[ṁ ?] **Shaṭashaḍikâ**-ghâṭa-[va(ba)ṁ]dhana-mârgga-ta[t ?][10]-Âm[v]i(mbi)kâ-dêva karâ-
5 pitâ iti ॥ dharmm-ârtha-kâma-môksha-sâdhana[ṁ ?] ॥ **Kausâ(śâ)mvi(mbî)**-nikâsa-[11]-rau-
6 ti[â]nâmajâti udharitaḥ ॥ Ṭhakura-śrîKamalâdhara[12] lishi(khi)taṁ [।*]
7 Sûtradhâra[13] Kamalasîhâḥ Sômê । Kôkâsa ॥ Pâlhaṇa । [Ḍa ?]lhaṇa ॥

D.—Karanbêl Stone-Inscription of Jayasiṁhadêva.

According to a remark in pencil on the back of the rubbing, the stone which bears this inscription[1] was found at **Karanbêl,**[2] now a heap of ruins a few miles from Bhêra-Ghâṭ, near Jabalpur in the Central Provinces ; and it was lying at the house of a stone-cutter, when the rubbing was taken. The stone is broken right through in the middle, from top to bottom, but the fracture is so clean that hardly a single *akshara* has been lost.

The inscription contains 25 lines. The **writing** covers a space of 3′ 6½″ broad by 1′ 7″ high, and it is well preserved throughout, so that the actual reading of the inscription is hardly anywhere doubtful. The **size of the letters** is about ½″. The **characters** are Nâgarî, carefully drawn and skilfully engraved. The **language** is Sanskrit and, excepting the introductory *ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya*, the inscription is in verse. A curious grammatical mistake we meet in line 4, where the writer has formed the aorist of *kîrtayati* as *achikîrttayat* ; otherwise the inscription is remarkably free from errors, and in respect of **orthography** I have only to note that *b* is written by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *vapurbbhir*, line 2, *abja*, line 3, *bibhrad*, line 5, *babhâra*, line 19, and *bibhartti*, lines 23 and 24 ; that the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed in *sukhayan=jayanti*, line 13, and *bhuvanam=viśva°*, line 23 ; and that for *ujjvala* we have *ujvala*, in line 16.

---

[4] From the rubbing. [5] Expressed by a symbol. [6] This vowel is perhaps *â*.

[7] This *akshara* is doubtful. In the rubbing it looks like *tri*, with a vertical line before it ; but I am almost certain that in the original there is a conjunct consonant, the second part of which is *y*.

[8] Perhaps altered to *ṇa*-.

[9] In the original really *Chhchî*.—One would expect the instrumental case *Chhîhulêna*.

[10] This letter is doubtful. In the rubbing it looks like *t* , and the word intended *may* be *tata*; but it may also be *tathâ*, or *tatra*, or *tasya*. In the following word *Amvikâ*. the *v* of the second syllable is very indistinct, but I believe that it is there. The next *aksharas*, up to *iti*, are quite distinct. One would expect some case-termination after *dêva* ; and for the following *karô*, *kârâ*.

[11] I give these words, up to *udharitah*, as they appear in the rubbing and in the photolithograph. But the third *akshara* of *nikâsa* may really be *śa*, and the whole word *nivêśa* ; and the vowel of the first *akshara* of line 6 appears to have been struck out, so that the word following upon *nivêśa* would seem to be *rauta*, for *râuta*. For the following *aksharas* I cannot suggest any suitable meaning or emendation, beyond saying that the oddly shaped *â*, the second *akshara* in line 6, may really be *śrî*.

[12] Read *°dharêṇa*.

[13] Here again, and in some of the following names, the case-terminations have been omitted.

[1] *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 96, No. xi. [2] *Journal Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p.517, note g.

Judging from the introductory verses, the **inscription** probably was intended to record the erection of a temple of 'Siva; but it has clearly been left **incomplete**. For there is nothing in it to show why it was engraved; and we miss at the end the names of the author and of the engraver, which, in a carefully executed inscription like the present one, had it been finished, would hardly have been omitted. In consequence, the inscription also is left **undated**.

The **contents** of the inscription may be given in very few words. After the introductory "Ôṁ, adoration to Siva!" and six verses invoking the blessings of Siva, Gajânana, and Sarasvatî (ll. 1-4), the author relates that Prajâpati, the lord of the creatures, begat Atri, from whom proceeded the moon, whose son again was Budha; and that in the **lunar family** so founded, there was the famous king **Arjuna** (ll. 4-6). The family became generally known under the name of **Kalachuri**, and in it there was born the king **Yuvarâjadêva**, who conquered all regions and dedicated the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy **Sômêśvara** (ll. 6-7). He begat the king **Kôkalla**, from whom sprang **Gâṅgêyadêva** (ll. 7-10). His son again was **Karṇa**, who was waited upon by the **Chôḍa**, **Kuṅga**, **Hûṇa**, **Gauḍa**, **Gûrjara** and **Kîra** princes (ll. 10-12); and his son was **Yaśaḥkarṇa** (ll. 12-13). Yaśaḥkarṇa's son was the king **Gayakarṇa**, who married **Alhaṇadêvî**, the daughter of king **Vijayasiṁha** (the son of the king **Vairisiṁha** who was a son of the king **Haṁsapâla** in **Prâgvâṭa**) and his wife **Syâmaladêvî** (the daughter of **Udayâditya**, the king of **Dhârâ**), who bore to him the two sons **Narasiṁhadêva** and **Jayasiṁhadêva** (ll. 13-17). **Narasiṁhadêva** ascended the throne after the death of his father (ll. 18-20), and was on his death succeeded by his younger brother **Jayasiṁhadêva**, who ruled the country when the inscription was composed (ll. 20-25).

It will be seen that the contents of the inscription are almost identical with those of the introductory portion of the Bhêra-Ghâṭ inscription of Alhaṇadêvî;[3] and a comparison of the two inscriptions leaves no doubt that our author knew that inscription and closely followed it, when writing his own *praśasti*. What is peculiar to our inscription, is mainly only this, that the genealogy (similarly to what is the case in the Kumbhî copper-plate inscription)[4] begins here with Yuvarâjadêva, and is continued to the ruling prince Jayasiṁhadêva. As of some importance however, it may be noted that Yuvarâjadêva is represented here as worshipping **Sômêśvara**, the famous Sômanâtha in Gujarât, a story which is told also of Lakshmaṇarâja (the son of Kêyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadêva and Nôhalâ) in the Bilharî inscription;[5] that Vijayasiṁha, the father-in-law of Gayakarṇa, and his ancestors, whom we know to have ruled in Mêwâḍ,[6] are described as kings of **Prâgvâṭa**, and Udayâditya as lord of **Dhârâ**; and that the name of one of the peoples whose princes waited upon Karṇa, is spelt here distinctly *Kuṅga*, not *Kaṅga*, which is the reading of the published version of Alhaṇadêvî's inscription.[7] The word **Prâgvâṭa** occurs several times *e.g.* in Professor Peterson's *Third Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, Appendix, pp. 37, 40, 45, 187; but I am unable to determine whether it is only another name for Mêdapâṭa, or denotes a more extensive tract of country of which Mêwâḍ formed part. **Kuṅga** clearly is the **Koṅgu** or **Koṅgu-dêśa** of Southern India, corresponding, generally, to the present districts of Salem and Coimbatore.[8]

Considering[9] that Narasiṁhadêva was ruling in A.D. 1159, and Vijayasiṁhadêva, the son of Jayasiṁhadêva, in A.D. 1180, our inscription must have been composed between A.D. 1160 and 1180.

---

3 *ib.* pp. 502-8; and *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 107-9.

4 *Journal Beng. As Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. p. 116.

5 *ib.* Vol. XXX. p. 330, verses 61 and 62. Dr. Hall misread verse 46, and in consequence he wrongly identified Lakshmaṇarâja with Yuvarâjadêva. In reality Lakshmaṇarâja, according to the Bilharî inscription, was the son of Yuvarâjadêva and Nôhalâ.

6 *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 346.—I am glad to be able to state that, in a short inscription from Udaypur in Mâlava, I have at last discovered a reliable date for Udayâditya, the grandfather of Alhaṇadêvî,—Vikrama 1137 = A.D. 1080.

7 In reality, the reading of the original inscription probably is *Kuṅga*, but the first *akshara* of the word is damaged.

8 See, *e.g.*, *Archæol. Survey of Southern India*, List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, Vol. I. p. 193.

9 See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 218.

TEXT.[10]

1 Ôm namaḥ Sivâya ॥ Dêvaḥ[11] sadâ samudit-âdbhuta-bhûti-saṁpat=saṁpâdayatv= abhimataṁ bhavatâṁ sa yasya । svaḥsiṁdhu-saṁgata-jaṭê śiras=iṁdu-lêkhâ navy-âṁkura-śri[ya]m=anâratam=âtanôti ॥ Yan[12]=nityaṁ dravatâṁ vi(bi)bhartti gurutâṁ dhattê tatô=nyach=cha yad=yê cha sparśavatî gurutva-rahitê bhûtaṁ yad=asparśavat ।

2 yat-karmm=ôpahitaṁ karôti bhuvanaṁ kâl[ai]ḥ kal-ôllâsi yad=yasmin=yajña-phalaṁ vapurbbhir=avatâd=yushmân=amîbhiḥ Sivaḥ ॥ Dhanyâs=tâ vahasê śirasy=aviratam yâsâṁ kapâ[la]-srajaṁ vaktavyaṁ ta iti vra(bra)vîmy=ata idaṁ puṁstvêna saṁkîrttaya । n=aitad=yuktatamaṁ bhavên=na [cha] mayâ strîtvaṁ tyaj=êty=uchyatê tach=ch=âśakyam=iti priy-ô-

3 ttara-vidhau vyagrô Haraḥ pâtu vaḥ ॥ Bhûshâ[13] nêtraśruti-virachitâ yatra yatr= Âbjajanma[14]-vyâkôśa-śrîḥ prabhavati mudê yatra nishṭhâ prajânâṁ । mûrttâv=êva prasarati rajô yatra yatr=â[st]i sâkshât=kûṭasthâ dhîḥ sa diśatu sadâ Saṁbhur=abhyarthitaṁ vaḥ ॥ Yô[15] Dhûrjjaṭi-jaṭâjûṭa-mukuṭâd= aparaṁ vidhôḥ । dhattê=rddhan=daṁta-mishataḥ sa vaḥ pâyâd=Gajâna-

4 naḥ ॥ Chatur-ggatiś=chatur-vṛittiś=chaturvvargga-prayôjanâ । prapaṁchayatu châtur-yaṁ satâṁ satyaṁ Sarasvatî ॥[16]॥ Prajâpatir=abhidhyâna-prava(ba)ṁdhât= samajîjanat । atṛitîyatayâ putraṁ yam=Atrim=achikîrttayat[17] ॥ Tasmât[18]=samasta-bhuvan-âbhyuday-aika-dhâma[19] râmâ-manah-sarasa-saṁmada-keli-kaṁdaḥ । vistâra-hêtu-kiraṇaḥ kumud-âka-

5 râṇâṁ Bhûtêśa-bhûshaṇa-śirômaṇir=âvir-âsît ॥ Manasa[20] iv=âtiviśuddhâd=vô(bô)dha iv=âbhûd=Vu(bu)dhas=tasmât । bhuvan-âbhaya-kṛid=bhûbhṛid-vaṁśas=t[â]n=âjani sthêyân ॥ Âsît[21]=**Kalânidhi-kulê**=tra karân=sahasraṁ bibhrad=div=êva rajanâv=api sa-pratâpaḥ । bhûmîbhṛid=**Arjjuna** iti prathitêna nâmnâ yasy= âdhun=âpy=abhimatâny=a-

6 bhitô bhavaṁti ॥ Tê tâdṛiśâḥ katichid=êva kadâchid=êva bhâgyair=bhavaṁti bhavinâṁ bhuvan-aika-nâthâḥ । gôtrê=tra yê samabhavann=adhik-âdhik-ôchcha-saṁpattayô=dhipatayaḥ pṛithiv-îśvarâṇâm ॥ Asminn=avâṁtara-mahârha-viśêsha-yôgât=prâptê kulê **Kalachur**=îty=abhidhâ-prasiddhim । janm=âsasâda sukṛitair= jja-

7 gatâṁ Yayâti-tulyô guṇair=nnarapatir=**Yuvarâjadêvaḥ** ॥ Yên=ôrjjitêna jagatî-patinâ vijitya sarvvâ diśaḥ samabhihṛi[tya] narêśvarâṇâm । tâs=tâḥ śriyaḥ pa[ra]-ma-bhakti-bhara-śritâ śrî-**Sômêśvarâya** samupâyanam=akriyaṁta ॥ Tên=âvanîśa-patinâ bhuvan-aika-mallaḥ **Kôkalla** ity=ajani bha-

8 rtsita-vairi-bhallaḥ । yat-kîrttanaiḥ kati na vi(bi)bhrati bhûri-śôbhâm=anyônya-vibhrama-sahasra-dharair=jjaganti ॥ Janit[22]-âtiśayita-śaktir=vva(bba)hutara-saṁ-darśit-ôru-Bhava-bhaktiḥ । Himavân=iva bhuvana-bhayaṁ yô jahrê vâhinî-nivahaiḥ ॥ Tasmâd[23]=va(ba)bhûva bhuvan-âbhyudaya-pragalbha-gâṁbhîrya-gaurava-sahô-

9 dara-śaurya-dhairyaḥ । **Gâṁgêyadêva** iti guptishu yasya bhûpâ lajjâṁ jahur= Ddaśamukh-Ârjjunayôḥ kathâbhiḥ ॥ Naman[24]-nṛipa-śirôbhir=yat-pâda-padmau

---

[10] From the rubbing. [11] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[12] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.—Compare Dr. Hall in *Journal Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 502, verse 3, and pp. 524-25.

[13] Metre, Mandâkrântâ. [14] Originally *nmô*, altered to *nma*.

[15] Metre, Slôka (Anushṭubh); and of the two next verses.—Compare *ib.* p. 502, verse 5.

[16] Between these signs of punctuation there is an ornamental full stop.

[17] *achikîrtt yat*, wrongly for *achikîrtat* or *achîkṛitat*. [18] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[19] Originally *mâ*, altered to *ma*. [20] Metre, Upagîti.

[21] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the four next verses.—Compare *ib.* p. 503, verse 7.

[22] Metre, Âryâ. [23] Metre, Vasantatilakâ. [24] Metre, Slôka (Anushṭubh).

virêjatuḥ | kṛipâṇa-jala-saṁjâta-jayaśri-jalajair=iva || Vairi[25]-vikrama-niśâ diśâṁ mukha-śrî-kuraṁgamada[26]-patravallarî | bhrû-latâ vijaya-

10 vârija-sthitês=tasya khaḍga-latik=âkarôn=na kim || Samuttîrṇṇ[27]-ârṇṇavâ sênâ yasy=âjñ=êva mahibhṛitaḥ | varṇṇanîya-guṇa-grâmaḥ **Karṇṇaḥ** sa samabhût=tataḥ || Avimukta[28]-pâda-kaṭakaiḥ prithutara-hâr-âvaguṁṭhita-vikaṁṭhaiḥ[29] | pura iva vipinê=py=ari-nṛipa-nâribhir=yasya saṁtataṁ tasthê || Nîchaiḥ[30] saṁchara **Chôḍa Kuṁga**[31] ki-

11 m=idaṁ phalgu tvayâ valgyatê **Hûṇ**=aivaṁ raṇituṁ na yuktam=iha tê tvaṁ **Gauḍa** garvvan=tyaja | m=aivaṁ **G[û]rjjara** garjja **Kîra** nibhṛitô varttasva sêvâ-gatân[32]=itthaṁ yasya mithô-virôdhi-nṛipatîn dvâ[ḥ]sthô vininyê janaḥ || Anîyaṁta[33] paraṁ vṛiddhiṁ yaśaḥ-saṁvêdana-śriyaḥ | manô-vinôdanair=yasya kavîṁ-

12 drair=iṁdriyair=iva || Ajâyata **Yaśaḥkarṇṇaḥ** **Karṇṇât**=Svarṇṇa-mahîbhṛitaḥ | Trikûṭa iva kûṭastha-guṇa-ratnâkarîkṛitaḥ || Namayaty[34]=ârttin=dhanushô yasminn=ârtt-âmṛita-prâyê | va(ba)bhrê sâ punar=unnati-bhûyishṭhâ vairi-bhûpatibhiḥ || Yaśôbhir[35]=iṁdu-viśadaiḥ karmmabhiś=ch=âtidushkaraiḥ | diśaḥ prasâdhayam-âsa sa

13 Trivikrama-vikramaḥ || Yathâ-yathaṁ sa chaturaś=chaturbhir=abhivâṁchchhi(chhi)-tân | arthân=upâyaiḥ prathitair=nyâya-vit=pratyapadyata || Udapadyat[36]=ôdita-mahârha-rûpayâ sahitaḥ śriyâ sakala-śuddha-maṇḍalaḥ | dhaval-âmvu(mbu)-dhêr=iva tataḥ kalâ-nidhiḥ sukhayan(ñ)=jaganti **Gayakarṇṇa**-bhûpatiḥ || Karavâla[37]-tamâla-pallavaḥ ka-

14 ra-saṁchâry=api yasya bhûpatêḥ | parimṛijya rajô=sra-vṛishṭibhiḥ parichashkâra raṇê jaya-śriyam || Vainatêya[38]-sama-vikrama-kramaḥ kêvalaṁ sa na chakâra pṛishṭhataḥ | Achyutaṁ su-charitô na ch=âcha[ra]t=karmma kiṁchid=api pakshapâtataḥ || Dvâparô[39]=pi na tasy=âsît=karmma-kâṇḍê kutaḥ kaliḥ || kṛitam=êva sad=âdrâkshuḥ kâryaṁ vidvêshiṇô=pi yat ||

15 **Prâgvâṭê**[40]=vanipâla-bhâla-tilakaḥ śrî-**Haṁsapâlô**=bhavat=tasmâd=bhûbhṛid=asûta[41] satya-samitiḥ śrî-**Vairisiṁh**-âbhidhaḥ | yaj-janma dvishatâṁ bhayâya suhṛidâm=ânanda-saṁpatta[yê] śrêyaḥ-śrî-sadanâya śaurya-mahasê viśv-ôtsavây=âbhavat || **Vijayasiṁha**[42] iti kshitipas=tataḥ samajanishṭa vinashṭa-kaliḥ ki-

16 la | kshitibhṛid-indra-śiraḥ-kṛita-saṁcharaḥ prahata-matta-mahâ-ripu-kuṁjaraḥ || **Dhâr**[43]-âdhîś-**Ôdayâditya**-sutâ **Syâmaladêvy**=abhût | vallabhâ tasya bhûpasya Saty=êv=Âsura-vidvisha[ḥ ||] Tasyâm=**Alhaṇadêv**=îti kanyâ-ratnam=asûta saḥ | Mênâyâm=Avanîbharttâ Gaurîm=iva guṇ-ô[j*]jvalâm || Tasyâḥ sa pâṇinâ pâṇiṁ **Gaya-**

17 **karṇṇa**-mahîpatiḥ | jagrâha jagatâṁ sthityai Sivâyâ iva Saṁkaraḥ || Ajanayad[44]=**Alhaṇadêvyâṁ** **Gayakarṇṇa**-mahîpatis=tanujau | Saṁjnâyâṁ Divasa-patir=Ddasrâv=iva sarvva-duḥ[kha]-harau || **Narasiṁhadêvam**[45]=êkaṁ chakrê janakas=tayôr=nnâmnâ | **Jayasiṁhadêvam**=aparaṁ lôkô yau Râma-Lakshmaṇau mênê || Su-kṛitaiḥ[46] svarggam=a-

---

[25] Metre, Rathôddhatâ.

[26] The word *kuraṅga-mada*, 'musk' (= *kuraṅga-nâbhi*) is not found in the dictionaries.

[27] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh) [28] Metre, Gîti. [29] I am unable to give the exact meaning of *vikaṇṭha*.

[30] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Compare, *ib.* p. 504, verse 12.

[31] This is quite distinct here ; and it is not *Kaṅga*.

[32] Or, perhaps, *sêvâṁ gatân*. [33] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh) ; and of the next verse.

[34] Metre, Upagîti.—*Ârtti* means both 'the end of a bow' and 'misery.'

[35] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh) ; and of the next verse.

[36] Metre, Mañjubhâshiṇî. [37] Metre, Vaitalîya. [38] Metre, Rathôddhatâ.

[39] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh). [40] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[41] Contrary to the usage of the later language, *asûta* is here used in a passive sense.

[42] Metre, Drutavilambita. [43] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh) ; and of the next two verses.

[44] Metre, Upâgîti. [45] Metre, Udgîti. [46] Metre, Upagîti.

18 n-arggalam=adhitasthushi Śakra-vaj=janakê । **Narasiṁhadêva**-nṛipatiḥ paryashkârshîn= mahîm=êtâm ॥ Praśaśâsa[47] mahîṁ mah-aujasâm=apy=abhibhûshṇur=**Nnarasiṁhadêva**-bhûpaḥ । para-lôka-bhay-â[na]bhij ñatâyâm=bhuvanaṁ saṁdadhad=Achyut-ôchcha-rûpaḥ ॥ Yasmiṁś[48]=chalati dhûlînâṁ paṭalais=tapanê tathâ । nihnutê=py=ari-bhûpânâṁ saṁtâpaḥ paryavarddhata ॥

19 Mahâdân-âdy-aśûnyâni kurvvan=parvvâṇy=anêkaśaḥ । dharmmasy=âvîvṛidhad=yô=ṁhrîn= Va(ba)lir=Vvishṇôr=iv=ôdyataḥ ॥ Punânasya jagat=sarvvaṁ nitâṁtaṁ timira-druhaḥ । yat-kîrtti-śaśinaḥ śukrê śaśâ[ṅkô]=pi śaśô=bhavat ॥ Sa tathâ sukha-śayyâsu râtrâv=atrasta-maṇḍalaḥ । svapann=apy=aniśaṁ vairi-hṛidayêshv=abhya-jâgarît ॥ Śriyaṁ babhâra vidhiva-

20 d=Dânav-ârâti-tôshitaḥ । Mahêṁdra-vad=dvija-śrêshṭha-varggas=tat-saṁgam=âgataḥ ॥ Svarllôka[49]-nâth-âtithitâṁ prayâtê tasmin=nṛipê śrî-**Narasiṁhadêvê** । chirâya pushṇâtu satâṁ hitâni śrîmân=mahîbhṛij=**Jayasiṁhadêvaḥ** ॥ Yasy[50]=ôru-ratna-rachit-âṁchita-chârn-śôbhâ-vismêra-bhûri-kaṭakasya sad=ônnatasya । bhûmîbhṛi-tâm=adhipatêḥ sura-vâhin=î-

21 va kîrttir=jjaganti na kiyanti punâty=anantâ ॥ Yêna[51] prâchî-vijaya-rabhasân= nitya-matt-êbha-kumbh-ârûḍhân=prauḍha-prathita-yaśasaḥ śaurya-bhâjô=vanîndrân । kurvvâṇêna tridaśa-bhavanaṁ [gâ]minô nir-vviśaṁkaṁ chakrê chittaṁ chakita-chakitaṁ nâkinâṁ nâyakasya ॥ Yad[52]-vaktra-vârija-vikâśa-vaśêna dîna-varggê=pi valgati niraṁta-

22 ram=êva lakshmîḥ । yad-bhrû-vibhaṁga-bhaya-jaś=cha nar-âdhipânâṁ vyâdhir=nna naśyati van-aushadhi-sêvay=âpi ॥ Kiyantô[53] n=âbhûvan=bhuvi bhuvana-saṁ-bhâvita-guṇâḥ paṇâyyantê yêshâṁ kṛiti[bhi]r=adhun=âpi sthiti-pathâḥ । aya[ṁ] tv=anyas=têshâm=api guṇa-gaṇ-ôdâharaṇatân=dadhânaḥ śuddha-śrîr= jjayatu **Jayasiṁhaḥ** kshiti-patiḥ ॥ Yasya[54]

23 pratâpa-tapanaḥ pârthiv-êndhana êva yat । tach=chitraṁ yach=cha kumuda-dvêshî kîrtti-sudhâkaraḥ ॥ Mitrâṇâm[55]=upakâra-kâriṇi sadâ san-mârgga-saṁchâriṇi prajñ-ôtkarsha-vidhâriṇi praguṇi[nâṁ] tyâg-aika-vistâriṇi । śatrûṇâm=avirâma-śaurya-vijaya-prôdyan-mad-ô[chchâ]riṇi prîtiṁ yatra paraṁ bibhartti bhuva-nam(ṁ)=viśvambharâ-dhâriṇi ॥

24 Yaś[56]=chalan=dhûli-paṭalaiḥ payâṁsi payasâṁ nidhêḥ । na kêvalaṁ tirôdhattê têjâṁsy=api vibhâvasôḥ ॥ Pramâṇân=îva chatvâri sên-âṅgâny=adhitishṭhatâ । yêna nyâya-pravîṇêna parêshâṁ [kha]ṇḍyatê sthitiḥ ॥ Na muṁchati kad= âpy=asya jaya-śrîḥ kara-pushkaram । bibhartti raṇa-vâdyêshu tâṇḍav-âḍamva-(mba)raṁ param ॥ Śrutvâ[57] śrî-**Jayasiṁhadê**-

25 va-nṛipatêḥ karmm=âtivismâpakaṁ Pârthasy-êva parair=amuchyata nṛipaiḥ pûrvvaṁ yuyutsâ-rasaḥ । śrîḥ paśchât=sa-rasâ tataś=cha nagarî putrâḥ kalatran=tatas= trâsaḥ kêvalam=adri-gahvara-ga[tai]r=nn=âṅgîkṛitas=tyajyatê ॥

E.—Gôpâlpur Stone-Inscription of Vijayasiṁhadêva.

This inscription was discovered in 1862 by Dr. F. E. Hall at the village of **Gôpâlpur**, about two miles to the south of Bhêra-Ghâṭ, where it is said to have been brought from Karanbêl; and it has been previously noticed in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 113, and in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 99, No. xv. In an attempt to remove it, the stone on which the inscription is was broken right through from top to bottom.

The inscription contains 21 lines. The **writing** covers a space of 4′ 5″ broad by 1′ 9½″ high. The larger portion of it, on the proper left part of the stone, is in a fair state of preservation;

[47] Metre, Aupachchhandasika.

[48] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the next four verses.

[49] Metre, Upajâti.

[50] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[51] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

[52] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[53] Metre, Śikhariṇî.

[54] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[55] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[56] Metre Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the next two verses.

[57] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

and on the smaller right part the upper five or six and the concluding three or four lines, and generally about eight or ten *aksharas* at the commencement of each line, are sufficiently well preserved to be made out from a careful impression. The **size of the letters** is about $\frac{5}{8}$". The **characters** are Nâgarî. The **language** is Sanskrit, and excepting the *ôṁ namô bhagavatê Vâsudêvâya* at the commencement of line 1, and the words *śrî-Sômarâja-kritaṁ râjâvalî-varṇṇanam=iti* in line 16, the inscription is in verse.

The **inscription** contains no date. Its object is to record (in lines 16-21, in which the names of the private individuals Malhaṇa, Jôgalâ, Harigaṇa and Mahâdêvî occur), the erection, by a member of the Kaśyapa family, of a temple of Vishṇu; and by way of introduction it gives an account of the **Kalachuri kings**, from **Karṇadêva**, as it appears, to the ruling prince **Vijayasiṁhadêva**. In this introductory part I notice the following names:—line 6, **Sahasrârjjuna**; line 7, **Kalachuri-kula**; line 9, **Karṇṇadêva**; line 11, śrî-**Yaśaḥkarṇṇadêva**; line 13, **śrî-Gayâkarṇṇadêva**; at the beginning of line 15, śrî-**Narasiṁhadêva**; in the second half of the same line, — rarâja râja-vraja-Dharmmarâjas=tasy=ânujaḥ śrî-**Jayasiṁhadêvaḥ**; at the beginning of line 16, śrîmad-**Gôsaladêvî**; and in the same line, in the verse following immediately upon the verse which speaks of Gôsaladêvî, — jayati tad-aṅga-sujanmâ śûraḥ śrî-**Vijayasiṁhadêva-nṛipaḥ**. From this I have no doubt whatever that Gôsaladêvî is represented here as the wife of Jayasiṁhadêva and mother of Vijayasiṁhadêva, and that she was not (as has been erroneously inferred from the Kumbhî copper-plate inscription[1]) the wife of Vijayasiṁhadêva.

Since for Vijayasiṁhadêva we have the dates[2] A D. 1180 and 1195, the inscription must be referred to about the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.

MISCELLANEA.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM, VOL. III.

Owing to the friendly suggestions of Professor Kielhorn, I am able to notify the following improvements in my treatment of some of the records published by me in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III., "the Gupta Inscriptions."

Indôr Grant of Skandagupta.

No. 16, Plate ix. B., p. 68 ff. — In line 1, notwithstanding the analogous instance of *âyata-stû* quoted in note 3, the word *êka-tâna-stû* is an impossible word. For the proper interpretation of the text, we must correct *stuvaḥ* into *stumaḥ*; and take *dhyân-aikatânâ* as a nominative plural, the final *visarga* of which has been omitted before the following initial *st*, (in accordance with the Vârttika on Pâṇini, viii. 3, 36). The translation will thus be — "May that Sun, the rich source of rays that pierce (*the darkness which is*) the envelope of the earth, protect you,—whom we Brâhmaṇs, of enlightened minds, praise according to due rite, having (*our*) thoughts entirely concentrated in meditation (*on him*)," &c.

Mandasôr Pillar Inscription of Yaśôdharman.

No. 33, Plate xxi. B., p. 142 ff.; and *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 253 ff. — The verse in line 3 may be better translated thus: — "He in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (*and so*) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Mândhâtṛi, the title of 'universal sovereign,' — which, in this age that is the ravisher of good behaviour, applied with a mere imaginary meaning to other kings, of reprehensible conduct, has not shone at all, (*being in their case*) like an offering of flowers (*placed*) in the dust, — shines even more (*than it ordinarily does*), like a resplendent jewel (*set*) in good gold."

And in the verse in line 6, the force and importance of the reference to **Mihirakula** may be much heightened by taking the construction differently and translating thus: — "He (**Yaśôdharman**) to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (*his*) head, by even that (*famous*) king **Mihirakula**, whose head had never (*previously*) been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthâṇu, (*and*) embraced by whose arms the mountain of snow falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, (*and*) whose forehead was pained through being (*now for the first time*) bent low down by the strength of (*his*) arm in (*the act of compelling*) obeisance."

The verse, thus taken, contains a double and very emphatic statement that Mihirakula had never

[1] *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 115.

[2] *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 218.

been subdued by any other king, but was conquered by Yaśôdharman; and also an indication that Mihirakula exercised sovereignty in the region of the Himâlaya mountains.

Note 4, on p. 148, is to be cancelled.

Mandasôr Inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana.

No. 35, Plate xxii., p. 150 ff.; and *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 222 ff. — In line 16, for *chi[nva ?]n*, read *vi[ghna]n*: — "Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position, (*and*) preventing any fear on the part of (*his*) subjects." The word *dharittryâm*, in line 15, is to be construed with *adṛishṭam*; not with *dadhânaḥ*.

Râjim Grant of Tîvaradêva.

No. 81, Plate xlv., p. 291 ff — In my list of Errata at the end of the volume, I have already stated that in line 1 the reading of the original is *stambha[ḥ*]*, not *sûtra[ḥ*]*. And it seems better not to turn *jagat-traya-tilaka* into a separate word by inserting a *visarga*, but to take it in composition with *kshitibhṛit-kula-bhavana*. The translation will thus be — "Victorious is the illustrious **Tîvaradêva**, the auspicious pillar (*for the support*) of the palace that is a family of kings which is the ornament of the three worlds," &c.

The first thirteen lines of this record presented several points of difficulty, some of which have now been made clear. Thus —

In line 4, *pâtita*, 'struck down,' which is the reading of the original, must be treated as a mistake for *pâṭita*, 'split open;' and it qualifies *kumbha*, 'the foreheads or frontal globes of the elephants,' not the elephants themselves; in the *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 42, *jarjarita*, 'torn open,' occurs in an analogous passage. Also, in line 5, for *sad-âsikta*, read *saṭâ-sikta*; — "pearls that are besprinkled with the copious streams of blood trickling down from the round foreheads of the elephants of (*his*) enemies which are split open by the crushing blows of (*his*) sharp sword."

In line 8, for *kuṅkumapatra-bhaṅgat*, read *kuṅkuma-patrabhaṅgat(ḥ)*; and translate — "who wipes away the collyrium below the eyes of the wives of (*his*) enemies, and the decorative lines drawn with saffron on (*their*) tender cheeks."

In line 10, for *gâla(ḍha)-svachchha-prasanna*, &c., read *gâḍa(ḍhaḥ) svachchha[ḥ*] prasanna*, &c.; and, construing the six adjectives commencing in this line with the six locatives commencing in line 9, translate, — "who, moreover, is worshipped by mankind in (*respect of his*) penance, performed in a former existence, because it was so severe that the effects of it have not yet been fully expended; who is never satisfied in (*the accumulation of*) fame; who is reserved in the matter of keeping secrets; who is very keen in (*his*) faculty of reasoning; who is pure in sight; and who, in (*beauty of*) form, is decorated with a complacent countenance." Here, the *prâktanaṁ tapas* is indicated as *aklishṭam*, 'not yet expended;' *klishṭaṁ tapas* would be analogous to *klishṭaṁ puṇyam*, which expression occurs in the *Abhijñâna-Śâkuntala*, Act 6.

In line 11, *ku-tṛishṇa* cannot properly be taken as an adjective by itself. We must treat the *visarga* of *anujjhitaḥ* as a mistake, and read *anujjhita-kutṛishṇô=pi*: — "who, though he has not abandoned the desire for (*conquering or acquiring*) land, is yet exceedingly liberal (*in granting lands to gods and Brâhmans*)."

In line 12, the *visarga* of *aparushaḥ* must be treated as a mistake, and we should read *aparusha-svabhâva[ḥ*]*, — "who, though he is adorned with majesty, is yet of a disposition that is not harsh." The contrast here is that the king, though, like the god Śiva, he is adorned with *bhûti* ('majesty,' as applied to the king; 'ashes,' as applied to the god), is yet, differing from Śiva, of a gentle disposition.

In line 13, for *dharm-ârjânêna sampal-lâbhê svalpa-krôdhêna prabhâvê*, read *dharm-ârjanê na sampal-lâbhê svalpa[ḥ*] krôdhê na prabhâvê*; and translate — "who is never quite satisfied in accumulating religion, (*though such is*) not (*the case*) in respect of the acquisition of wealth; who is insignificant as regards anger (*i. e.* who shews but little anger), (*but*) not as regards majesty."

In line 14, for *sa(śa)k[l]aḥ*, read *sak[t]aḥ*: — "who is fond of excellent conversations, (*but*) is not addicted to dallying with wanton women."

In this inscription, there are still two passages that require further consideration. One is in line 3, where Prof. Kielhorn is of opinion that, for *kaṇṭhad-unmukha*, it might be better to read *kaṇṭh[ê*]d=unmukha*; the idea being that the goddess of the fortunes of the hostile kings clings to their necks, and that Tîvaradêva drags her away by her hair from that position. But then the detached ablative would occupy a rather anomalous position with respect to *âkarshaṇa*, by which it must be governed.

The other passage is in line 11, where I have read *svâmi-bhavan[ê*]=py=a-bahu-lapanô*. Since *anujjhitaḥ* is to be corrected into *anujjhita*, and taken in composition with *kutṛishṇô*, we require before *api*, not a locative, but an epithet of which the contrast is provided by the compound following *api*. Prof. Kielhorn is inclined to read *svâmi-(mî)-bhavan[n*]* (or *svâmi(mî) bhavan[n*])=apy=a-bahula-panô(nô)*: — "who, lord or possessor of much property though he is, yet is not much

addicted to gambling;" where the contrast would be furnished by the other meaning of *a-bahula-paṇa*, 'not possessed of much coin.' Accepting the first correction, but maintaining *lapana*, 'the act of speaking, talking,' I feel more inclined to prefer — "who, lord though he is, yet does not indulge in (*too*) much (*needless*) talking."

Miscellaneous.

P. 138, note 2, on the word *bhûmichchhidra*. For *krishya-yôgyâ bhûḥ &c*,, read *krishy-ayôgyâ bhûḥ*, 'land not fit for cultivation.'

6th March, 1889. J. F. FLEET.

A NEW SYSTEM OF THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

On the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, a valuable paper by Prof. Kielhorn, with Tables for calculation, is given at page 193ff. above. And I hope that hereafter we shall have a full historical account of it from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit. Meanwhile, for my present purpose, I have to note that the following three varieties of this cycle are already known: —

(1) The true astronomical system, usually called the northern system, but, — since, in early times, it was current in Southern, quite as much as in Northern, India, — more appropriately named by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit[1] **the mean-sign system.** According to this, the commencement of each *saṁvatsara* is determined by the passage of Jupiter among the signs of the zodiac; and, on the exact analogy of expunged *tithis*, on certain occasions a *saṁvatsara* is expunged, or, more properly, for the purposes of the civil reckoning its name is omitted, though astronomically the period of the *saṁvatsara* remains extant.

For modern times, an instance of this, coupled with an illustration of (3) below, is furnished by the Gwâlior almanac for Śaka-Saṁvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current, and northern Vikrama-Saṁvat (1943 expired and) 1944 current;[2] which, following in this respect the practice of Southern India, gives Vyaya, No. 20, as the name, according to the *chândra-mâna* or lunar reckoning, of the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886 (Chaitra śukla 1), to the 24th March, A.D. 1887 (*amânta* Phâlguna, or *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra, krishṇa 15); but adds that, according to the *bârhaspatya-mâna* or reckoning of Jupiter, in documents the name of Vilambin, No. 32, is to be used from a certain time on Âśvina krishṇa 7, Friday, in the preceding year, corresponding to the 30th October, A.D. 1885, up to a certain time on Âśvina krishṇa 14, Tuesday, of the current year, corresponding to the 26th October, A.D. 1886, and, after that time, the name of Vikârin, No. 33.

(2) A development of this system in Northern India, which would best be named **the northern luni-solar system.** According to this, each *saṁvatsara* extends over the same period with a Śaka or a northern Vikrama year, commencing, for the civil reckoning, with Chaitra śukla 1; and every eighty-sixth *saṁvatsara*, or nearly so, is actually expunged or passed over altogether.

An instance of this, coupled with the next system, is furnished by the *Sâyana-Pañchâṅg* for Śaka-Saṁvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current,[3] and northern Vikrama-Saṁvat (1943 expired and) 1944 current; which tells us that the same luni-solar period, from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, is known, on the south side of the Narmadâ, by the name of Vyaya, No. 20, and, on the north side of that river, by the name of Vilambin, No. 32.

And the real rule for it must be, that, whatever *saṁvatsara* is actually current according to the mean-sign system at the commencement of a Śaka year, that *saṁvatsara* is to be taken as coincident with the whole Śaka year, and with the entire Vikrama year which, at some period still to be determined, came to be made identical in Northern India with the Śaka year.

The time at which this system was developed and brought into use, remains to be determined. When it can be fixed, we shall probably find that the system started with a year in which two at least of the following conditions occurred on one and the same day; *viz.* the ending of Chaitra śukla 1, as the beginning of the civil luni-solar year; the Mêsha-Saṅkrânti, as the beginning of the solar year; and the commencement of a *saṁvatsara* by the mean-sign system.

(3) The so-called southern system, which would best be named **the southern luni-solar system,** and which must be the South-Indian development of the original mean-sign system. According to this, each *saṁvatsara* extends over the same period with a Śaka year, commencing, for the civil reckoning, with Chaitra śukla 1; and the *saṁvatsaras* run on in regular unbroken succession, without any expunctions.

An instance of this, in addition to that noted under (2) above, is furnished by the *Siddhânta-Pañchâṅgam* for Śaka-Samvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current, and the *Telugu Calendar* for Śaka-Saṁvat 1809 current;[4] which give Vyaya,

[1] See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 2.

[2] See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 206.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 207, and note 10.

[4] See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 207.

No. 20, as the name of the same luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887.

The exact time at which this system was developed and introduced remains to be determined. But apparently we have to look for it between[5] A.D. 804 and 866. And the invention of the system was probably due to a similar coincidence of occurrences with that suggested under (2) above.

In addition to these, there would appear to be another system, which is really fitted to the Śaka years, but curiously enough is mentioned only in connection with the southern Vikrama years; and which might, therefore, for convenience in distinction, be named **the southern Vikrama luni-solar system,** provided it is borne in mind that the *saṁvatsaras* do not coincide with the southern Vikrama years. This system does not seem to have been previously noticed; and my attention has been drawn to it by a further examination of Ganpat Krishnaji's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs.

Their almanacs for Śaka-Saṁvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current,[6] and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat (1492-93 expired and) 1493-94 current, give Vyaya, No. 20, as the name of the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as equivalent to the Śaka year; following, in this respect, system (3) above, the standard system of Southern India. But they treat the Vikrama year differently. Thus, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1943 current commenced, in the preceding Śaka year, on the 7th November, A.D. 1885 (Kârttika śukla 1), and ended, in the current Śaka year, on the 27th October, A.D. 1886 (*amânta* Âśvina kṛishṇa 15); and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1944 current commenced, in the current Śaka year, on the 28th October, A.D. 1886, and ended, in the following Śaka year, on the 16th October, A D. 1887. On the title-page of Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac, we have simply "in Śaka 1808 (*expired*), in the *saṁvatsara* named Vyaya." But, on the title-page of K. L. Chhatre's almanac, we have "in Śaka 1808 (*expired*), in the *saṁvatsara* named Vyaya; (*in*) the (*Vikrama*) year 1942 (*expired*) and 1943 (*expired*), in the *saṁvatsara* named Hêmalamba; A.D. 1886 and 1887." In the *saṁvatsara-phala* we have, in both almanacs, "in the year 1942 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramârka, (*and*) in the Hêmalamba *saṁvatsara*; so also in the Śaka (*year*) 1808 (*expired*) of the glorious king Śâlivâhana, (*and*) in the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*; in this year, the king (*is*) the Moon." And in the *saṁkrânti-phala* we learn that the Makara-Saṁkrânti, as the commencement of the *uttarâyaṇa* or period during which the sun is moving from south to north, should take place, according to Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac, at 38 *ghaṭîs*, 44 *palas*, after sunrise on Pausha krishṇa 3, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1887, and, according to K. L. Chhatre's almanac, at 47 *ghaṭîs*, 20 *palas*, after sunrise on Pausha śukla 13, corresponding to the 8th January, A.D. 1887, "in the year 1943 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramârka, (*and*) in the Hêmalamba *saṁvatsara*; and also in the Śaka (*year*) 1808 (*expired*) of the glorious king Śâlivâhana, (*and*) in the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*." Here we find that in each instance the name of Vyaya, No. 20, is coupled with the Śaka year; but the name of Hêmalamba, No. 31, is coupled, in the *saṁvatsara-phala* with southern Vikrama-Saṁvat (1942 expired and) 1943 current, and in the *saṁkrânti-phala* with (1943 expired and) 1944 current. And the names of the *saṁvatsaras* are given in precisely the same way, and in unbroken succession, in the preceding almanacs, back to that for Śaka-Saṁvat (1799 expired and) 1800 current and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat (1933-34 expired and) 1934-35 current. The accompanying Table, arranged for current Śaka and Vikrama years, shews how the *saṁvatsaras* run, for these ten years, according to the two southern systems followed in these almanacs, and according to the northern luni-solar system. And it will be seen that, by this southern Vikrama luni-solar system, the *saṁvatsaras* come just one year later than by the northern luni-solar system.

Now, that the *saṁvatsaras* connected in these almanacs with the southern Vikrama years, are not solar periods, commencing either with the Makara-Saṁkrânti as the commencement of the *uttarâyana*, or with the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti or autumnal equinox, as the commencement of the solar month Kârttika and the astronomical commencement of the southern Vikrama year as a solar year (if such a year was ever required), nor luni-solar periods commencing with Kârttika śukla 1 as the civil commencement of the southern Vikrama year, can easily be shewn. Taking Ganpat Krishnaji's details, — (in Śaka-Saṁvat 1809 and) southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1944, both current, the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred on Pausha kṛishṇa 3, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1887, for which day the *saṁvatsara* is specified as Hêmalamba, No. 31; the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti occurred on Âśvina kṛishna 2, corresponding to the 15th October, A. D. 1886; and Kârttika śukla 1 ended on

[5] See the results for Dates Nos. 9 and 10, *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 141, 142.

[6] See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 206.

Luni-solar Saṁvatsaras of the Sixty-Year Cycle, with current Saka and Vikrama years.

A. D.	NORTHERN INDIA. Northern Luni-solar System. Śaka.	Vikrama.	Saṁvatsara.	SOUTHERN INDIA. Southern Luni-solar System. Śaka.	Saṁvatsara.	Southern Vikrama Luni-solar System. Vikrama.	Saṁvatsara.
1877-78	1800 ...	1935 ...	Virôdhin, 23 ...	1800 ...	Îśvara, 11.........	1934 / 1935	Sarvadhârin, 22
1878-79	1801 ...	1936 ...	Vikṛiti, 24	1801 ...	Bahudhânya, 12.	1935 / 1936	Virôdhin, 23
1879-80	1802 ...	1937 ...	Khara, 25.........	1802 ...	Pramâthin, 13...	1936 / 1937	Vikṛiti, 24
1880-81	1803 ...	1938 ...	Nandana, 26 ...	1803 ...	Vikrama, 14......	1937 / 1938	Khara, 25
1881-82	1804 ...	1939 ...	Vijaya, 27	1804 ...	Vṛisha, 15	1938 / 1939	Nandana, 26
1882-83	1805 ...	1940 ...	Jaya, 28	1805 ...	Chitrabhânu, 16.	1939 / 1940	Vijaya, 27
1883-84	1806 ...	1941 ...	Manmatha, 29...	1806 ...	Subhânu, 17......	1940 / 1941	Jaya, 28
1884-85	1807 ...	1942 ...	Durmukha, 30..	1807 ...	Târaṇa, 18	1941 / 1942	Manmatha, 29
1885-86	1808 ...	1943 ...	Hêmalamba, 31.	1808 ...	Pârthiva, 19......	1942 / 1943	Durmukha, 30
1886-87	1809 ...	1944 ...	Vilambin, 32 ...	1809 ...	Vyaya, 20.........	1943 / 1944	Hêmalamba, 31

the 28th October, A.D. 1886. And in the preceding year, the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred on Pausha śukla 7, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1886, for which day the *saṁvatsara* is specified as Durmukha, No. 30; the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti occurred on Âśvina śukla 7, corresponding to the 15th October, A.D. 1885; and Kârttika śukla 1 ended on the 7th November, A.D. 1885. If Durmukha, No. 30, extended either from the 15th October, A.D. 1885, to the 14th October, A.D. 1886, or from the 7th November, A.D. 1885, to the 27th October, A.D. 1886, or from the 12th January, A.D. 1886, to the 11th January, A.D. 1887, then it, and not Hêmalamba, No. 31, would have to be quoted as the *saṁvatsara* current on the day, *viz*. Chaitra śukla 1, corresponding to the 5th April, A.D. 1886, when "the king was the Moon."

Since Hêmalamba, No. 31, was current on Chaitra śukla 1 (5th April, A.D. 1886), and Durmukha, No. 30, was current on the preceding Pausha śukla 7 (12th January, A.D. 1886), and since between these two dates there is no occurrence that could suitably be selected for the commencement of a *saṁvatsara*, — for the reason that the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti or vernal equinox did not occur till Chaitra śukla 8 (12th April, A.D. 1886), — it is evident that Chaitra śukla 1 was the actual commencement of Hêmalamba. Accordingly, it is plain that **the saṁvatsaras of this system, though quoted with the southern Vikrama years, are really fitted to the Saka years.** And Hêmalamba, No. 31, was therefore coincident with Śaka-Saṁvat 1809 current, and extended from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887; and it included the last seven lunar months, from the 5th April to the 27th October A.D. 1886 (Chaitra śukla 1 to Âśvina kṛishṇa 15), of southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1943 current, and the first five lunar months, from the 28th October, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A D. 1887 (Kârttika śukla 1 to Phâlguna kṛishṇa 15), of southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1944 current; and so with the preceding *saṁvatsaras* given in the Table.

The period to which this system can be carried back, its origin, and the reason for which its *saṁvatsaras* come just one year later than by the northern luni-solar system, remain to be determined. It can hardly be connected with the divergence in the Vikrama reckoning, unless a current Vikrama year was deliberately turned, in Northern India, at some time or another, into an expired year.

But of course **the fact of its real existence remains to be established.** And I take this opportunity of bringing the matter forward, as one that calls for inquiry, because the almanacs in question apparently do indicate the existence of such a system, at least now; and because I find that its existence in former times would explain some dates, for which correct results seemingly cannot otherwise be obtained.

J. F. FLEET.

ONOMATOPŒIA IN HINDUSTANI.

Onomatopoetic expressions in Hindustâni are very common: here are a few which may be of interest.

1. *Billî ghur-ghurâtî hai: mû-mû kartî hai.*
   The cat purrs: mews.
2. *Bhêrî mamiâtî hai.*
   The sheep bleats.
3. *Gâî huṅkârtî hai.*
   The cow lows.
4. *Ghôrá hiṅhiṅâtâ hai.*
   The horse neighs.
5. *Gadhâ rîṅgtâ hai.*
   The ass brays.
6. *Chuhâ chûṅ-chû kartâ hai.*
   The rat squeaks.
7. *Sûar kâṅkhtâ hai.*
   The hog grunts.
8. *Shêr babar gûnjtâ hai.*
   The lion roars.
9. *Rîchh ghurâtâ hai.*
   The bear growls.
10. *Kuttâ bhauṅktâ hai.*
    The dog barks.
11. *Hâthî chiṅghârtâ hai.*
    The elephant trumpets.
12. *Bail dakârtâ hai.*
    The bull bellows.
13. *Sâmp phuṅkârtâ hai.*
    The snake hisses.
14. *Mêndak turm-turm kartâ hai.*
    The frog croaks.
15. *Gîdar bhauṅktâ hai.*
    The jackal howls.
16. *Murghâ baṅg dêtâ hai.*
    The cock crows.
17. *Murghî karkarâtî hai.*
    The hen cackles
18. *Ullû hû-hû kartâ hai.*
    The owl hoots.
19. *Chiṛiâ chîn-chîn kartî hai.*
    The sparrow chirps.
20. *Shahad-makhî bhinbhinâtî hai.*
    The bee hums.
21. *Kavvâ kâṅ-kâṅ kartâ hai.*
    The crow caws.
22. *Koilê chiṭakhtê haiṅ.*
    The coals crackle.

Ambâlâ. J. G. DELMERICK.

THE COINS AND HISTORY OF TORAMANA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

WHEN I wrote my paper on the Legends on the Silver Coins of the Early Guptas and others connected with them, *ante*, Vol. XIV. page 65 ff., I had not had an opportunity of inspecting the coins of Tôramâṇa. Later in the same year, I examined the only two certain specimens of his coinage, both of them silver. which, I believe, are known to exist, and which are in the British Museum; one of them being known as Colonel Bush's coin, and the other as Miss Baring's. And I have included some remarks on them in my Introduction to "the Gupta Inscriptions," *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 11 f. I take this opportunity of considering them more fully, and of making some further observations.

Of both of these coins very good collotypes have been published in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. Plate vii., facing p. 36, Nos. 27 (Colonel Bush's coin) and 28 (Miss Baring's); with an account of them, on p. 66, by Mr. Thomas. And they have also been photo-lithographed, but not so successfully, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. Plate v., Nos. 18, 19, with a notice by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham on p. 26 f. But, in the treatment of them by these two scholars, there are two points to which objection has to be taken. One is Mr. Thomas' interpretation of the date, as being " 82, or rather 182; the figure for 100 is obliterated." The other is that both he and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham made the legend include and commence with the epithet *dêva-janita*, which, being interpreted as meaning "begotten by the gods," might be held to be justified by, and to be closely connected with, the titles Dêvaputra and Daivaputra, "son of the gods, or of the deities;" the former of which, — unless it is only an imperfect rendering of the latter, — is applied to Huvishka in his inscriptions of the years 39 and 47, and to Vâsudêva in his inscription of the year 44 (?); and the latter of which, in connection with the names Shâhi and Shâhânushâhi, occurs in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

In passing, it may be noted that the same epithet *dêva-janita*, rendered by "begotten of Dêva (or, of the Dêvas)," is also given by Mr. V. A. Smith in his proposed restoration of the legend on certain gold coins of Kumâragupta (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XXI. p. 100). I have not been able to trace his authority for this, or to examine the coins in question. But it may be taken as quite certain that there also the epithet does not really occur; and that the error is of precisely the same nature as in the case of Tôramâṇa's coins. And the same mistake has also been made in the case of certain silver coins of Kumâragupta, Skandagupta, Bhîmasêna, and Îśânavarman; on which Gen. Sir A. Cunningham read the same epithet, and rendered it by "His Majesty" (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 24, 25, 26, 27.)[1]

Of the two examples of Tôramâṇa's coinage, Colonel Bush's coin is by far the best specimen, both in execution and in preservation. On the obverse, there is the king's head, facing to the proper right. And in front of the face there is the date 52, in numerical symbols which run right onto the edge of the coin. The symbol for 2 is below the symbol for 50. Above the latter there is ample room for part of the symbol for 100, or for any following century, if it had been included on the die; but there are not any indications of this having been the case; there are no grounds for supposing that the symbol for any century was stamped, but has become obliterated, or was engraved on the die, but, in the stamping, fell beyond the edge of the coin; and I am quite sure that the date never included such a symbol. On the reverse there is the more finished representation of the peacock, very well depicted with outstretched wings and fully-expanded tail, and almost identical with the peacock on the Early Gupta silver coins of Class B., as distinguished by me from the ruder representation on the coins of Class A., *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 65. And round this, in characters of the same type with those of Tôramâṇa's inscription on the boar at Êraṇ, (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 36, p. 158, and Plate xxiii A.), there is the marginal legend—

[1] See *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 66, note 6.—I have not seen Bhîmasêna's coin. But there is no doubt whatever about the mistake and its origin.

Vijit-âvanir=avanipati-śrî-**Tôramâṇô** dêvô jayati; — "victorious is his majesty, the lord of the earth, the glorious **Tôramâṇa**, who has conquered the earth."

Here the legend again, as well as following the same wording, agrees with the legends on the Early Gupta coins of Class B. in respect of the point that the superscript vowels were properly engraved on the die; but they have mostly fallen beyond the edge of the coin, or otherwise have been rubbed and obliterated; and the *î* of *śrî* is the only one that is at all fully recognisable. The legend commences a little to the proper left above the peacock's head. And it is the last two words, *dêvô jayati*, which were wrongly taken by Mr. Thomas and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, to be the commencement of it, and to be the epithet *dêva-janita*. That this was a mistake, even the collotype is really clear enough to shew.

Miss Baring's coin is exactly similar in all essential points, on both the obverse and reverse; but it was struck from another die; and it is not so good a specimen, either in execution or in preservation. Here, again, on **the obverse** there is the same date of 52; and again without any indication of any third symbol. And on the **reverse** there are parts of the same legend; but only the syllables *śrî-Tôramâṇô* are distinctly legible.

In my previous remarks on Tôramâṇa's coins, referred to above, I would not then give a final opinion as to **the exact value of the first symbol of the date**; "since, though probably a 50, it is possibly an 80, turned half round on the die, so as to lie vertically, instead of horizontally, in order that it might not fall chiefly beyond the edge of the coin." But I do not now entertain any doubt about the propriety of reading it as 50; as it was read by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham. The symbol for 2 stands in a perfectly normal position. In order to interpret the other symbol as 80, we must read it at right angles to the direction in which the 2 lies on the coin; and this is an irregularity for which no analogous instance, as far as I know, can be quoted, and which is probably not in any way justifiable. The symbol is given in Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 45, cols. 6 to 9; but is shewn there only for later times, and not for the Gupta and Valabhî periods, during the latter of which, in the Valabhî grants, a radically different symbol was used. But its existence can be traced to a very early period; for it occurs in the Sahasrâm rock edict of Dêvânaṁpiya of the year 256 (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. p. 94; and *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 155), in which its value is explained in the passage in words. And its continued preservation and use are shewn by its employment in the Nêpâl inscription of Jayadêva II., of Harsha-Saṁvat 153 (*ante*, Vol. IX. p. 178), and in the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant of Mahêndrapâla, of Harsha-Saṁvat 155 (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 112). It remains, therefore, accepting the value of this symbol as 50, and reading the whole date as (the year) 52, to see what **the application of the date** may be.

From the Gwâlior inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 37, p. 161), we have learned (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 245) that **Tôramâṇa was the father of the great king Mihirakula**, who accomplished the final extinction of the Early Gupta sovereignty, so far as we are concerned, with the line ending with Skandagupta, and with the supremacy of the Guptas over the whole of Northern India. As is shewn by, amongst other things, their names, both of which plainly indicate a non-Hindu origin, and by the use of the title Shâhi on Mihirakula's copper coins and in a recently discovered inscription of Tôramâṇa himself, — the two persons, father and son, belonged by birth either to the same **foreign race** to which belonged Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudêva, and the members of which, whether best and most properly known by the name of Indo-Scythians, Śakas, Hûṇas, or Turushkas, had established themselves in the Pañjâb in the first century A.D.; or else to one or other of the foreign tribes which succeeded Kanishka's dynasty in the Pañjâb, and, as can be proved even from their coins, continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta, and the members of which adopted in several respects the characteristics and attributes of Kanishka's dynasty.[2] As we learn from Hiuen Tsiang, **Mihirakula's capital was Sâkala in the Pañjâb**, which is the modern

[2] I refer to the coins on some of which a paper by Mr. Thomas, entitled "Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindi Legends," has been published in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 6 ff.

Sâṅgalawâlâṭibbâ, — the 'Sangla Hill, G. T. S., of the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30, Lat. 31° 42′ N., Long. 73° 26′ E., — in the 'Jhang' District, and on the borders of 'Gujrânwâlâ,' about forty-four miles west by north of Lâhôr. And **Tôramâṇa has recently been connected with the same part of the country,** through Mr. M. F. O'Dwyer's discovery,[3] at 'Kura' in the Salt Range, of an inscription of the Shâhi or Shâha Tôramâṇa, whom I hold to be undoubtedly the Tôramâṇa whose coins I am discussing. **Mihirakula's date** is now known sufficiently closely; for, as I have shewn on a previous occasion (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 252), his fifteenth year, recorded in his Gwâlior inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533-34, which is the recorded date for Yaśôdharman, who overthrew him in Western and Central India; and we shall be very near the mark, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career.

This fixes **Tôramâṇa's date,** approximately. But it is also determined, and for just the same period, by independent considerations. The Êraṇ pillar inscription, dated in the reign of Budhagupta (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 19, p. 88), records the erection of the column by the *Mahârâja* Mâtṛivishṇu and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, and thus shews that at that time both of these persons were alive. On the other hand, the Êraṇ boar inscription, referred to above, dated in the first year of the reign of Tôramâṇa, records that the temple, in the portico of which the boar stands, was built by the same Dhanyavishṇu, after, as is distinctly stated, the decease of his elder brother, the *Mahârâja* Mâtṛivishṇu. These two records accordingly shew that Tôramâṇa came, in Eastern Mâlwa, after Budhagupta, and within the remnant of the generation to which the brothers Mâtṛivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu belonged. For Budhagupta we have the date of A.D. 484, from the pillar inscription; and from his coins (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 67 f.), the date of A.D. 494-95, and possibly a somewhat later date, corresponding to Gupta-Saṁvat 180 (A.D. 499-500), with or without a numeral in the units place. The next native king after Budhagupta, in the same part of the country, was, as far as our present information goes, Bhânugupta; for whom we have the date of A.D. 510, from the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Gôparâja (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 20, p. 91). And further, we have the grants of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshôbha (*id.* Nos. 21, 22, 23, 25, pp. 93, 100, 106, 112), dated in A.D. 475, 482, 511, and 528; which, though they do not give the names of the paramount sovereigns, distinctly record that the dominion of the Gupta kings was then still continuing. These various records and dates, taken together, shew that in the period there was an interruption of the Gupta sovereignty by foreign invaders, led by Tôramâṇa and Mihirakula. But they shew also that, in Mâlwa at least, this interruption did not last for any great time; and that the first year of Tôramâṇa, mentioned in the Êraṇ boar inscription. must fall either between A.D. 494 and 510, or between A.D. 510 and about 515, when he may be supposed to have died and to have been succeeded by Mihirakula. Under any circumstances, taking even the latest date of A.D. 533-34, when Mihirakula in his turn had been overthrown by Yaśôdharman, the whole period of the tenancy of Mâlwa by these foreign invaders did not amount to more than forty years. And, accordingly, the year 52 on Tôramâṇa's coins cannot have a local application, and cannot be reckoned from his conquest of Mâlwa.

Others of the records throw still more light on **the history of the period.** The Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 529 expired (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 18, p. 79) shews that Kumâragupta's rule included Western Mâlwa in A.D. 436; but that, between then and A.D. 473, that part of the country passed under the power of other kings, and the Early Gupta sway there ceased, at least temporarily. Other specific references to a serious interruption of the Early Gupta sovereignty at that time, and to the enemies by whom it was effected, are to be found in the Bhitarî pillar inscription (*id.* No. 13, p. 52) of Kumâragupta's

[3] Notified in the *Academy*, 12th January, 1889, p. 29. I have seen an impression of this inscription, through the kindness of Dr. Bühler, who has it in hand for publication elsewhere. It is dated; but unfortunately the passage is much damaged, and, as an estampage may make the passage somewhat clearer hereafter, it is useless to speculate on the possible readings of the date here; and I will only point out that, if it is dated in an era, that era must of necessity be the Śaka era, though probably not mentioned by that name. For present purposes, it is sufficient to state that, on palæographical grounds, the inscription may undoubtedly be referred to the time of Tôramâṇa, the father of Mihirakula.

son and successor Skandagupta, who "conquered the Pushyamitras," and "joined in close conflict with the Hûṇas," and, "after his father's death, established again the ruined fortunes of his family." It seems likely that the Pushyamitras are to be placed in Central India, somewhere in the country along the banks of the Narmadâ;[4] and possibly it was by them that Kumâragupta's power in Mâlwa was overthrown. But the Hûṇas belonged to the extreme north-west of India; and, however far they may have been successful in isolated attacks on the northern frontier of the Gupta kingdom, they had not then broken through the Gupta territory and invaded the more southern parts of it. In the first place, the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta (*id.* No. 14, p. 56), and his Kahâuṁ pillar inscription (*id.* No. 15, p. 65), shew that, during the period A.D. 455 to 466, he held the supremacy right across the lower part of Northern India, from Kathiâwâḍ to the confines of Nêpâl. And in the second place, the Valabhî records shew pretty closely the period when the passage of the Hûṇas to the south did take place. From them we learn (*e.g.*, *id.* No. 38, p. 167) that the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka, the founder of the Valabhî family, "was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down their enemies;" *i.e.* that he fought successfully, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ or on its frontier, against the Maitrakas, *i.e.* the Mihiras, *i.e.* the particular family or clan, among the Hûṇas, to which Tôramâṇa and Mihirakula belonged. For Bhaṭârka's third son, the ***Mahârâja*** Dhruvasêna I., we have the date of A.D. 526 (Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 207, the month Kârttika; *ante*, Vol. V. p. 206), — the earliest recorded date of the family. Between them there intervened the two elder brothers of Dhruvasêna I., the *Sênâpati* Dharasêna I., and the ***Mahârâja*** Drôṇasiṁha. And Bhaṭârka is thus to be placed, roughly, in the period A.D. 490 to 500; just synchronously with the latest date for Budhagupta in Mâlwa. As we have seen, just after Budhagupta we find Tôramâṇa established as king of Eastern Mâlwa. And the reference to the Maitrakas in connection with Bhaṭârka, who evidently prevented an invasion of Kâṭhiâwâḍ by them, shews precisely the period when his troops were marching to the south. Skandagupta, the last of the direct line of the Early Gupta kings, had commenced to reign in or about A.D. 450; and doubtless it was his death that enabled the Hûṇas, who had already proved troublesome enemies enough, to assume an aggressive attitude again, under Tôramâṇa; and on this occasion with such success as to penetrate even to Central India, and to hold good their position there, till Mihirakula was overthrown by Yaśôdharman in the west and by Bâlâditya in the direction of Magadha.

We have seen that **the date 52, on Tôramâṇa's coins, can have no local application,** reckoning from his conquest of Mâlwa. Nor can it be reckoned from the Gupta epoch; for its equivalent would then be A.D. 371-72, almost a century and a quarter too early. Even if, for the sake of argument, we admit that the system of "omitted hundreds" was used anywhere in India before the invention and application of the Lôkakâla reckoning in considerably later times, and so, while reading the date as 52, we interpret it as 152, and refer it to the Gupta epoch with the result of A.D. 471-72, it would still be twenty-five years too soon; to say nothing of the improbability of Tôramâṇa consenting to use the Gupta era. Thus, no explanation of the date can be found by any of these applications of it. Further, the omission of the name of Tôramâṇa's father in the Êraṇ boar inscription, contrasted with the fact that his own name, as that of the father of Mihirakula, is given in the Gwâlior inscription dated in Mihirakula's reign, indicates plainly, if interpreted on the analogy of other epigraphical records drafted by Hindus, that Tôramâṇa was the first of his tribe or clan to establish himself in Mâlwa. And in this connection, a comparison of the details of the two Êraṇ records with which we are concerned, is instructive. The pillar inscription opens with a verse in praise of Vishṇu as the four-armed god. Then follows the date, — "in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (*is*) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha: on the day of Suraguru; (*or in figures*) the year 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 5; and while

[4] See the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Translation, Vol. IV. p. 215, note.

Suraśmichandra is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world, (*the country that lies*) between the (rivers) Kâlindî and Narmadâ, (*and*) is enjoying in the world the glory of (*being*) a *Mahârâja*." And so far, with the exception of the words *saṁ 100 60 5*, the record is in verse, with an irregularity in the first *pâda* of each of the first two stanzas. Then, in prose, commencing with the words "on this (*lunar*) day, (*specified*) as above by the year and month and day," there comes the description of the brothers Mâtṛivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu, with their ancestry for three generations; and the statement that they conjointly set up the column, as a flag-staff of the god Janârdana. And the record ends with the benediction, — "let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brâhmaṇs!" The boar inscription opens with a verse in praise of Vishṇu in the form of the Boar. Then follows the date, — "in the first year; while the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious Tôramâṇa, of great fame (*and*) of great lustre, is governing the earth; on the tenth day of (the month) Phâlguna; on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the regnal year and month and day, (*and*) invested as above with its own characteristics." And, in a very similar fashion to the irregularity in the metre in the opening verses of the pillar inscription, the first half of the passage containing the date, lying between two verses in the Âryâ metre, commences in the same metre, and was evidently intended to be completed as a verse; but it winds up in prose, probably because the composer found it difficult to adapt the paramount title, *mahârâjâdhirâja*, to the metre. The rest of the record is in prose; and except for the differences due to the necessity of here describing Mâtṛivishṇu as deceased, and to the fact that the object of this record was a stone temple of the god Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu) in the form of the Boar, it is word for word identical with the corresponding portion of the pillar inscription. And it ends with the same benediction, — "let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brâhmaṇs!" The analogous shortcomings in the metrical portions, suggest that the two records were composed by one and the same person, — a man not quite perfect in the art of versification. But at least it is plain that all the formal part of each was taken from the same standard draft. And from either point of view, the contrast between the manner in which the year of the Gupta era, and no regnal year, is used in the pillar inscription, and the manner in which the boar inscription is dated, not in any year of an era, but only in the first regnal year (*râjya-varsha*), shews emphatically that this latter record was composed and engraved during the very first year of Tôramâṇa's possession of that part of the country.

But, coming down, as Tôramâṇa did, from the extreme north-west corner of India, it is impossible that he could establish himself, as the first of a new, hostile, and foreign dynasty, in the most southern part of the Gupta territory, in absolutely the first year of his reign. Such a journey and such a conquest can only have been the work of much time, facilitated by power accumulated during several years of sovereignty elsewhere. And such sovereignty elsewhere, in his own part of the country, is proved partly by the use, on his coins, of the year 52, which, as we have now seen, cannot possibly denote the duration of his reign in Mâlwa, and must be reckoned from some initial year considerably anterior to the date of his appearing in that part of the country; and partly, and even still more plainly, by the 'Kura' inscription referred to above. In that record, indeed, he has the title of *Mahârâja*; which, interpreted in accordance with the purely Hindu custom of the period, would indicate only feudatory rank. But before it there stands another title, now partly effaced, which was either *Râjâtirâja* or *Râjâdhiraja*. And the two together are precisely the two titles which the Indo-Scythians, differing from the Hindu custom, and in spite of the fact that many of their records must have been drafted by Hindus, used to indicate paramount sovereignty.[5]

It is plain, therefore, that Tôramâṇa did exercise sovereign sway in the Pañjâb; at the beginning of his career, and before he commenced the campaign in the course of which he eventually reached Mâlwa. If, now, we interpret the year on his coins as a regnal year, it

[5] I hope to write ere long a full note on Hindu and Indo-Scythian Titles of Paramount Sovereignty. Meanwhile, see some remarks, in connection with the title *Mahârâja*, in *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 15, note 4.

certainly indicates a long reign. But analogous instances could be quoted for this; and no special exception need be taken to it. And this interpretation of the date is at any rate better than the assumption that it is reckoned from some period, anterior to Tôramâṇa's accession, at which his own branch of the Hûṇas first rose to power; for that would mean that, not satisfied with the Saka era, which was the hereditary and national era of that part of the country, and probably of his own ancestors also, he sought to establish a new era, dating from that event. This, accordingly, is the interpretation that I place upon the date. And, reckoning back from A.D. 515, which is very closely the latest terminal date that can be applied, it follows that the commencement of his reign, at his own capital in the Pañjâb, is to be placed approximately in A.D. 460.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 181.—MULTAI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF NANDARAJA.—SAKA-SAMVAT 631.

This inscription was first brought to notice and published, with a lithograph, by Mr. James Prinsep, in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 869 ff., and Plate xliv., from the original plates, which were sent in to him by Mr. Maunaton Ommanney, C.S., who had them from Kamal Bhârti, a Gôsain, resident at **Multâî**,[1] the chief town of the Multâî Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Bêtûl[2] District, Central Provinces. Owing to certain inaccuracies in the passage containing the date, Mr. Prinsep was not able to determine the exact period of this record; but had to leave this point uncertain, " wavering between 630 and 830 " of the Saka era. This question has remained unsettled up to the present time. And, in fact, owing to the omission of a syllable in the published lithograph, it could not well be finally decided without a re-examination of the original. I am, therefore, glad to be able now to re-edit this inscription from the original plates, which were recently re-discovered, and have been sent to me, by Colonel J. A. Temple, Deputy Commissioner, who obtained them from Suphal Bhârti. From Colonel Temple's memorandum it appears that this line of Gôsains, the members of which are celibate, and the succession in which passes from teacher to disciple, inhabit a *maṭha* or religious college on the banks of a small tank at Multâî, in which there are the springs that are considered to be the source of the Tâpî or Taptî. The tradition is that the first settlement here was made in the middle of the eleventh century A.D., by one Tâpî Bhârti, who threw up an earthen dam, enclosing the springs in question, and built the present *maṭha*. By the records of the *maṭha*, Suphal Bhârti, who is the immediate successor of Kamal Bhârtî and the present representative of the line of Gôsains, is the tenth in succession after Tâpî Bhârtî; and he holds, rent-free, the village of Khaḍa-Âmlâ. The *maṭha* claims to have possessed, under the Gôṇḍ dynasty and the Marâṭhâs, also the villages of Bârchhî, Bhawârî, Dâtôrâ, Dhârnî, Jaṁwâḍâ, Jaṁwâḍî, Pisâṭâ, Râjgaum, and Tâwlî, which were resumed by the Government in or about 1815, when Kamal Bhârti and a number of other Gôsains refused to accept the introduction of the British rule, and attacked the British forces. And the present grant is supposed to be the title-deed of Khaḍa-Âmlâ and the other nine villages; and it came to notice through being produced before Mr. Ommanney in the course of an inquiry into rent-free tenures. It does not, however, contain any name answering to any of the above. And Mr. Ommanney, who read the names, except that of Arjunagrâma, with sufficient correctness for the purpose, reported that neither have the villages mentioned any resemblance in name to any in the Multâî District, nor could he discover any at all like them at Hôshaṅgâbâd or Jabalpur. It is, therefore, not even certain that the grant really belongs to the locality in which the holders of it have resided for so long

---

[1] The 'Mooltai, Mooltye, Multâye, Multai, and Multâí,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 21° 46' N.; Long. 78° 18' E.

[2] The 'Baitool, Baitul, and Betúl,' of maps, &c.

a time. All that can be said on this point is, that the characters shew that it belongs to some part of Central India or of the Central Provinces.

The **plates**, of which the first is engraved on one side only, but the last on both sides, are three in number, each measuring about $7\frac{15}{16}$" by $3\frac{7}{8}$". The edges of them were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with small depressions running round inside the rims thus formed. The writing on the first and third plates is in a state of almost perfect preservation. That on the second plate, on both sides, has suffered a good deal from corrosion; but the only word that is at all doubtful, is *kêtuḥ*, in line 10; all the rest can be read on the original plate without any uncertainty. — The **ring** on which the plates were strung, and the holes for which are in the lower part of the first plate and the upper part of the other two, is about $\frac{1}{4}$" thick, and is oval in shape, measuring about $2\frac{1}{8}$" by $2\frac{5}{8}$". It had been cut when the grant came into my hands; and it probably was thus cut for the purposes of the lithograph issued with Mr. Prinsep's paper. The **seal** on it is not a separate arrangement, attached to the ring by soldering, or by socketing the ends of the ring in it; but is part of the ring itself, the copper wire having been here beaten out into a surface, following the curve of the ring, about $\frac{1}{8}$" thick, and roughly oval in shape, measuring about $1\frac{5}{8}$" by $2\frac{1}{8}$". In the upper part of the seal there is engraved in outline a figure which undoubtedly seems to be meant for Garuḍa,[3] depicted with a man's legs, extended as if running, with expanded wings, and with the head and beak of a bird, facing to the proper right; and below this there is the **legend** *śrî-Yuddhâsuraḥ*, which quotes what is given in line 14-15 of the record itself as a second name or *biruda* of Nandarâja. — The **weight** of the three plates is 2 lbs. $9\frac{3}{8}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, $3\frac{5}{8}$ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz. — The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of the transitional type from which the northern Nâgarî was shortly afterwards developed. The following **palæographical points** call for notice. (1) In the *jâ* of *jâtas*, line 8, and in the *jñâ* of *ajñâna*, line 24, the *â* is an upward stroke attached to the middle of the *j*; and it is written in the same way, as a component of *ô*, in *têjô*, line 4; but in *râjô*, line 3, the same component of *ô* is formed by a downward stroke attached to the top of the *j*. (2) In the *bhi* of *rajâbhis*, line 27, the form of the vowel differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the inscription; compare, for instance, *hêtubhiḥ*, line 3. Owing to a fault in the copper, it is formed in rather a slanting and cramped manner; but it is evidently intended for the older circular superscript *i*. The consonant itself is not very well formed here; but it is evidently the *bh* that is used throughout the rest of the record. (3) In the *pû* of *pûrvvêṇa*, line 20, and *pûrvvaṁ*, line 22, the *û* differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the record, and which is very clearly illustrated in *bhûmis*. line 27. (4) In the *kê* of *kêtuḥ*, line 10, and in the *dê* of *anumôdêta*, line 25, the *ê*, unless it is omitted altogether, is formed quite exceptionally, by being attached, according to the older method, to the top of the consonant, instead of being superscript, as, for instance, in *ânvayê*, line 2. (5) In the *yâ* of *pipparikâyâ*, line 20, the *y* has a totally different form from that which is used throughout the rest of the record. It is not altogether well shaped; but it is evidently intended for the well-known older *y*. For an analogous difference in Central India, in respect of the same letter, see *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III., No. 23, p. 106; where, however, the exceptional form is the later one, which in the present record is the standard form. And (6) the *ś* used in *śaka*, line 29, is perceptibly of a squarer and more antique shape than that used otherwise throughout, for a clear instance of which see *yaśasi*, line 1. The average **size of the letters** is about $\frac{3}{16}$". The engraving is good and fairly deep; but, the plates being thick and substantial, the letters do not show through at all, even on the reverse side of the first plate. The engraver's work was done steadily and smoothly; and it is only in the interiors of a few of the letters that any marks of the working of the tool can be detected. — The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the opening words, *Ôṁ* and *Svasti*, and for some words in lines 5-6 which will be the subject of comment further on, the first twelve lines of the record are in verse. And two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses are quoted in lines 26 to 29. — In

[3] The epithet *paramabhâgavata*, which is applied to Nandarâja-Yuddhâsura in line 14 of the record itself, indicates that he was a Vaishṇava.

respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, in *vaṅśyair*, line 22 ; (2) the use of *v* for *b* in *vrahmaṇya*, line 14; though the proper sign for *b* itself is used in *bahu*, line 9, and in *bahubhir*, line 26, and probably also in *samanubôdhayati*, line 16, where, however, the letter is much damaged; (3) the doubling of *m* before *y*, in *rammyê*, line 2; and (4) the doubling of *t* before *r*, in *mâtâpittrôr*, line 17, and in *sagôttrâya*, line 18; though not in *mitra* in the same line, and in other words.

The **inscription** is one of a **Râshṭrakûṭa chieftain named Nandarâja, and otherwise called Yuddhâsura,** whose subordinate feudatory rank is indicated by the absence of any of the paramount or even ordinary regal titles in the description of him and his ancestors, and by the fact that his official, under whose direction the charter was written, was only a *Sâṁdhivigrahika*, — not a *Mahâsâṁdhivigrahika*. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant, to a Brâhmaṇ, of **the village of Jalaûkuhe,** bounded on the east, south, west, and north, by **the villages of Kiṇihivaṭṭâra, Pipparikâ, Jalukâ, and Arjunagrâma,** respectively. These places have not yet been identified; and the record itself does not give any indication as to the neighbourhood in which they should be found. For such cases as the present we much require, for other parts of India, similar lists to that of the very useful Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle, which was issued in 1879 under the superintendence of Mr. H. E. M. James, Bo.C.S., and which gives the name of every town and village the postal arrangements of which are under the Government of Bombay.

As regards the **date** of this record, from line 21-22 we learn that the grant was made on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika. And in line 29 f. we have, for the writing of the charter, Śaka-Saṁvat 631, expressed in words, and not specified either as current or as expired. The period of the grant is thus A.D. 708-709, or 709-710, according as the given year is applied as current or as expired. But there are no details that can be tested by calculation. Mr. Prinsep's difficulty in respect of the date arose from his failing to recognise, in line 30, that *shaṭchhv* is a mistake for *shaṭsv*, which stands for *shaṭsu* in combination by *saṁdhi* with a word, *êka*, commencing with a vowel; and that what we have after *shaṭchhv=ê* is evidently the upper part of a *ka*, which plainly at first was omitted altogether, and then was not properly inserted, because the ring-hole left hardly room enough to form the whole letter conveniently. In his text, which was primarily based on Mr. Ommanney's decipherment, with amendments by his own Paṇḍit, he gave the reading *Śaka-kâla-saṁvatsarê śatêshu shaṭkêna(?) triṁś-ôttarêshu*. And he repeated this in his introductory remarks; adding the words "the obvious meaning of this is six hundred and thirty besides." But, as giving rather his own interpretation, he proceeded to write "after the word *śatêshu*, 'hundreds,' in the plural number, two unknown characters "follow, which may be very probably numerals. The second has much resemblance to the "modern 8, but the first is unknown and of a complex form: its central part reminds us of the "equally enigmatical numeral in one of the Bhêlsâ inscriptions. It may, perhaps, designate in a "cipher the word *aṅkê*, 'in numerals,' thus purporting 'in the year of Śaka, hundreds, numeri-"cally 8, and thirty over.' A fertile imagination might again convert the cipher into the word "*ashṭakê*, 'eight,' afterwards expressed in figures; but I must leave this curious point for "future elucidation, wavering between 630 and 830 for the date of the document." As I have indicated above, the difficulty in the way of settling this date before now, has been due to the fact that for some reason or other the *shu* of *śatêshu* was omitted in the lithograph, which appears to be chiefly based on a hand-drawing by Mr. Ommanney. There is in reality no puzzle at all in the correct reading of the date, which was, in fact, quite evident on my examination of a drawing of the second side of the third plate, which was sent to me as a sample from which to decide whether the original plates were worth transmitting. The passage containing the date includes no numerals, and it simply means "in six centuries of years, increased by the thirty-first year, of the Śaka era."

A really **curious point in this inscription** is the irregular way in which a short prose passage is introduced in line 5-6. The words *tasy=âtmavân âtmajaḥ*, at the end of line 6, are the last seven syllables of a line in the Śârdûlavikriḍita metre; whereas, the immediately

preceding passage, which is the direct context of them, commencing with *tasya sûnur* in line 5, is in prose. To the words *tasy=âtmavân âtmajaḥ* Mr. Prinsep attached the note — "the "metre requires here an addition of 12 syllables to the 9" (properly, seven) "found in the "text, to complete the Śârdûlavikrîḍita verse; these Kamalâkânta would supply thus, — *dhîr-* "*ânanda-sudhâkarasya jagatâṁ*, 'the moon of the happiness of the wise.'" But what we have here is the end of the *second* line of a stanza, which terminates with the word *sarvvataḥ* in line 8; and we require not twelve, but thirty-one syllables, to complete the stanza. This, of course, is on the assumption that the words *tasy=âtmavân âtmajaḥ* are really intended to be metrical; and that they are really part of the sentence that runs on in metre in line 7. As regards the latter point, of course it is possible that an entire plate, with two sides of writing, and containing any number of names between that of Gôvindarâja who is mentioned in line 6 and that of Svâmikarâja who is mentioned in line 7, may have been lost. As, however, Mr. Prinsep spoke of "three copper-plates connected by a ring and seal in the usual manner," I think we may infer that, when the grant reached his hands, or at any rate when it was discovered by Mr. Ommanney, the ring was still uncut, and that no part of the record is missing. And as regards the first point, unless the words in question were distinctly intended to be metrical, there is no reason for the introduction of the epithet *âtmavân*, 'self-possessed,' which means nothing of any particular importance, and is useful only for the purposes of the metre; also, from *vistîrṇṇê*, line 1, to *yô=rthinâṁ*, line 12, the whole text, with the exception of the short passage now being discussed, is in verse, and in one and the same metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. I take it, therefore, that the words *tasy=âtmavân âtmajaḥ* were certainly intended to be metrical; that nothing is lost here; and that the continuation of the same sentence follows in line 7. The beginning of the stanza can be made in a very simple manner, by altering *tasya sûnur âsît*, in line 5, into *tasmât sûnur abhût*. But it is more difficult to adapt the following eighteen syllables to the metre; especially as they have to be expanded into twenty-five. And the real intended reading here, and the manner in which the present text was arrived at, must remain a puzzle, until we obtain some other record, following the same original draft, and written out correctly. Only this much seems clear; that, in view of the use of *arjjita* instead of the more customary *upârjjita*, the words *sâhas-ârjjita-yaśâḥ* appear to be part of the original draft.

Accepting the direct continuation of lines 6 and 7, this inscription gives us the following names in the Râshṭrakûṭa lineage; Durgarâja; his son, Gôvindarâja; his son, Svâmikarâja; and his son, Nandarâja, otherwise called Yuddhâsura. In what relation these persons stand to the well-known Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ in the Dekkan and of Gujarât, there are at present no means of determining. There are also other early Râshṭrakûṭas, in respect of whom the same remark has to be made. One of them is the Kṛishṇarâja, whose coins[4] have been obtained from Dêolânâ in the Bâglâṇ Tâlukâ, Nâsik District, and who is to be referred to about the commencement of the fifth century A. D. And others are Mânâṅka; his son, Dêvarâja; his son, Bhavishya; and his son, Abhimanyu; whose names occur in the grant published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 89 ff., and allotted by him, on palæographical grounds to about the fifth century A. D., though I would place it much nearer to the period of the present record. According to that grant, Abhimanyu's residence was Mânapura; which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was inclined to identify with the well-known Râshṭrakûṭa city of Mânyakhêṭa, *i. e.* Mâlkhêḍ. But in my opinion the interchange of *mânya* and *mâna*, and still more the substitution of *pura*, 'a town,' for *khêṭa*, 'a small town,' "for the purpose of indicating or magnifying the importance of the place," are not justifiable. I consider that we must certainly look for Mânapura in some place that still bears that name; and that it may very possibly be found in the modern Mânpur[5] in Mâlwa, the chief town of the

[4] See *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 68.

[5] Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 36. Lat. 22° 26′ N.; Long. 75° 41′ E. — I should state, however, that in the neighbourhood of this Mânpur I cannot find in the map any place-names answering to the Pethapaṅgaraka and Uṇḍikavâṭikâ which are mentioned in the grant, and which should be useful in fixing its locality. The grant came to

Mânpur Parganâ under the Bhôpâwar Agency in Central India, about twelve miles south-west of Mhow. The preceding names all belong to a time anterior, or nearly so, to that of the first of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ. In a considerably later period, we have the name of the Râshṭrakûṭa *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Golhaṇadêva, a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Gayakarṇa, mentioned in an inscription on the pedestal of a Jain image at 'Bahuriband' in the **Jabalpur District**, Central Provinces.[6] which belongs to about the first quarter of the twelfth century A. D. And, from the syllables *śrî-râshṭra,* which are extant in line 5, it seems likely that there was an intermediate notice of the Râshṭrakûṭa family in the same part of the country, to be referred to the eighth or ninth century A. D., in one of the inscriptions of Śivagupta, the son of Harshagupta, at Sirpur in the **Râypur District**, Central Provinces.[7]

TEXT.[8]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[9] Svasti [||*] Vistîrṇṇê[10] sthiti-pâlan-âpta-yaśasi śrî-**Râ-**
2 **shṭrakûṭ-ânvayê** rammyê kshîranidhâv=iv=êndur=abhavat=śrî[11]-**Durgga-**
3 **râjô** nṛipaḥ lôk-âhlâdana-hêtubhiḥ pravitatais=têjô-vi-
4 śêsh-ôdayai[ḥ*] yên=â(ô)chchaiḥ-padavîṁ vigâhya vidhivat=paksha-dvayaṁ
5 bhâsitaṁ [||*] Tasya[12] sûnur=âsîd=anêka-samara-sâhas-ârjji-
6 ta-yaśâḥ śrî-**Gôvindarâjaḥ** tasy=âtmavân=âtmajaḥ

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 śrîmâṁ(n) **Sv[â*]mikarâja** ity=anupamô yasy=ôrjjitaṁ paurushaṁ saṁ-
8 grâmâd=anivarttinô vijayinaḥ saṁgîyatê sarvvataḥ [||*] Jâta-
9 s=tasya sutaḥ satâ[ṁ] bahu-mataḥ śrî-**Naṁnda**[13]**râjaḥ** kṛitî kâ-
10 tta(nta)ḥ kâr[u]ṇikaḥ kalaṅka-rahitaḥ kêtuḥ[14] karâlô dvishâṁ
11 dhaur[ê*]yô raṇa-sâhas-âhita-dhiyâm=agrêsarô māninâṁ
12 vaidagdh-ôddhata-chêtasâm=adhipatiḥ kalpa-drumô yô=rthinâ[ṁ] [||*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 Yaś=cha sa[ṁ*]śraya-viśêsha-lôbhâd=iva sakalair=âbhigâmikair=ita-
14 raiś=cha guṇair=upêtaḥ parama-vra(bra)hmaṇya[ḥ*] .parama-bhâgavataḥ śrî-**Yu-**
15 **ddhâsura**-paranâmâ sa sarvvân=êva râja-sâmanta-vishayapa-
16 ti-grâmabhôgik-âdî[n*] samanubôdhayati [|*] Viditam=astu
17 bhavatâ[ṁ] yath=âsmâbhiḥ mâtâpittrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhi-
18 vṛi[d*]dhayê Kautsa-sagôttrâya Mitra-chaturvvêda-pautrâya Rakta[15]prabha-cha-

Third Plate ; First Side.

19 cha[16]turvvêda-putrâya Śrîprabha-chaturvvêdâya **Kiṇihivaṭṭârât**=paśchimê-
20 na **Pipparikâyâ** ut[t*]arêṇa **Jalukâyâ[ḥ*]** pûrvvêṇa **Arjunagrâmâ-**

light through being in Dr. Bhau Daji's collection ; but no information seems to be forthcoming as to the place where he obtained it. — I notice that, within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, there are two places named Mânpur in the Gaikwâr's Dominions ; one in the Bânsdâ or Vâṁsdâ State ; one in Khândêsh ; three in the Râdhanpur State ; and two in the Mahî-Kâṇṭhâ. But I have not had the opportunity of searching the maps for the neighbourhood of these places.

6 *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 40.

7 *id.* Vol. XVII. Plate xix. C., line 5.

8 From the original plates.

9 Represented by a symbol.

10 Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita ; and in the following two verses.

11 Read *abhavach=chhrî.*

12 As regards the occurrence of these words in prose, see the introductory remarks.

13 Read *nanda.*

14 Prinsep read here *kâlah,* "a dreadful avenger on his enemies." But that is certainly not the reading of the original. The first syllable is either *kê* or *ka.* And in the second syllable there seems to be undoubtedly a *t* ; and below it there is a mark which may well be the sign for the subscript *u,* rather damaged. Of the *visarga,* the lower part is damaged.

15 I think *rakta* is what was intended here. The two syllables might possibly be read *râja.* But they certainly are not *rana,* for *raṇa,* as taken by Prinsep.

16 This second *cha* is unnecessary. The preceding *cha,* however, at the end of line 19, stands in the margin, as if it was inserted on a revision of the document.

Multai Plates of Nandaraja.—Saka-Samvat 631.

i.

ii a

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE ·78

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ii b

iii a

iii b

21 d=[d*]akshiṇêṇa êbhir=âghâṭanaiḥ[17] **Jalaûkuhe**[18]-nâma-grâma[ḥ*] **Kârttika-**
22 **paurṇṇamâsyâṁ** udaka-pûrvvaṁ pratipâditaḥ [I*] Yatô=smad-vaṅśyair=anyai-
23 r=vv=âgâmi-nṛipatibhir=asmad-dâyô=numantavyaḥ pratipâlayita-
24 vyaś=cha [I*] yô v=âjñâna=timira-paṭal-âvṛita-matiḥ âchchhindyâd=âchchhidya-
25 mânaṁ v=ânumâ(mô)dêta sa[19] pañchabhir=mahâpâtakais=saṁyuktas=syâd=iti [II*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

26 Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna [I*] Bahubhir[20]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ
27 râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya
28 tadâ phalaṁ II Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasr[â*]ṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-da[ḥ*]
29 âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ ch(a)ha(cha) tâny=êva narakê vasêt II **Saka-kâla-**
30 **saṁvatsara-śatêshu shaṭchhv**[21]**=êka-tri[ṁ*]ś-ôttarêshu** likhitam=idaṁ
31 śâsana[m*] sândhivigrahika-**Nâula**-likhitaṁ II

TRANSLATION.

Ôm ! Hail ! In the widely spread (*and*) pleasing glorious **Râshṭrakûṭa lineage,** which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability, there was a king, the illustrious **Durgarâja,** by whom, having attained a high position, the two parties (*of his friends and his foes*) were properly illumined with the widely expanded rising of the excess of (*his*) glory, which caused the happiness of (*his*) people ; just as in the broad (*and*) charming ocean of milk there was produced the moon, by which, when it has reached the track of the zenith, the two fortnights are irradiated with the wide-reaching rising of the excess of (*its*) lustre, which causes the happiness of mankind.

(Line 5.). — His son was the illustrious **Gôvindarâja,** who acquired fame by (*his*) daring in many battles ; (*and*) his self-possessed son (*was*) that unrivalled one, known as the illustrious **Svâmikarâja,** who never turned back from war (*and*) who was (*always*) victorious, and whose great manliness is celebrated everywhere in song.

(L. 8.). — Of him there was born a son, the illustrious **Nandarâja,** highly esteemed by good people, accomplished, handsome, compassionate, free from faults (*and thus resembling the moon, free from spots*), (*but*) a very comet boding evil to (*his*) enemies, fit to be yoked (*in the front rank*) of those whose thoughts are devoted to daring in war, foremost among the haughty, the leader of those whose minds excel in intelligence, (*and*) a very *kalpa*-tree to supplicants.

(L. 13). — And he, — to whom, as if from a strong desire for the choicest of all resting-places, resort has been made by all the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind,[22] and others also ; who is most kind to Brâhmaṇs ; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One (Vishṇu) ; (*and*) who has the other name of the illustrious **Yuddhâsura,** — informs all the *Râjas, Sâmantas, Vishayapatis, Grâmabhôgikas,* and others : —

(L. 16.) — " Be it known to you that by Us, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself, to Śrîprabhachaturvêda of the Kautsa *gôtra,* the son's son of Mitrachaturvêda (*and*) the son of Raktaprabhachaturvêda, **on the full-moon day of (the month) Kârttika,** with libations of water there is given **the village named Jalaûkuhe,** [thus specified*] by (*its*) boundaries ; (*viz.*) to the west of **(the village of) Kiṇihivaṭṭâra,** to the north of **(the village of) Pipparikâ,** to the east of **(the village of) Jalukâ,** (*and*) to the south of **the village of Arjunagrâma.**

(L. 22.). — " Wherefore, (*this*) Our gift should be assented to, and should be preserved, by future kings, whether of Our lineage, or others. And whosoever, having a mind covered over by

[17] *upalakshitaḥ, viśuddhaḥ,* or some similar word, has to be supplied here.
[18] The third syllable here is rather doubtful, but on the whole I think that *û* was intended.
[19] We have here rather an anomalous character, between the single and the double *s.*
[20] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh) ; and in the following verse.
[21] Read *sha'sv* : and for the following syllable see the introductory remarks.
[22] *âbhigâmikâ guṇâḥ* ; see *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 169, note 2.

the dense darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to its confiscation, he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins."

(L. 26.). — And it has been said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas : — The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty-thousand years ; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell !

(L. 29.). — This charter, written by the *Sâṁdhivigrahika* Nâula, has been written in six centuries of years, increased by the thirty-first (year), of the Saka era.

CHANDELLA INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit these inscriptions from rubbings which were received from General Sir A. Cunningham and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

A. — Dudahi Stone Inscriptions of Dêvalabdhi, a grandson of Yaśôvarman.

These six short inscriptions are in a temple of the village of '**Dudahi**' or '**Doodhai**,' in the Lalitpur District of the North-West Provinces, Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 70 N. W., Long. 78° 27′ E., Lat. 24° 25′ N.; and an account of them, accompanied by photozincographs of five of them, was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. pp. 94-95, and Plate xxxii., 1-2, and 4-6.

The inscription **a.** contains eleven lines, which cover a space of $3\frac{1}{4}''$ broad by $10''$ high; **b.**, ten lines, which cover $3''$ broad by $8\frac{1}{2}''$ high; **c.**, five lines, which cover $6\frac{1}{4}''$ broad by $4\frac{3}{4}''$ high; **d.**, three lines, which cover $6\frac{1}{4}''$ broad by $3''$ high; **e.** consists of a single line, $6\frac{1}{4}''$ long; and **f.** also consists of a single line, $4''$ long. The average **size of the letters** of **a.** and **b.** is $\frac{1}{2}''$ to $\frac{5}{8}''$; of **c.**, **d.**, and **e.**, $\frac{5}{8}''$ to $\frac{3}{4}''$; and of **f.**, one inch. The **characters** of all are Nâgari, of about the 11th century A.D.; their **language** is Sanskṛit, and all are in prose. As regards **orthography**, the consonant *b* of the name *Dêvalabdhi* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*.

The **inscription f.** contains only the name — 'the illustrious **Dêvalabdhi**;' and **a.** to **e.** record that this personage erected the temple (*kîrtana*), at which the inscriptions are. In **d.**, Dêvalabdhi is described as belonging to the **Chandrêlla** family, and as the son of the illustrious **Kṛishṇapa** and the lady **Âsarvâ**;[1] and **a.** to **c.** besides state that he was the grandson of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Yaśôvarman.** This Yaśôvarman undoubtedly is the Chandêlla (or Chandrâtrêya) king Yaśôvarman, of whom we have a long inscription, of the Vikrama year 1011, at Khajurâhô,[2] and who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Dhaṅgadêva, in Dhaṅga's copper-plate grant of the Vikrama year 1055, published by me, *ante*, Vol. XVI., p. 202; and our inscriptions, though **not dated**, may therefore be referred with certainty to about the first half of the 11th century A.D.

The main interest of these inscriptions will probably be considered to lie in this, that they furnish an older form of the name of the royal family which we are here concerned with, — **Chandrêlla**, instead of the later **Chandêlla**. This spelling, *Chandrêlla*, is quite distinct and certain in the rubbings of **b.**; and the rubbings of **a.**, **c.**, and **d.**, too, clearly show that the consonant of the second *akshara* of this name is not simply *d* or *nd*, but has another consonant attached to it, which might possibly be read as *v*, if we did not know from **b.** that it must be *r*.

---

[1] This somewhat unusual name we meet again, denoting another lady, in line 19 of the Mau inscription of the Chandêlla Madanavarmadêva; *Epigraphia Ind.*, Vol. I. pp. 204, 209.

[2] *ib.*, Vol. I. p. 122.—Another Yaśôvarman is mentioned, in the Baṭêśvar inscription of Paramardidêva of the Vikrama year 1252, as the son of Madanavarman and father of Paramardin; but his name is omitted in other accounts of the Chandêlla kings. See *ib.*, Vol. I. p. 211.

The word *Chandrêlla* I take to be a derivative, by means of the Prâkṛit suffix *illa*, from *chandra*, 'the moon,' formed like *Bhâilla* from *bhâs*, and I suspect that the name **Chandrâtrêya** for the members of the same family is really a later word, which owes its origin to a desire of having a somewhat more Sanskṛit-like name.

TEXT.[3]

a. — 1 **Mahârâjâdhi-**
2 râja-śrî-**Yaśô-**
3 **varmma**-naptrâ śrî-
4 **Kṛishṇapa-sutêna**
5 mâtṛi-śrî-**Âsa-**
6 **rvvâ**[4]-udarôdbhavêna
7 **Chaṁd[r]êll-ânvayêna**
8 śrî-**Dêva[la]vdhi(bdhi)-**
9 **nâ** kîrttanam=i-
10 daṁ sarvva[ṁ] kâri-
11 taṁ ॥

b. — 1 **Chaṁdrêll-ânvaya-**
2 mahârâjâdhi-
3 râja-śrî-**Yaśô-**
4 **varmma**-napt[ṛi][5]-śrî-
5 **Kṛishṇapa**-suta-
6 śrî-**Âsarvvâ**-u-
7 darôdbhava-śrî-**Dê-**
8 **valavdhi(bdhi)yaṁ** kî-
9 rttanam=idaṁ sarvva-
10 m=a[p]i ॥

c. — 1 Mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Yaśô-**
2 **varmma**-naptuḥ[6] śrî-**Kṛishṇapa**-suta-
3 mâtṛi-śrî-**Âsarvvâ**-udarôdbhava-
4 **Chand[r]êll**-ânvaya-śrî-**Dêvalavdhi(bdhi)yaṁ**
5 sarvva-kîrttanam=idam ॥

d. — 1 Śrî-**Kṛishṇapa**-suta-mâtṛi-śrî-**Â-**
2 **sarvvâ**-udarôdbhava-**Chand[r]êll**-ânva[ya*]-śrî-
3 **Di(dê)valavdhi(bdhê)ḥ** satkaṁ[7] kîrttanam=idam ॥

e. — Śrî-**Dêvalavdhi(bdhê)ḥ** kîrttanam=idam [॥*]

f. — Śrî-**Dêvalavdhi(bdhiḥ)** [॥*]

B. — Dêôgaḍh Rock Inscription of Kîrtivarman.

The (Vikrama) year 1154.

This inscription is on a rock near the river-gate of the Fort of the town of **Dêôgaḍh**, situated at the western end of the table-land of the Lalitpur range of hills, immediately overhanging the river Bêtwa; Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 70 N.W., Long. 78° 18′ E., Lat. 24° 32′ N. A rough transcript of it, accompanied by a photozincograph, was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. p. 103, and Plate xxxiii., 3; and it has been re-edited, from Sir A. Cunningham's photozincograph, by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 311.

The inscription contains 8 lines. The **writing** covers a space of 2′ 2″ broad by 1′ 1¼″ high, and is well preserved throughout. The **size of the letters** is about 1¼″. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and many of the letters are peculiar in having a saucer-shaped head formed by a curve under the straight top-line. The **language** is Sanskṛit, and, with the exception of the introductory *ôṁ ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya* and the date at the end, l. 1, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is seven, the first six of which are numbered with the ordinary numeral figures. As regards **orthography**, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* in *vrahmâṇḍam*, line 8, (but not in *babhûva*, lines 1 and 6, and *-âbdhitaḥ*, line 4); the dental sibilant is used for

---

[3] From the rubbings.

[4] Read *śry-Âsarvv-ôdar°*, here and below.

[5] Originally *-naptrâ*.

[6] Read *-naptṛi-*.

[7] As in other inscriptions of the period, the word *satka*, 'belonging to,' expresses the meaning of the genitive case or of a possessive suffix, and is here used redundantly.

the palatal in *vaṁsa*, line 1, *subhraṁ*, line 3, and *satrôr*, line 7; and the dental *d* for the lingual *ḍ* in *-ôdu*, line 4.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (lines 5-8) that **Vatsarâja**, a son of Mahîdhara and chief minister of the king **Kîrtivarman**, built a flight of steps called "the *Ghaṭ* of the illustrious Vatsarâja," near which the inscription must be supposed to have been engraved. Vatsarâja himself was a native of **Ramaṇîpur**, and it is recorded of him that he wrested the surrounding district from the enemy and made "**this Fort of Kîrtigiri**;" and his master **Kîrtivarman** is described (lines 1-5) as the descendant of the prince **Vijayapâla**, who was a son of **Vidyâdhara**, of the **Chandêlla** family.

The inscription is **dated**, at the end of line 8, in figures only, on **Sunday**, the 2nd of the bright half of Chaitra, of the year 1154. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Chaitra śukla 2 would be: —

for the northern year 1154 current, — Thursday, 28 February, A.D. 1096;

for the northern year 1154 expired, or the southern year 1154 current, — Wednesday, 18 March, A.D. 1097;

for the southern year 1154 expired, — **Sunday**, 7 March, A.D. 1098.

The actual date, therefore, is **Sunday**,[1] **7 March, A.D. 1098**, and the calculation shows that the year 1154, mentioned in our record, was **the southern Vikrama year 1154, expired**, *i.e.* the northern year 1156, current.

As regards the **localities** mentioned, I consider **Kîrtigiri-durga** to be Dêôgaḍh itself; **Ramaṇîpur** I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[2]

1 Ôṁ[3] ôṁ namaḥ Sivâya ‖ **Chaṁdêlla**[4]-vaṁsa(śa)-kumud-êndu-viśâla-kîrttiḥ khyâtô babhûva nṛipa-saṁgha-nat-âṁhri-padmaḥ |

2 **Vidyâdharô** narapatiḥ Kamalâ-nivâsô jâtas=tatô **Vijayapâla-nṛipô** nṛip-êndraḥ ‖ 1 ‖ Tasmâd[5]=va(dha)rmma-paraḥ śrîmâ-

3 n=**Kîrttivarmma**-nṛipô=bhavat | yasya kîrtti-sudhâ-su(śu)bhraṁ trai[6]lôkyaṁ saudhatâṁ=agât ‖ 2 ‖ Agadaṁ nûtanaṁ Vishṇum=âvirbhûtam=avâpya

4 yam | nṛip-âbdhitaḥ samâkṛishṭâ Srîr=asthairyam=amârjjayat ‖ 3 ‖ Râj[7]-ôdu(ḍu)-madhya-gata-chandra-nibhasya yasya nûnaṁ Yudhishṭhira-Sadâśiva-Râmacha-

5 ndrâḥ | êtê prasanna-[guṇa[8]]-ratnanidhau nivishṭâ ya[9]t-tad-guṇa-prakara-ratnamayê śarîrê ‖ 4 ‖ Tadîy[10]-âmâtya-mantr-îndrô **Ramaṇîpûr**-vvinirga-

6 taḥ | Vatsarâj=êti vikhyâtaḥ śrîmân=Mahîdhar-âtmajaḥ ‖ 5 ‖ Khyâtô[11] babhûva kila mantri-pad-aika-mâtrê Vâchaspatis=ta-

7 d=iha mantra-supaurushâbhyâm | yô=yaṁ samastam=api maṇḍalam=âśu sa(śa)trôr=âchchhidya **Kîrttigiri-durggam**=idaṁ vyadhatta ‖ 6 ‖

8 Srî[12]-Vatsarâja-ghattô=yaṁ nûnaṁ tên=âtra kâritaḥ | vra(bra)hmâṇḍam=ujjvalâṁ kîrttim=ârôhayitum=âtmanaḥ ‖ [7 ‖*] **Saṁvat 1154 Chaitra-[su]**[13]**di 2 Ravau**[14] [‖*]

---

[1] On that day, the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise. It may be noted that the initial days of the expired northern Vikrama years 1153, 1154 and 1155 are given wrongly in the *Book of Indian Eras*.

[2] From the rubbings.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[5] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.

[6] This *akshara* originally was *tri*; but it has been altered to *trai*.

[7] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[8] The consonant of the first of these two *aksharas* is *g*; but the way in which the vowel *u* has been attached to it, gives to the whole a partial appearance of *mu*. The second vertical stroke of the second *akshara* at the bottom meets the third vertical line, and thus gives to the *ṇ* an unusual shape; but the *akshara* is not *kha*.

[9] This *akshara* is distinctly *ya*, not *sta*.

[10] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[11] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[12] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[13] The consonant of this *akshara* is indistinct, but the vowel *u* is quite clear; and thus we can only read *śu*, not *ba*, as was read by Dr. Hultzsch. The formation of the *akshara* is very cramped, perhaps indicating that it was omitted at first and was inserted on revision; and this is why it appears as *visarga* in Sir A. Cunningham's photozincograph.

[14] This word, *ravau*, is quite clear in the rubbings.

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ !

Ôṁ ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1). — There was a renowned prince, **Vidyâdhara**, an abode of Fortune, whose wide-spread fame was to the **Chandêlla race** what the moon is to night-lotuses, (*and*) whose lotus-feet were bowed down to by crowds of princes. From him was born the prince **Vijayapâla**, the chief of princes.

(V. 2). — From him sprang, devoted to the law, the illustrious prince **Kîrtivarman**, brightened by the white-wash of whose fame the three worlds have become a white-washed mansion.

(V. 3). — When Fortune, withdrawn from (*other*) princes, just as (*she was recovered by Vishṇu*) from the sea, came to him who appeared like a new Vishṇu, without his club,[15] she left off (*her*) fickleness.

(V. 4). — Resembling as he does, among kings, the moon moving in the midst of the stars, surely Yudhishṭhira, Sadâśiva,[16] and Râmachandra, (*all*) these have entered his body, (*which is*) abundantly decorated, as with precious stones, with multitudes of manifold excellencies (*and is indeed*) a pellucid sea of excellencies.

(V. 5). — The chief counsellor among his ministers (*is*) the illustrious son of Mahîdhara, the renowned Vatsarâja, who has gone forth from **Ramaṇîpur.**

(V. 6). — He indeed became famous, a (*very*) Vâchaspati[17] in his unique office of counsellor, he who, having quickly wrested from the enemy this whole district (*maṇḍala*) here by his counsel and excellent valour, made **this Fort of Kîrtigiri.**

(V. 7). — He indeed caused this flight of steps to be built here, (*called the Ghaṭ*) of the illustrious Vatsarâja, in order to make his bright fame ascend up into the universe.

The year 1154, the 2nd of the bright half of Chaitra, on Sunday.

THE COUNTRY OF MALAKOTTA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D. ; BANGALORE.

One of the countries, which the Chinese pilgrim **Hiuen-Tsiang** visited on his memorable tour through India, was **Draviḍa** with its capital **Kâñchîpura** (Conjeeveram). He reached Draviḍa from the north, and proceeded from it north-west[1] to Koṅkaṇapura, Mahârâshṭra, and Bharukachchha (Bharôch). Hiuen-Tsiang mentions another country, called **Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a**, which was situated to the south of Draviḍa. According to the *Si-yu-ki*, he visited this country in person,[2] and returned from it to Draviḍa ; while **Hwui-li's** narrative seems to imply, that the pilgrim's report on Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a was based merely on hearsay.[3]

In a former volume of this Journal,[4] the late Dr. Burnell identified Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a with the **delta of the Kâvêrî.** He based this opinion on " the great Tamiḻ inscription of Kulôttuṅga-(**Vîra)-Chôḻa (A.D. 1064 to 1113)** which surrounds the shrine of the chief temple at Tanjore," and on the mention in it of a village called Malakûṭa-chûḍâmaṇi-chaturvêdi-maṅgalam, which was situated in **Âvûr-kûṟṟam,** *i.e.* in the subdivision of Âvûr near **Kumbhakôṇam.** A perusal of the inscriptions of the great temple at Tanjore convinced me that Dr. Burnell's statements

---

[15] The word *agadı* also means "free from disease, healthy."

[16] *Sadâśiva* is an epithet of the god Śiva, and also a proper name of men ; but it is not apparent whom the author of the verse here refers to.

[17] " The lord of speech," — a name of Bṛihaspati, the teacher of the gods. — The word *mantri-pad-aika-mâtrê* does not admit of a proper grammatical explanation ; I understand it to mean *mantri-padê êkasmin* (i.e. *advitîyê*) *êva.*

[1] Beal's *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 145. The *Si-yu-ki* (Vol. II. p. 253) has ' north,' which is impossible.

[2] Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 230, note 123.

[3] *Life*, p. 140.

[4] *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 39f.

require some modifications, which I subjoin here with due respect to that able scholar, who, if he still lived, would gladly approve of a correction of some details of secondary importance. First, the central shrine of the Tanjore temple does not bear only one inscription of about A.D. 1100,[5] but a considerable number of inscriptions of various kings and dates, one of which is dated as late as Saka 1377 (expired). Secondly, none of the Tanjore inscriptions mentions either Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa or Vîra-Chôḷa. **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.** (A.D. 1063-64 to 1112-13), also called **Râjêndra-Chôḍa** after his maternal grandfather **Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva**, was the son of the **Eastern Chalukya** king **Râjarâja I.** (A.D. 1022-23 to 1063-64) and inherited the **Chôḷa** kingdom from his father-in-law, the **Chôḷa** king **Râjêndradêva**. The two **Chôḷa** kings, to whose reigns most of the inscriptions of the Tanjore temple belong, are **Râjarâjadêva**, the founder of the temple,[6] and his son **Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva**, the father-in-law of the **Eastern Chalukya** king **Râjarâja I.** (A.D. 1022-23 to 1063-64), who had received his name from that of his maternal grandfather. The subjoined table, which is based on a number of Sanskrit and Tamiḻ inscriptions, shows the relations of the three above-mentioned Chôḷa kings to the Eastern Chalukyas, and contains the names of their Western Châlukya contemporaries :—[7]

Western Châlukyas.	Chôḷas. (*Sûryavaṁśa*).	Eastern Chalukyas. (*Sômavaṁśa*).
1. Satyâśraya II. *fought with* (Saka 919 *to about* 930.)	Râjarâjadêva, *who was the father-in-law of* (*about* Saka 926.)	Vimalâditya. (Saka 937 (?) *to* 944.)
2. Jayasiṁha III. *fought with* (*about* Saka 940 *to about* 964.)	Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva, *who was the father-in-law of*	Râjarâja I. (Saka 944 *to* 985.)
3. Âhavamalla II. *fought with* (*about* Saka 964 *to about* 990).	Râjêndradêva, *who was the father-in-law of*	Râjêndra-Chôḍa *or* Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. (Saka 985 *to* 1034).

Thirdly, Dr. Burnell states in his paper, that the Tanjore inscriptions mention a village called Malakûṭa-chûḍâmaṇi-chaturvêdi-maṅgalam. The reference is to an inscription of the 29th year of the **Chôḷa** king **Kô-Râjakêsarivarman**, *alias* **Râjarâjadêva**, and to an inscription of the 10th year of **Kô-Parakêsarivarman**, *alias* **Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva**. Each of these two inscriptions reads in clear Tamiḻ and Grantha letters of 2 to 3 inches height :—*Nittavinôda-vaḷanâṭṭu Âvûr-(k)kûṟṟattu brahmadêyam Irumbudal-âgiya Manukula-chûḷâmaṇi-(ch)chaturvêdi-maṅgalattu sabhaiyâr* ; "the members of the *sabhâ* of **Irumbudal**, *alias* **Manukula-chûḷâmaṇi-chaturvêdi-maṅgalam**,[8] a *brahmadêya* in **Âvûr-kûṟṟam**, (*a subdivision*) of **Nittavinôda-vaḷanâḍu**." This disposes finally of the possibility of identifying Hiuen-Tsiang's Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a with Kumbhakôṇam, and the name of Malakûṭa has to be struck out on the map, which is prefixed to Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*.

The first half of the name **Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a** is no doubt the well-known Draviḍian word *mala*, 'a hill' (*mala* in Malayâḷam and *malai* in Tamiḻ), and the second may be connected with *kûṟṟam*, which means 'a division,' or more probably with *kôṭṭam*, which means 'a district' in Tamiḻ inscriptions. Thus **Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a** or **Malakôṭṭa** would be a synonym of **Mala-nâḍu** or **Malai-nâḍu, 'the Hill-Country.'** The former is used in Malayâḷam and the second in Tamiḻ as a designation of the country of Malabar.[9] But, as Hiuen-Tsiang places Malakôṭṭa to the south of Draviḍa and attributes to it a circuit of 5,000 *li*, General Cunningham[10] is doubtlessly right,

[5] Compare Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd edition, p. 40 and *passim*.

[6] According to an inscription of his 26th year, the temple was called after him Râjarâjêśvara. Two undated inscriptions record that the *prâkâra* (*tiruchchuṟṟumâḷigai*) of the temple was built at his orders by the commander of his forces (*sênâpati*).

[7] For full details see three of my *Progress Reports* (Madras G. O., 27th July 1888, No. 745 ; 6th September 1888, No. 877 ; 7th November 1888, No. 1050) and my forthcoming first volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, p. 32 and Nos. 39, 40, 67, 82, 127.

[8] This name means 'the Brâhmaṇical village (*called after*) Manukula-chûḍâmaṇi (*i.e.* the crest-jewel of the race of Manu; *viz.*, the Chôḷa king).'

[9] On this *vox hybrida* see Yule and Burnell's invaluable *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 411.

[10] *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I. p. 549.

if he supposes that it must have included, besides Malabar, the whole southern part of the **Madras Presidency** beyond the **Kâvêrî**. According to Mr. Beal, the Chinese editor remarks in a note that **Malakôṭṭa** was also called **Chi-mo-lo**. These syllables are satisfactorily identified by Dr. Caldwell[11] with **Tamiḷa**, the name of the Tamiḷ people, whose country is called **Damirice** (*i.e.* Tamiḷ-*uᵹ*) on the Peutinger Tables.

Four centuries after Hiuen-Tsiang, **the term Malaya** was in use for the same tract. For **Albêrûnî**[12] enumerates the possessions of Jaur (*i.e.* the **Chôḷa**) along the coast in the following order :—Daraur **(Draviḍa)**, Kânjî **(Kâñchî)**, **Malaya**, and Kûnk **(Koṅkaṇ)**. A second enumeration[13] of the countries along the coast begins from the opposite side :—Lârân,[14] with the city of Jîmûr, Vallabha, for which **Rashîdu'd-dîn** supplies the correct reading Malaya,[15] Kânjî, and **Darvad** (Draviḍa). Albêrûnî's first list places **Malaya** between Draviḍa and Kâñchî on one side and the Koṅkaṇ on the other, just as Hiuen-Tsiang places **Malakôṭṭa** between Draviḍa with its capital **Kâñchîpura** on one side and Koṅkaṇapura on the other. The second list begins from **Lâṭa** or Gujarât and omits the Koṅkaṇ, though in the preceding sentence it mentions **Thâṇâ** (on the island of Salsette), which, according to p. 203, was the capital of the Koṅkaṇ.

According to Hiuen-Tsiang, **Malakôṭṭa was bounded** on the south by the **Malaya** mountains, which bordered the sea, and in which sandal-trees were found. To the east of the **Malaya** mountains was Mount **Pôtalaka**, on the top of which was a lake from which there flowed a great river, and which was the residence of the *Bôdhisattva* **Avalôkitêśvara**. Going north-east from this mountain, on the border of the sea, there was a town, from which people embarked for **Ceylon**.

In Sanskṛit and Malayâḷam, **the term Malaya** is applied to the Western Ghâṭs, and the sandal is called *Malaya-ja*, *i.e.* 'the produce of Malaya.' In Tamiḷ, **Malayam** or **Malaiyam**, besides being used in the same sense, is the name of another mountain, which is also called **Chandanâchala** or **Chandanâdri** (*i.e.* 'the mountain of the sandal'), **Podigai** or **Podiyam**, which is supposed to be the residence of the sage **Agastya**, and after which the **Pâṇḍya** king is called **Podiya-verpan** (*i.e.* 'the lord of the mountain Podiyam'). Dr. Caldwell[16] states that the source of the **Tâmraparṇî** river is in the mountain **Podigai**, and identifies the latter with Ptolemy's Βηττιγώ, in which the Σωλήν took its rise. In a footnote of his paper on **Pôtalaka**,[17] Mr. Beal suggests, with some diffidence, that Hiuen-Tsiang's Pôtalaka might be the same as Podigai and as Ptolemy's Βηττιγώ. It seems to me that the agreement between the two words Podigai and Pôtalaka is close enough to justify this identification, which struck me independently before I had seen Mr. Beal's paper. The river mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang would then be intended for the **Tâmraparṇî**. According to Târanâtha's *History of Buddhism*,[18] **Pôtala** was the name of a mythical mountain (pp. 141, 142 f., 223) in the south (p. 139), the seat of **Avalôkitêśvara**. On the way to it, the ocean (p. 157), a great river, and a lake, had to be crossed (p. 142). This myth of the northern Buddhists must have been known to Hiuen-Tsiang, and the change of **Podiyam** or **Podigai** into **Pôtala** or **Pôtalaka** may be due to a popular etymology, which Hiuen-Tsiang made either unconsciously or from a desire to connect the information collected on his visit to Southern India with that contained in his holy books. From similar motives, either Hiuen-Tsiang or his Buddhist informants seem to have transformed **Agastya**, who is supposed to reside on Podigai, into the *Bôdhisattva* **Avalôkitêśvara**.

In the case of **the Malaya mountains**, it must be assumed that Hiuen-Tsiang was misinformed, if he placed them to the south instead of the west of **Malakôṭṭa**. As for an

---

11 *Comparative Grammar*, 2nd edition, p. 14 of the Introduction.

12 Albêrûnî's *India*, translated by Sachau, Vol. I. p. 200.

13 *ibid.* p. 209.

14 Lârân is the same as Lâr-dêsh, *i.e.* Lâṭa-dêśa or Gujarât, on p. 205. Jîmûr or Saimûr is probably the modern Choul; see Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.

15 Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 66.

16 *Comparative Grammar*, 2nd edition, p. 100 f. of the Introduction.

17 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. XV. p. 338.

18 Translated from Tibetan into German by Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869.

identification of the port-town to the north-east of Mount Pôtalaka, Mr. Beal's quotations from I-tsing[19] show that shortly after Hiuen-Tsiang's time the port for Ceylon was **Nâgavadana.** Accordingly, the town, which Hiuen-Tsiang mentions, seems to be intended for **Nâgapaṭṭaṇam** or Negapatam in the Tanjore District.

The unnamed capital of **Malakôṭṭa** is placed by Hiuen-Tsiang 3,000 *li* to the south of Kâñchîpura, and by Hwui-li 3,000 *li* or so from the frontier between Draviḍa and Malakôṭṭa. As General Cunningham points out,[20] even the first mentioned distance would take us out to sea beyond Cape Comorin and must have been exaggerated by the pilgrim's informants. Mr. Beal, who identifies Chi-mo-lo (see above) with the Tamiḻ **Kumari** (Sanskṛit: Kumârî), thinks of Cape Comorin itself. But there is no tradition of a capital having been situated there. Perhaps Hiuen-Tsiang refers to **Koṛkai** in the Tinnevelly District, the Κόλχοι of the *Periplûs* and of Ptolemy, which was, according to Dr. Caldwell, the ancient capital of the **Pâṇḍyas.**[21]

THE BALLAD OF THE GUJARI.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

I give the text and translation of this celebrated Gujarâtî ballad as it is sung at Aḥmadâbâd. In other parts, especially in Sûrat, a somewhat different version obtains. This version contains a curious admixture of Hindustânî and Gujarâtî words. The ballad is of the class called *gurbâ*, and is sung by women who form themselves into a ring round a lighted lamp, and sing the verses as they go round and round, beating time with their hands.

TRANSLATION.

The Ballad of the Gujarî.[1]

The Bâdśâh is on his way to invade Kâbul and all the ministers of Dilhî are with him.
The Bâdśâh takes up his abode in a garden : on what pretext shall I go to have a look (at them) ?
I shall take a red earthen pot in my hand and go (dressed) as a dairy-maid. The Bâdśâh, &c.
(Her) skirt of brocade, and a gold border to (her) *sâḍî*;
Kallâṅ,[2] and *kâṅbî*,[2] and *aṇvaṭ*, *bichhuṅvâ*,[2] and *jhâñjar*[2] jingling (on her person) ;
Armlets round her arms, and rings on all her ten fingers;
Kalâphuls[2] adorning her ears, and a costly *jhâl*[2] glistening;
Pâṭiyâṅ[2] adorning her throat, and a single-string necklace round her neck ;
Her cloth (*sâḍî*) being of green *gajî*,[3] and the necklace of pearls ;
A ring adorning her nose, and a brilliant red mark glistening on her brow :
She made (some) curds in a small earthen pot, and took the best of milk (with her) :
(Thus arrayed) the Gujarî set forth to sell curds, and arrived at the Bâdśâh's *darbâr*,
(And cried) — "Who'll buy my curds! who'll buy my sweet milk!"
Says her mother-in-law,[4] — "Listen daughter-in-law, do not go into the camp,
Or the Bâdśâh of the city of Dilhî will keep thee in his palace."
The daughter-in-law heeds not the mother-in-law and goes forth to sell (her) curds:
Goes forth the Gujarîâṅ[5] to sell curds and takes her seat in the Lâl Bajâr.
The Bâdśâh being informed (of this) comes to have a look at the Gujarî.

---

[19] *Life*, p. xxxi.; *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 233, note 131.

[20] *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I. p. 549.

[21] For references on Koṛkai see Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 312.

[1] The word *gujarî* means 'a Gujarâtî woman.'

[2] Names of different gold and silver ornaments for women.

[3] *gajî* is a sort of silk fabric manufactured in Gujarât, so called from its being just one *gaj* (= *ghas* = ¾ of a yard) in width.

[4] This ought to have come before the two preceding lines.

[5] The same as Gujarî.

"Why do you go about lanes and alleys, fair one, you ought to live behind the *pardâ*."
"The lanes and alleys are good enough for me, to thy *pardâ* I shall set fire."
"Thou art a base-born Hindwâṇî, thus to give (impertinent) retorts to thy sovereign!"
Says the Bâdśâh, "Listen Gujarî, listen to what I have to say.
"What is the use of wearing ornaments of base metals, fair one? You ought to wear a *sér* of gold."
"My ornaments of base metals are good enough for me, to thy gold I shall set fire."
"Thou art," &c.
"What is this black coarse cloth that you wear, fair one? You ought to wear Dakhaṇî silks."[6]
"My black coarse cloth is good enough for me, to thy (Dakhaṇî) silks I shall set fire."
"Thou art," &c.
"I have a wonderfully fine elephant, fair one; come and have a look at my elephant."
"What is there to look at in thy elephant? I have some grey cow-buffaloes at home,
"That give a *maṇ*[7] and a quarter of milk each time, and they are (therefore) far better than thy elephant."
"Thou art," &c.
"My moustache is wonderfully formed, fair one; be allured by my moustache."
"What is there to look at in thy moustache? It is only like the tuft of hair at the end of my goats' tails!"
"Thou art," &c.
"Which is your parents-in-law's house? And to what man are you wife?"
"The Fort of Gôkul is my parents-in-law's house, and to the man Chandâ I am wife."
"Thou art," &c.
"To what country dost thou belong, shepherdess? And what is thy name?"
"I am (the) shepherdess of Fort Mâṇḍav, and Mênâ the Gujarî is my name."
"Now fix the price of your small earthen pot; and, fair one, what may be its price?"
"If I name the price of my small earthen pot, thy senses would desert thee!"
"Thou art," &c.
"What is this meaningless jargon that thou talkest, fair one? Talk sense.
"With what arrogance thou speakest, fair one! I could give thee two or four slaps[8]!"
"Do not think I am alone (unprotected): nine *lákhs* of my Gujars will come down (to defend me)!
"I will give thee such a slap that thy turban will roll off thy head, and thy face will grow red!
"I will cause thy ponies to be sold for a *ṭakâ* each, and thy camels at ten to a *damṛî*:[9]
"I will cause thy shields to be sold at a *ṭakâ* apiece, and thy swords at two *kôṛîs* (cowries) each!"
The Bâdśâh was enraged at this and had her cast into irons.
"I entreat thee brother Brâhmaṇ:[10] I will give thee the necklace (that is) next my heart,
"If thou wilt go and give this letter into the hands of my husband's brother, Hîrîya."[11]
When Hîrîya read the letter (he said to his brother) — "Brother, our Gujarî has been cast into prison."
(And then he said to the soldiers,) — "Gird on tightly your shields and swords, brothers, and gird on tightly all your weapons:
"Let only those who are brave of heart accompany us, for cowards are not wanted (where we shall go).

[6] Costly silks manufactured in the Dakhaṇ. [7] An Indian weight equal to about 80 lbs.

[8] Here there is a pun on the two meanings of the word उचकड, अचकड, उचकड meaning 'with arrogance' and उचकड again meaning 'a slap.'

[9] One-twenty fourth part of an ánâ. [10] The scene changes here, and the Gujarî addresses a young Brâhmaṇ.

[11] Note that it is improper for a Hindu wife to address her husband even by letter.

"Put on saffron-coloured robes[12] brothers, and all grow red as *gulâl*."
And Hîrîya ran from thence and went to his charger: —
"Tie[13] the girths of your saddles tight and ride with loose reins;
"For I mean to return home after conquering Dilhî and thus preserve my prestige."
And (so saying) Hîrîya mounted his horse and nine *lâkhs* of Gujars mounted (theirs).
As Hîrîya entered (the city of Dilhî) the Vâṇiyâs[14] fled before him;
And as Chandâ's horse galloped in, the dairy-men[15] fled before him.
The cannon boomed forth loudly and all around became pitch-dark,
(Which) awoke the sleeping Bâdśâh, and ninety-two *lâkhs* of Mugals poured into the field.
The large copper drum was sounded and all other drums took up its roar.
On the fourteenth day of the month of Phâgaṇ the affair was in full swing.
After a long silence the Gujarî spoke and spoke but one word: —
"Let Hîrîya wear my bangles,[16] and let me have his arms,
"And I shall fight with the Bâdśâh in such a brave manner as to immortalize my name."
"Pitch tents in a row on two sides[17] and leave an open space in the middle,
"And let the Gujarî stand in that vacant space, brothers, and he who wins her may take her."
Upon this Hîrîya and Chandâ said (to the Bâdśâh) — "Râjâ,[18] listen to what we say:
"It becomes you to give the first blow, for we are only your subjects."
And the Bâdśâh dealt the first blow in the Gujar army.
And Hîrîya and Chandâ, becoming enraged, fell (upon the Mugal army) like tigers among goats.
And swords clashed against one another and a shower of blood rained down.
(At last being vanquished the Bâdśâh says) — "We give your Gujarî (back) into your charge, (for) to us the Gujarî is as a sister."

TEXT.

गुजरीनो गरबो.

के काबुलपर बादशाह चडे, ने सारी दिल्हिका दीवानरे
के बादशाहारे उतरे बागमे, में क्या मस देखन जाउंरे
के हाथमेंरे लेउं लाल मटुकी, कंदोबण होके जाउंरे
—के बादशाहा,
के फुलफगरनो घाघरो, ने साळुडे[19] कसबी कोररे
के कह्मांरे कांबी ने अणवट बीछुंवा, झांझरनो झमकाररे
के हाथे बाजुबंध बेरखा ने, एनी दशे आंगळीए वेढरे
के काने कलाफुल शोभतां, ने वळी झबके मोंघी झालरे
के कोटे ते पाटीआं शोभतां, एने कंठे एकावळ हाररे
के लीली ते गजीनुं कापडुंरे, एने गळे मोतीनो हाररे
के नाके ते वाळी शोभती, एने टीलडी[20] तपे लेलाटरे
के छोटी मटकींमे दहीं जमायो, दुध लींओ खुब सारोरे
के चली गुजरीआं[21] दहीं बेचनकुं, आई बादशाहाके दरबाररे
के अयर लो कोई महीयर[22]ल्यो, कोइ लोने मीठडां[23] दुधरे
के सासुरे केवे सुणो बवरीआं[24], लश्करमे मत आवरे

---

[12] Saffron-coloured robes are worn as a sign that the army is determined either to conquer or to die to a man.

[13] Addressing the soldiers.

[14] A caste known for their cowardice, as well as for their aversion to destroy life either human or animal.

[15] Being of the same caste as Vâṇîyâs. This is sarcasm.

[16] In order to insinuate that Hîrîya was a coward.

[17] It is not plain who makes this proposal.

[18] The Hindu brothers address the (*sic*) Mugal as "Râjâ" after their own fashion.

[19] साळुडे used poetically for साडीअे or साळे 'to the sâḍî;' साडी or साळो being the proper word for the long piece of cloth that Indian women wrap round their bodies, and draw as a veil over their heads.

[20] टीलडी used poetically for टीली, the red mark that all women (except widows) make on their brows.

[21] गुजरीआं used poetically for गुजरी.

[22] अयर लो कोइ महींयर लो, &c. अयर and महींयर are reduplicated words, though somewhat separated. महींयर is a poetical form of महीं, an equivalent of दहीं, 'curds.'

[23] मीठडां poetical form of मीठां 'sweet.'

[24] बवरीयां used poetically for बव, Hindustânî for 'daughter-in-law.'

के दिल्ही शेहेरका बादशाहा, तुजे रखे मोहलन[25]मांहरे
के सासुनां वार्यो ना वरे वहु, महीं वेचवाने जायरे
के चली गुजरीआं महीं बेचनकुं, बेठी लाल बजाररे
के बादशाहाकु तो खबर हुइने, गुजरी देखन आयरे
के अलीयांरे गलीयां[26]क्या फीरना गोरी, पेठो पडदा मांहरे
के अलीयांरे गलीयां बोहोत भली, तेरे पडदेकु लगा दउं आगरे
के हिंदवाणी तुं हरामजादी बादशाहकु देवे जवाबरे
के बादशाह कहेवे सुण गुजरी, तुम सुणो हमारी बातरे
के काथ कथीरमां क्या पेहरना, गोरी पेहेरो सोना सेररे
के काथ कथीर[27] मेरा बोहोत भला, तेरे सोने लगा दऊं आगरे—के हिंद
के काली कामलमे क्या ओढना, गोरी पेहेरो दखणी चीररे
के काली कामळ मेरे बोहत भली, तेरे चीरकु लगा दउं आगरे—के हिंद
के मकना हाथी अजब बना, गोरी हाथी देखन आवरे
के तेरे हाथीमें क्या देखनां, मेरे घेरे भूरी भेंसरे
के टंके सवामण दुध करे तारा हाथीथी भलेरी[28] मारी भेंसरे—के हिंद
के मेरी मुछो अजब बनी, गोरी मुछोपर मोही आवरे
के तेरी मूछोमे क्या देखना, मेरे बकरे जेसा पूछरे—के हिंद
के कयुं तमारुं सासरुं, ने कीया पुरुष घेरे नाररे.
के गढ गोकुल मारुं सासरुं, ने चंदा पुरुष घेरे नाररे—के हिंद.
के कोण देशकी गोवालणी, ने शुं छे तारुं नामरे.
के गढ मांडवकी गोवालणी, ने मेना गुजरी मारुं नामरे—के हिंद.
के छोटी मटकीका मूल करो ने, गोरी उसका क्या होय मूलरे.
के छोटी मटकीका मूल करुं ने, तेरी शुद्ध बुद्ध[29] जावे भूलरे—के हिंद
के गलबल गलबल क्या बोलती, गोरी बोलो समजकी बातरे.
के अकड छकड[30] गोरी क्या बोलती, कंइ छकड लगाउं दो चाररे.
के तूं नव जाणीश एकलीरे, मारा गुजर चडे नव लाखरे.
के मारुं तमाचा ने उड जाय पघडी, मुखडा हो जाय लालरे.
के टके टके तेरा टट्टु बेचांउं ने दमडीका दश उंटरे.
के टके टके तेरी ढाल बेचांऊं ने दो कोडी तलवाररे.
के बादशाहाकु तो घुस्सा लगा, ने डाली बेडी मांयरे.
के ब्राह्मण वीरा विनवुं, तने आलुं हैयांनो हाररे ,
के कागल जइने आलजे, मारा हीरीआ दीयरने हाथरे
के हीरीए कागळ वांचीओ भाइ गूजरी पडी बेडी मांयरे.
के ताणी बांधो भाई ढाल तलवारो ने ताणी बांधो हथीयाररे.
के शुरा होय सो संग चले ने, नहि कायरका कामरे.
के केसरीआ भाइ वागा पेहेरो. ने हो जाव लाल गुलालरे,
के त्यांथी हीरीयो दोडीयो ने, गयो घोडानी पासरे,
के ताणीने बांधो तंगडो ने, ढीली मेलो लगामरे.
के दिल्ही जीतीने घेर आउंतो, देवत मारुं नामरे.
के हीरीयो घोडे एकज चढयो ने गुजर चढया नव लाखरे.
के हीरीयो पेठो शहेरमां ने, वाणीया नाठा जायरे.
के चंदे घोडो खेडीयो ने, कंदोइ[27] नाठा जायरे.
के तोपोकी धुमरोळ हुइ ने हुवा अंधारा घोररे.
के सुतो बादशाह जागीयो ने, मुगल चढया बाणु लाखरे.
के तांबांनी नोबत गणगणे, जेना ढमके वाग्यां ढोलरे.
के फागण सुद चौदसने दहाडे मामलो मच्यो जोररे.
के गुजरी दहीने बोलीआं ने बोली एकज बोलरे
के हीरीयो पेहेरे बांगडी ने हथीआर मुजने आलरे
के बादशाह साथ एसी लडुं मेरा जुगमां हो जाय नामरे.
के अगाडी पछाडी देरा ताणो, बीचमे रखो मेदानरे.
के वचमां राखो गुजरी भाइ, जे जीते ते लेइ जायरे.
के हीरीयो ने चंदीओ बोलीआ, राजा[30] सांभळो अमारी वातरे.
के पेहेलो ते घाव वळी तमे करो ने, अमे तमारी रैयतरे.
के पेहेलो ते घाव बादशाहे कीधो, गुजर लश्कर मांयरे.
के हीरीयो चंदीओ घुस्से थया, जेम बकरांमां पडीया वाघरे.
के तलवारोनी ताळी पडे ने, लोहीनो वरस्यो मेघरे.
के तमारी गुजरी तमने सुंपी गुजरी हमारी बेनरे.

[25] मोहोलन used poetically for मोहोल Hindustânî for 'palace.'

[26] अलीयां रे गलीयां reduplicated words: गलीयां meaning 'lanes.'

[27] काथ कथीर reduplicated words: कथीर meaning 'base metal.'

[28] भलेरी used poetically for भली, 'good:' there being no comparative form in Gujarâtî, भली 'good' is used for 'better,' with the suffix थीं, 'than,' added to the preceding word हाथी.

[29] शुद्ध बुद्ध also reduplicated words, both words separately meaning 'sense, reason.'

[30] अकड छकड also reduplicated words, अकड meaning 'with arrogance.'

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XVII.

Revue de L'Histoire des Religions.

The **Revue de L'Histoire des Religions**, published in Paris, by Leroux, is a periodical which is not so well known in India as it deserves to be. Its purpose is indicated by its name, for it is purely historical, and excludes all polemic and dogmatic matter. The following are some of the articles which have appeared during the last three years, and which will be of interest to Indian students.

(a)—Vol. XIV. No. 1, July and August, 1886.

M. E. de Pressensé contributes an interesting article on the **Chaldæo-Assyrian Religion**, divided into three parts, *viz.* I., Its sources; II., The phases of the religious evolution; III., The Assyrian religion. The religion is traced from an animism full of despair and terror over-mastering men who are everywhere surrounded by the evil powers of the river, the wind, the storm, and the miasma. It was then a religion of charms and exorcisms, of appeals to kindly deities for protection, and of talismans. The superior elements contained in it eventually developed in a regular mythological evolution. Thus we find gradually coming into prominence. **Anna**, the god of the sky, **Ea**, of earth, and **Mulge**, of the lower abyss; each of whom was a male deity, with his spouse, a kind of feminine hypostasis of his attributes. These gods had so far no distinct personality, and it was they who war with the evil spirits, authors of ill. Prayer occupied the first place in this cult, but sacrifice is also mentioned, though destitute of elevation or morality. Such was the **religion of the Accadians**, which received a further development through the influence of the **Semitic Kushites**. We now find the fundamental idea of a divine unity in a pantheistic sense. The hidden God, who contains all things within himself, manifests himself in a diversity of phenomena. Secondary gods, ranged below him, only personify his attributes. The god is **Ilu**, Babylon is his city,—the city of Ilu;—and from him emanates **the first triad**—

Anu, or primordial chaos,
Bel, the Demiurge,
Nuah, the saviour, the intelligent guide.

Each of these three has his corresponding feminine divinity, *viz.* **Anat, Bêlit,** and **Tihamti,** respectively. **A second triad** is composed of the sun the moon, and the atmosphere, who are followed by the five planets

Really this new mythology is the same conception as that of the ancient **Chaldæans, with a** sidereal element in addition. We have the same mysterious supreme god, whether called Ilu or Anna. The first triad corresponds to the old three regions of the universe. Only the feminine element occupies a more important position in the new pantheon, **Anat, Bêlit,** and **Istar** (the planet Venus) *representing it in its fecundity* and in its sexual pleasure It is this which explains the compulsory prostitution of every woman in the temple at Babylon.

Assyria, in possessing itself of Babylon, and founding its immense empire, changed nothing but one name in the Chaldæan pantheon. It raised its god **Assur** to the dignity of the Supreme God, but without essentially modifying the character of the latter. It, however, gave him a striking personification upon earth, in the person of its conquering king, and from this point history becomes an important factor in the development of religion.

The king described his victories as brought about by Assur.—"The god Assur, my lord, told me to march forth, &c." The splendid palaces raised to the glory of the king were temples of that magnificent royalty of which the god Assur was the august type. This striking representation of the victorious war of the national deities against evil powers became a real religion, and we thus emerge from the placid sidereal pantheon of the Chaldæans, although, after all, the new element is simply superimposed over the primitive basis of the ancient religion.

But, beside the development of the official religion, a sense of personal sin grew up gradually amongst the **Chaldæans**. The voice of **conscience** began to be heard, purifying the cowardly terrors of superstition. It is impossible that this development of conscience should not have co-existed with an idea, more or less confused, of retribution in a future life. We thus find a privileged place awarded to valiant soldiers in the abode of the dead. But it is to **Assyria** that is owed a new development in the conception of the **future life**. We now find a distinct progress in the idea of retribution attached to a future life. We find two frightful monsters, representing retributive torments, in the lower regions, and above, on the earth, the dead placed between two protecting gods. There is therefore recourse to the gods against the terrible power of hell.

(b)—Vol. XIV. No. 3, Nov. and Dec. 1886.

(1) M. Edouard Montet describes the **Persian** Drama, and its intimate **connexion with**

religion. It is a modern growth, contemporary with the decline of Persian political influence, and with the religious revival marked by the rise of **Babism.**

The **tragic dramas** are founded, like miracle-plays, on **religious subjects,** the theme being the death of the descendants of 'Alî. The authors are generally unknown, and the actors take great liberties with the text. They are of inordinate length, one play lasting a whole Muharram, which is the season at which they are usually performed. A play begins with the history of Joseph, his sojourn in the well being considered a type of Hussain's capture. Thence we are taken day by day through the religious history of the Shî'as, the last act transporting us to the resurrection, in which Jacob, Joseph, Abraham, David, Solomon, Noah, Muhammad, 'Ali, Fâtima, Hassan, Hussain, &c., come to life. While the patriarchs and kings of Israel only think of their own salvation, Muhammad and his descendants intercede for sinners, who, saved by the blood shed at the Karbala, enter into paradise. The final moral is, therefore, that the belief of the Shî'as is the only true religion.

(2) M. L. Feer discusses **Vṛitra and Namuchi** as described in the *Mahâbhârata.* Indra's combat with Vṛitra is described twice in that poem, once in the *Vana-Parva* (*ślôka* 8691), and once in the *Udyôga-Parva* (*ślôka* 239). M. Feer maintains that, as these two accounts are mutually irreconcilable, the latter must refer to Namuchi, and not to Vṛitra. References to the Vedic traditions show that Vṛitra and Namuchi are confused at a very early period. They both represent the storm-clouds, which only yield to the god of the thunderbolt after a terrific combat.

(c)—*Vol. XV. No. 1, January and February, 1887.*

Mr. Paul Regnaud discusses the meaning of the **Vêdic adjective amûra,** which Roth translates as "infallible" (connecting it with the root *mar*, 'break'), and Grassmann and Ludwig, as 'not benumbed, 'wise' (connecting it with a root *mûr*, nearly related to *mûrchh*, and signifying, 'be stupid'). M. Regnaud prefers the latter interpretation, comparing the Sanskrit *mûrta*, 'dried,' 'hardened.' *mûrti*, 'a hard thing,' whence 'a material form'; the Greek *μωρός* 'a fool,' and the Latin *môles* and *mûrus* The common idea of the whole family is 'the condition of dryness.'

In the three passages in the *Rig-Vêda,* in which *mûra* and *amûra* are opposed, *mûra* designates men (the benumbed), and *amûra,* the gods (the awakened). Comparing this with the cognate terms *marta-amrita*, it seems as if the original meaning of the root *mar*, 'to die,' was 'to be dry, hard, unmovable.'

(d)—*Vol. XVI. No. 1, July and August, 1887.*

(1) M. Paul Regnaud discusses **the Vêdic word ṛita,** which is usually translated 'that which is applied.' The objection to this is that it is not the root *ar* (*ṛi*), but its causal, which means 'to apply.' When the primitive form is used in this sense, it has the prefix *â, prati,* or *sam.*

Ar means properly 'to go,' 'to set oneself in movement,' hence 'to reach,' 'to bring oneself near to,' which explains the meaning of the causative, 'to cause to approach,' 'to join,' 'to adapt.'

Rita, therefore corresponds, primitively, to the idea 'set in motion'; but we see from the Sanskṛit *riju*, Latin *rec-tus*, German *recht*, &c., (root *arj, raj,* 'to go,' 'to advance,' 'to approach') that the meaning of 'right,' at first physically, and afterwards morally, naturally proceeds from that of 'set in motion,' 'sent forth,' 'directed.' It seems, therefore, to M. Regnaud, that there is little doubt that *ṛita* eventually came to mean 'that which is good,' 'that which is just,' 'that which should be done,' through the idea of 'right,' 'in right line.' Its contrary is *an-ṛi-ta*, a word of which the meaning 'not right,' 'false,' has remained in the earlier stage. The use of the word *ṛitê,* 'without,' is also easily explained by the original meaning of 'set in motion'; *ṛitê tvat* means 'being set in motion to depart from thee,' or simply 'separated from thee,' 'removed from thee,' 'without thee.'

(2) The same number contains a translation into French by M. J. A. Decourdemanche of the Turkish **Akhlâq-i-Hamîdi** of Muhammad Sa'îd Effendi. The work is a treatise on Muhammadan morals. The translation is continued in the following number, and concluded in the first No. of Vol. XVII.

(e)—*Vol. XVI No. 2, September and October, 1887.*

(1) Dr. Ign Goldziher gives an interesting paper on the **Monotheism of the Musalmans.**

(2) M. Paul Regnaud follows with a note on **jeux de mots in the Vêdas.** These are puns, but are natural and not intentional. The authors, instead of deliberately playing upon a twofold meaning, are misled by it. Thus *Agni* is properly Fire, and more specially the Fire of Sacrifice, but he is first of all the brilliant one (root *ak, aksh*), and as such is a *dêva,* 'a god' (root *div*, to be brilliant). In this way he gets all the characteristics of the *dêvas.*

So also Indra was primitively the brilliant, or the burning one (root *ind, indh*) and therefore a *dêva.* But, as brilliant and burning, he has become the ardent, the energetic one.—whence his struggles and his victories.

(f)—Vol. XVII. No. 1, January and February, 1888.

(1) This number contains an interesting review, impossible to summarise satisfactorily, being a summary itself, by M. Eugène Monseur, of Dr. Meyer's work on the **Myth of Achilles.** The foundation of the **Iliad** appears to Dr. Meyer to have been a little poem, the **Achilleis**, composed, about 850 B.C., by a singer of genius, who was possibly called **Homer**. This poem consisted of three parts; the first, the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon; the second, the defeat of the Achæans, and the exploits of Agamemnon; and the third, the victory of Achilles over Xanthe and Hector. This legend is then worked out with its parallels in other Âryan nationalities, including India and Germany. As already explained, it is impossible to summarise this portion of the article, which is that most interesting to Indian students. As a rule, Peleus is compared with Purûravas, Thetis with Urvaśî, and Achilles with Aya and Arjuna.

(2) In the same number M. Paul Regnaud combats Professor Max Muller's theory of the **Sources of Mythology**, and maintains :—

(i) In the beginning, language was applied to objects, rather than to the thinking and speaking subject.

(ii) The conscient idea or image of the objects is anterior to the names which they have received, and can remain independent even after the creation of the names.

(iii) Mythology, which is developed by the help of words, took its birth independently, and rests on an alternate basis which is logical and psychological rather than verbal.

(g)—Vol. XVII. No. 2, March-April, 1888.

This number contains a long review, by M. J. Halévy, of Prof. Sayce's Hibbert Lectures on the **Religion of the Ancient Babylonians.**

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

THE BODLEIAN COLLECTION OF COINS.

The richness of **the cabinet of coins** under the care of the Curators **of the Bodleian Library** is not, I think, generally known. In his recently issued valuable report Mr. E. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, states that "the Bodleian collection of coins and medals numbers upwards of 50,000 pieces, and is the second largest in the empire."[1]

A printed catalogue of its contents was issued in 1750, but since that time many additions had been made, and the coin-room had been so much neglected that it was of very little service to students. Mr. Nicholson passes lightly over the evidence of his predecessors' neglect, though he ventures to remark that "it may pretty safely be said that at the beginning of 1884, the collection was not known to contain half as many pieces as were actually in it."

In 1884 the Librarian undertook the reorganization of the department. His first work was to examine the multitude of cabinets, and to turn out of the coin-room the hundreds of trays found to be empty. The contents of the remaining trays and the loose coins were then sorted and roughly counted by the Library staff with the assistance of Mr. C. W. C. Oman, Fellow of All Souls, the late Mr. Vaux, F.R.S., and Mr. C. P. Shipton.

The result obtained from the rough counting was that the collection was found to contain in all 50,417 coins, of which 22,677 pieces have been arranged, more or less accurately, and 19,771 have been catalogued in 48 catalogues.

The Oriental class of coins is defined as "including those of all countries east of the Euphrates, those of autonomous Judæa, and all Muhammadan coins." This class comprises 5,249 specimens, of which 2,038 are returned as arranged, and 1,171 as catalogued in one catalogue.

The statistics above quoted are for Nov. 8, 1884. Since that date the Clarendon Press has published an illustrated catalogue of the Muhammadan coins, compiled by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, "the first Bodleian coin-catalogue issued for 138 years."

"In 1884-85 Mr. Oman arranged and labelled the Roman Republican coins in terms of Cohen's *Monnaies de la République Romaine.* The subsequent appearance of Babelon's still more complete work made it desirable that the latter should be substituted as the standard of reference, and an adaptation has been carried out by the Librarian as far as the coins without family-name are concerned.

"In 1886 Mr. Oman began to arrange and label the 'Greek' series in terms of the corresponding volumes of the British Museum coin-catalogues, and at the end of 1887 had finished the sections comprised in the volumes lettered 'Italy,' 'Sicily,' 'Thrace, etc.,' 'Macedon, etc.,' 'Thessaly to Ætolia,' 'Central Greece,' 'Crete and Ægean Islands,' and 'Seleucid kings of Syria:' he had also provisionally arranged the sections for Attica and the Peloponnese, the volumes corresponding to which had not then been issued."

In 1888 I examined the Gupta series of Indian coins in the collection, and supplied the Librarian with a manuscript catalogue of the gold and

[1] *The Bodleian Library in 1882-87.* A Report from the Librarian. Published by permission of the Curators. Oxford: December, 1888.

copper pieces, and some brief notes on the silver pieces, in accordance with which the series was promptly re-arranged. My notes have since been published in full in my paper entitled "The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India," which appeared in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for January, 1889.

The Bodleian collection of Gupta coins is specially distinguished by the unique specimen of Kumâragupta's coinage. I found two small copper coins of Chandragupta among the unclassed specimens, and, since the publication of the paper referred to, five or six more examples of the copper money of the same king have been rescued from the crowd of unassigned coins.

The time at my disposal did not permit me to examine in detail the other classes of early Indian coins, but a hasty glance at some trays showed me that the collection includes many examples of the coinage of the Mitra kings, and other ancient pre-Muhammadan dynasties of India.

A catalogue of the Bodleian Buddhist and Hindu coins cannot well be attempted until the British Museum leads the way by cataloguing its possessions of the kind, and unfortunately the difficulties in the way of such an undertaking are very formidable. But in time these difficulties will doubtless be surmounted by the energy of Mr. R. S. Poole and his able colleagues, which has already triumphed over so many obstacles, and it will then be easy to complete the catalogue of the Bodleian numismatic treasures.

15th March 1889. V. A. SMITH.

THE TITHI OF A SAMKRANTI.

In the **saṁkrânti-phala of Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac for Saka-Saṁvat 1799 (expired) (A.D. 1877-78)**, there is the following passage: — Svasti; śriman-nṛipa-Vikramârka-samay-âtîta-saṁvat 1934 Sarvadhârî-nâma-saṁvatsarê; tathâ śrîman-nṛipa-Śâlivâhana-Śakê 1799 Îśvara-nâma-saṁvatsarê; dakshiṇâyanê hêmaṁta-ṛitau **Pausha-mâsê sukla-pakshê tithau 8 ghaṭikâḥ 5 palâni 10 paraṁ 9 saṁkramaṇa-tithau Maṁda-vâsarê** nâkshatra[1] Aśvinî ghaṭikâḥ 41 palâni 37 saṁkramaṇ-arkshê yôga Siddhi ghaṭikâḥ 25 palâni 15 saṁkramaṇa-yôgê tâtkâlikê Bâlava-karaṇê êvam-âdi-paṁchâṁga-śuddhâv **atra-dinê śrî-mârtaṁḍa-maṁḍal-ôdayâd gata-ghaṭikâḥ 19 palâni 0 samayê Makara-râśau ravêḥ saṁkramaṇaṁ syât.** Tadâ dakshiṇâyana-hêmaṁtaṛitu-Dhana-saṁkrâṁtayô nivṛittâḥ; udagayana-śiśiraṛitu-Makarasaṁkrâṁtayaḥ pravṛittâḥ. Tadâ dêvânâṁ din-ôdayaḥ; daityânâṁ râtry-udgamaḥ. Asya punya-kâla saṁkramaṇa-samayât sûry-asta-paryaṁtaṁ. From this, with the page for the month of Pausha in the body of the almanac, we learn that the *nirayana* Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred, or was cast to occur, at 19 *ghaṭîs* after sunrise on Mandavâsara or Saturday, 12th January, A.D. 1878. On that day there ended the *tithi* Pausha śukla 8; and this is the *tithi* of the day for all ordinary purposes. But this *tithi* had actually ended at 5 *gh.* 10 *p* after sunrise; or 13 *gh.* 50 *p.*, = 5 hrs. 32 min, before the time of the *saṁkrânti*. And the passage quoted above goes on to say, "after this time there is the *tithi* 9;" to stamp this as the *saṁkramaṇa-tithi* or *tithi* of the *saṁkrânti*; and to connect this *tithi* with the Saturday, though, as it ended at 7 *gh.* 43 *p.* after sunrise on the Sunday, the latter day is the one with which it is ordinarily to be connected. Exactly similar passages occur in Ganpat Krishnaji's almanacs for Saka-Saṁvat 1800, 1801, and 1805 (expired); in each of which years, in the same way, the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred, or was cast to occur, at a moment later than the ending-point of the expired *tithi* ordinarily belonging to the day. In the other years examined by me, Saka-Saṁvat 1802, 1803, 1804, 1807, and 1808 (expired), the circumstances were different; in each case the moment for the *saṁkrânti* is earlier than the ending-time of the expired *tithi* properly belonging to the day; and no reference is made to the next *tithi*.

I find the practice to be the same in the **Paṭwardhanî Pañchâṅg.**[2] In each of the years Saka-Saṁvat 1799, 1802, 1803, 1805, 1806, and 1807 (expired), the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred, or was cast to occur, before the ending-time of the expired *tithi* properly belonging to the day; and no reference is made to the next *tithi*. But in the years Saka-Saṁvat 1800, 1801, 1804, and 1808 (expired), the circumstances were analogous to those of Saka-Saṁvat 1799 (expired), according to Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac; and in the same way there is named, first the *tithi* ending on the day, and then the next *tithi*, commencing at that moment, and current at the time of the *saṁkrânti*. And, as it emphasises in a special manner the point that I have in view, I will quote in full the passage in the **saṁkrânti-phala of the Paṭwardhanî Pañchâṅg for Saka-Saṁvat 1808**

[1] I give the passages, throughout, just as they stand in the original almanacs.

[2] This is the most convenient name for quoting the almanac started by Prof. K. L Chhatre. Since his death, it has been continued by his collaborateurs, apparently on the same lines, and with the same title of *Navîn athavâ Paṭvardhanî Pañchâṅg*, "the New or Patwardhanî Pañchâṅg" As I have stated on a previous occasion (*ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 81), this almanac appears to be rather a theoretical one, intended to improve and rectify the calendar; and Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac is the one most in actual use in the Bombay Presidency.

(expired) (A.D. 1886-87). It runs thus :— Svasti; śrîman-nṛipa-Vikramârka-samay-âtîta-saṁvat 1943 Hêmalamba-nâma-samvatsarê; tathâ śrîman-nṛipa-Śâlivâhana-Śakê 1808 Vyaya-nâma-samvatsarê; dakshinâyanê hemamta-ṛitau **Pausha-mâsê sukla-pakshê tithau 13 gha 3 pa 49 paraṁ 14 saṁkramaṇa-tithau Maṁda-vâsarê** nakshatra Mṛiga gha 10 pa 7 paraṁ Ârdrâ samkramaṇ-arkshê yôga Aindra 52 pa 19 saṁkramana-yôgê tâtkâlikê Vanija-karaṇê êvam-âdi-paṁchâṁga-śuddhâv **atra-dinê sri-sûry-ôdayâd gata-gha 47 pa 20 samayê Makara-râsau ravêḥ saṁkramaṇa syât.** Tadâ dakshinâyana - hêmamtaṛitu - Dhanasaṁkrâṁtayô nivṛittâḥ, udagayana-śiśiraṛitu-Makarasaṁkrâṁtayaḥ pravṛittâḥ. Tadâ devânam din-ôdayaḥ: daityânâṁ râtry-udgamaḥ. Asya puṇya-kâlaḥ Pausha-śu-15-Ravau gha 7 pa 20 paryaṁtam uttamaḥ, tad-agrê gauṇaḥ. From this, with the page for the month of Pausha in the body of the almanac, we learn that the *nirayana* Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred, or was cast to occur, at 47 *gh.* 20 *p* after sunrise on Mandavâsara or Saturday, 8th January, A D. 1887 On that day, there ended (1) the ordinary *tithi* of the day, Pausha sukla 13, at an earlier moment, *viz* at 3 *gh.* 49 *p.* after sunrise; and (2) the *tithi* sukla 14 at 55 *gh.* 30 *p.*, after the time for the Makara-Saṁkrânti. According to the usual rule, this latter *tithi* was **an expunged tithi**, for all ordinary purposes; and it is so shewn in the almanac This *tithi*, however, though thus expunged, is the one which, being actually current at the moment of the *saṁkrânti*, is quoted as the *tithi* of the *saṁkrânti*. In this case, the *nakshatra* is specified in exactly the same way, so also both the *nakshatra* and the *yôga*, in both almanacs, in some others of the ten years examined. For this, I can see no particular reason; as it seems self-evident that the actually current *nakshatra* and *yôga* should always be quoted. But instances of mentioning in this way, first the expired and then the current *nakshatra* and *yôga*, are to be found in the Nêwâr dates Nos. 13 and 16, given by Prof. Kielhorn, *ante*, Vol. XVII pp 249. 250.

In respect of the *saṁkrânti-tithi*, the same practice is disclosed **in the Sâyana-Pañchâng for Saka-Saṁvat 1808 (expired) (A.D. 1886-87),** where, in the *sâyana saṁkrânti-phala*, we have — Svasti: samvat 1943 Vilambi-nâma-samvatsarê, tathâ cha śri-Śâ-Śa 1808 Vyaya-nâma-samvatsarê; hêmamta-ṛitau **Paushê mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê êkâdâsî gha 29 pa 31 vartamâna-dvâdasyâṁ Bhauma-vâsarê** Anurâdhâ-dina-nakshatrê Vṛiddhi-yôgê tâtkâlikê Kaulava-karaṇê **sûry-ôdayât gha 50 pa 56 tadâ Makara-râsau ravêḥ saṁkramaṇaṁ bhavati** Tadâ udagayana-pravṛittiḥ. Saṁkrâṁti-puṇya-kâlaḥ dvâdaśyâṁ Budha-vâsare sûry-ôdayât asta-paryaṁtam Here the details are for Tuesday, 21st December, A D 1886. The ordinary *tithi* of the day was Pausha kṛishṇa 11, which ended at 29 *gh.* 31 *p.*; but the hour for the *sâyana* Makara-Saṁkrânti being later,[3] *viz.* 50 *gh.* 56 *p.*, the *tithi* that is quoted as the actual *tithi* of the *saṁkrânti*, is kṛishṇa 12, expressly specified as "current," and connected here with the Tuesday, though in the passage for the *puṇya-kâla* it is connected with the Wednesday, to which it ordinarily belongs as an expired *tithi*, ending at 26 *gh.* 26 *p.* So also in the same almanac **for Saka-Saṁvat 1809 (expired) (A.D. 1887-88),** in the *Grahalâghava saṁkrânti-phala* we have — Svasti: śrîman-nṛipa-Vikramârka-saṁvat 1944 Vikâri-nâma-samvatsarê; tathâ cha śrîman-nṛipa-Śâlivâhana-Śakê 1809 Sarvajin-nâma-samvatsarê: hemaṁta-ṛitau **Pausha-kṛi-14 gha 20 pa 31 vartamân-amâvâsyâyâm Guru-vâsarê sûry-ôdayât gha 55 pa 33** tadâ Pûrv-Âshâḍhâ-di[na*]-nakshatrê Harshana-yôgê Nâga-karanê **Makara-râsau ravaiḥ saṁkramaṇaṁ bhavati.** Tasya puṇya-kâlaḥ Bhṛigu-vâsarê sûry-ôdayât sûry-âsta-paryaṁtam. Here the details are for Thursday, 12th January, A D 1888. The ordinary *tithi* of the day was Pausha kṛishṇa 14, ending at 20 *gh* 31 *p*, the *nirayana* Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred at 55 *gh.* 33 *p*:[4] and the *tithi* then current was the *amâvâsyâ* or new-moon, Pausha kṛishṇa 15 or 30, which ended at 18 *gh.* 7 *p.* on the Friday

From these passages we see that, **in specifying the tithi of a saṁkrânti, the custom is to quote the tithi that is actually current at the moment of the samkrânti.** And the rule thus disclosed will doubtless help to solve some dates which otherwise may not apparently yield correct results. It will be necessary, however, in dealing with dates mentioning *saṁkrântis*, to note the actual wording of them, and to determine whether the given *tithi* is intended to be the *tithi* of the occurrence of the *saṁkrânti*, or the *tithi* of the *puṇyakâla* or meritorious time for celebrating any rites and ceremonies connected with the *saṁkrânti*. For the *puṇyakâla*, which is too

[3] The *nirayana* Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred at 30 *gh.* 58 *p.* on Wednesday, 12th January, A D 1887, Pausha kṛishṇa 3, ending at 11 *gh* 11 *p*, and this is the only *tithi* mentioned in the *Grahalâghava saṁkrânti-phala*.

[4] In the body of the almanac, the *palas* are given as 30; there being thus a misprint at one or other of the two places —The *sâyana* Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred at 5 *gh* 19 *p* on Thursday, 22nd December, A D. 1887, Pausha sukla 8, ending at 48 *gh* 15 *p*; and this is the only *tithi* mentioned in the *sâyana saṁkrânti-phala*.

involved a question to be considered in the present note, probably the ordinary expired *tithi*, and not the current *tithi*, would always be quoted.

J. F. FLEET.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

The existence of a **Vikrama year commencing with the month Âshâdha** became first **known** to me, several months ago, through a note of Mr Fleet's, on page 79 of the Introduction of his *Gupta Inscriptions*. Since then, Mr. Fleet has drawn more prominently attention to this curious year, page 93 above, and it is in response to the request expressed in his concluding paragraph, that I publish the following dates, which distinctly refer themselves to the *Âshâdhâdi samvat*. According to the information collected by Mr. Fleet, the *Âshâdhâdi* year is a Vikrama year which commences three months later than the northern (*Chaitrâdi*), or, which is the same thing, four months earlier than the southern (*Kârttikâdi*) year, and, assuming this to be true, **any** dates of the *Âshâdhâdi* year falling in any of the nine months from Âshâdha to Phâlguna **must**, for the purpose of calculation, be treated **as northern dates, while** such dates as fall in the three months Chaitra, Vaiśâkha, and Jyaishtha, must, for the purpose of calculation, be regarded as southern dates My dates, which fall in the months Mâgha, Śrâvana, Vaiśakha, and Phâlguna, prove that on this point Mr Fleet's information is correct; and the last date, belonging to a dark fortnight, shows that in this instance) the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of the *Âshâdhâdi* year is the *amânta* southern) arrangement The dates are as follows: —

1. — In *Archæol Survey of Western India*, No 2, *List of Antiquarian Remains*, pp 264-265, there is (what appears to be) a rough transcript of **an inscription at** Adâlij, 12 miles north of Ahmadâ**bâd, which** records the building of a well by the **Rânî Rûdâ**, the wife of the Vâghêla chief Vara**simha** of the Dandâhi-dêśa, and of which the date is given in the following passages: —

L. 1. — Samvat 1555 varshê Mâgha-mâsê pamchami-dinê pâdasâha-sri-**Mahimûda**-râjâjyê ? ;

L. 9. — Svasti sri-nripa-Vikramârka-samayâtitê kâlê (') **sâmpratam** samvat=pamchadaśê tu pamcha-militê varshê châpamsati (cha pamchâśati ?) ı . . . . Kaubêrim diśam=âśritê dina-patau mâsê cha Mâgh-âbhidhê pakshê śuklatamê tithau phanabhritô **vârê Budhasy=Ôttarâ**-nakshatrê **Bha(ba)va-samjñakê** cha karanê yôgê va cha) **Siddhôparê** (') ı . . , and —

L 21 — Svasti śriman-nripa-Vikrama-samayâtitâ (') **Âshâdhadi-samvat** 1555 varshê Śâk[ê*] 1420 pravartamâne uttarâyana(ra) gatê sri-sûry[ê*] sisarutau sisirartau) Mâgha-mâsê pamchamyâm tithau **Budha**-vâsarê **Uttarâbhadrapad[â*]**-nakshatrê **Siddhi**-nâmni yôge **Bava**-karanê Mina-*râśau sthitê chamdrê* pâtasâha-śri-**Maha**-**mûda**-vijayarâjyam(jyê) ı.

There can be no doubt that the inscription has been either carelessly executed, or, which appears more probable, negligently copied. However this may be, it is certain that it is dated in the reign of the Sultân **Mahmud**, in the *Âshâdhâdi* Vikrama year 1555, corresponding, so far as the day is concerned, to the Śaka year 1420, on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of the month Magha, on a **Wednesday**, under the *nakshatra* **Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ**, and when the *yôga* was either **Siddha** or **Siddhi**, and the *karana* **Bava**. Calculating now for the ordinary (northern or southern) year, we obtain, as the possible equivalents of Mâgha śukla 5, —

for Vikrama 1555 current, — Saturday, 27th January, A D 1498, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 12 m after mean sunrise, and when, at sunrise, the *nakshatra* was Rêvati, the *yôga* Sâdhya, and the *karana* **Bava**;

for Vikrama 1555 expired, — Wednesday, 16th January, A.D. 1499, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h 34 m after mean sunrise, and when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ** up to about 11 h 10 m., the *yôga* **Siddha** up to about 13 h 24 m, and the *karana* **Bava** up to about 6 h., after mean sunrise

The second of these two days is evidently the one mentioned in the inscription, and this date accordingly proves that the month **Mâgha of the** ordinary (northern or southern) **Vikrama year** is also the **Mâgha of the same *Âshâdhâdi* year**, or, more accurately, that, so **far as the bright half** of the month **Mâgha** is concerned, there **is no difference** between the **northern** or southern, **and *Âshâdhâdi*** years As might have been **expected**, the year 1555 of the date is the *expired* year, **and** so is the Śaka year 1420, mentioned together with it, notwithstanding the term *pravartamâne*, by **which** it is qualified

2. — According to Professor **Aufrecht's *Catalogue of the MSS of the Bodleian Library***, page 348, a manuscript of the ***Prabhâsakshêtratirthayâtrânukrama*** bears the following date —

samvat 15 **Âshâdhâdi** 34 varashê (varshê) Śrâvana-sudi 5 **Bhû(bhau)mê** ad[y*]=cha śri-**Kadanapurê** sthânê **pâtasâha-sri**(sri)-**Mahimûda**-vijayarâjyê . . . . .

i.e. "on **Tuesday**, the 5th of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa in the *Âshâḍhâdi* (Vikrama) year 1534, here, at the place **Kadanapura**, in the reign of victory of the Sultân, the illustrious **Mahmud**."

Calculating, again, for Śrâvaṇa śukla 5 of the ordinary northern and southern Vikrama years, we obtain the following results: —

for the northern year 1534, current, — Friday, 26th July, A.D. 1476;

for the northern year 1534, expired,
or the southern year 1534, current, — **Tuesday**, 15th July, A.D. 1477, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended about 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise;

for the southern year 1534 expired, in which Śrâvaṇa was intercalary,
for the first Śrâvaṇa, — Saturday, 4th July, A.D. 1478;
for the second Śrâvaṇa, — Monday, 3rd August, A.D. 1478.

Of these, **Tuesday, 15th July, A.D. 1477,** is clearly the day intended by the date; and since Indian dates, as a rule, are recorded in *expired* years, we are justified in assuming that the year 1534 of the date was the expired *Âshâḍhâdi* year, and that the bright half of Śrâvaṇa of this *Âshâḍhâdi* year was also the bright half of the same month of the same northern year.

3. — According to Professor Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. I., page 69, a manuscript of the *Tâṇḍyabrâhmaṇa*, which was evidently written in Gujarât, is dated: —

svasti saṁvat **Âshâḍhâdi** 83 varshê Vaiśâsha(kha)-sita-dviti[yâ*]yâṁ **Bhûmitanayê** . . . .

i.e., apparently, "on **Tuesday**, the second lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśâkha in the *Âshâḍhâdi* (Vikrama) year 83."

Here the figures for the century have, either purposely or negligently, been omitted; but, learning from Professor Weber that the MS. is an old one, and "may well have been written about saṁvat 1583," I feel no hesitation in saying that the year of the date *is* 1583, and that the copyist, similarly to what we have seen in the preceding date, intended to write or should have written "saṁvat 15 Âshâḍhâdi 83 varshê." And calculating for Vaiśâkha śukla 2 of the ordinary northern and southern years, I find the following equivalents: —

for the northern year 1583, current, — Monday, 24th April, A.D. 1525;

for the northern year 1583, expired,
or the southern year 1583, current, — Friday, 13th April, A.D. 1526;

for the southern year 1583, expired, — Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527, when the second *tithi* of the bright half ended about 22 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is **Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527**, and the date proves that the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the *Âshâḍhâdi* year is also the bright half of the same month of the same southern year.

4. — On page VII. of the Notes, Corrections and Additions to his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* for 1883-84, Professor Bhandarkar has given the date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Śôbhana-stutayaḥ*, evidently also written in Gujarât, thus: —

saṁvat 16 **Âshâḍha vadi** 99 **varshê Phâlguna**-vadi 11 tithau **Sôma-dinê.**

Here the words *Âshâḍha vadi*, of course, are meaningless; and there can be no doubt that the writer, who was not copying from another MS., but wished to give the date on which he finished his own copy, meant to write or, and this appears more probable, actually has written —

saṁvat 16 **Âshâḍhâdi** 99 **varshê**, —

i.e. "in the *Âshâḍhâdi* (Vikrama) year **1699**, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of **Phâlguna**, on a **Monday**." And calculating, again, for Phâlguna kṛishṇa 11 of the ordinary (northern or southern) Vikrama years, and for both the *pûrṇimânta* and the *amânta* schemes of the lunar fortnights, I obtain the following results: —

for Vikrama 1699 current,
pûrṇimânta — Tuesday, 15th February, A.D. 1642;
amânta — Wednesday, 16th March, A.D. 1642;

for Vikrama 1699 expired,
pûrṇimânta — Sunday, 5th February, A.D. 1643;
amânta — Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643, when the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is **Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643**, and the date proves that the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of this *Âshâḍhâdi* year was the *amânta* arrangement of the ordinary southern Vikrama year.

As regards the above dates in general, it may be noted that out of several hundreds of Vikrama dates in inscriptions and MSS. which I have examined, they are the only dates hitherto discovered which mention the *Âshâḍhâdi* year; that they are all from Gujarât, and that three of them belong to about the same time (Vikrama 1534, 1555, and 1583). Moreover, attention deserves to be drawn to the peculiar manner in which the year of the date is expressed in the second, third and fourth dates, and in line 9 of the first date, by separating the figures for the century

from the figures for the year within the century, and altogether *omitting* the word for 'hundred.' And in this respect I may be permitted to quote here, from page 166 of Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the India Office*, as an even more instructive example, a date of about the same time and from the same part of India, which runs as follows:—

> svasti saṁvat **pañchadasa 15 asitau 80** pravarttamânê uttarâyanê(ṇê) śrî-sûryê grîshma-ṛitau mahâmâṅgalya-pradê Jyê-(jyai)shṭha-mâsê asita-pakshê dvâdaśa-ghaṭikâ-paryanta-paurṇamâsî tadanantara-pratipadâyâṁ tithau **Bhṛigu-vârê** ady=êha **Siṁhôdraḍâ**-sthânê . . . . .

i e., omitting useless details, "**in the (Vikrama) year fifteen-eighty,** in the month Jyaishṭha, in the dark half, on a **Friday,** when the full-moon *tithi* lasted twelve *ghaṭikâs* (after sunrise) and was then followed by the first *tithi* (of the dark half), here at **Siṁhôdraḍâ**" . . . ; corresponding (when referred to the southern Vikrama year 1580, current) to **Friday, 29th May, A.D. 1523,** when the full-moon *tithi* by Professor Jacobi's Tables ended 4 h. 28 m., and by Dr. Schram's Tables 4 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise, as near 12 *ghaṭikâs* as can be expected.

F. KIELHORN.

Gottingen.

BOOK NOTICES.

A GRAMMAR OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE, by F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., C.I.E., *Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Göttingen*. Third edition, revised and enlarged. *Bombay Government Central Book Depot*; Bombay, 1888. Royal 8vo.; pp. xv. 286.

The study of Sanskṛit Grammar may be profitably regarded, as having like that, for example, of Euclid, an interest and educational importance quite apart from its practical bearing. The Pâṇinîyan system, though no critical student would venture to hold it up as an ideal, is in itself so marvellous a monument of human ingenuity and withal so characteristic of India, that no real and scientific student of the speech of the country can entirely dispense with a knowledge of it. Its influence indeed extended, as was so ably shown by the late Dr. Burnell, throughout the Peninsula and beyond the confines of Aryan speech. The modern Indian student, for whom the present work is principally intended, may be regarded as occupying a place midway between the superficial learner in Europe for merely philological purposes, and the old-fashioned Indian *śishya* who seems to have spent years in committing to memory rules, of which he probably understood at first even less than our own Eton students of their old Latin grammar.

The general plan adopted by Prof. Kielhorn has been, to adapt the rules of the chief Native grammarians to the requirements of teaching after Western methods. This has involved the inclusion of a considerable number of forms not actually occurring in Sanskṛit literature. For all this, the grammar is not to be regarded as a mere introduction to the theoretic study of grammar above referred to; but rather, as Prof. Kielhorn puts it, in introducing his chapter on Syntax, which forms a new and acceptable feature of the present volume: "The forms . . . taught . . "are not learnt for their own sake, but for the use "to be made of them in *the sentence*." Thus recognizing, as all must do who have been privileged to hold converse with the best culture of India even of to-day, the great importance of Sanskṛit as a medium of practical intercourse, Prof. Kielhorn in this work provides his readers with a book of instruction and reference to supply forms that can be justified from the main authorities still deferred to.

In the **Chapter on Letters**, spaced Roman type has been used for the more difficult forms, to great advantage. Indeed for European students it might have been well to have added it further on in the work for the more difficult paradigms, as has been done so successfully by Mr. Macdonell in his new edition of Prof. Max Müller's Grammar

In the Declension-section, *anaḍuh*, beloved of grammarians, appears in full proportions, in spite of its great rarity in the classical language, and even the theoretical feminine is retained, perhaps in deference to the Indian reader's feeling of reverence for the sacredness of its meaning; but it is satisfactory, and more characteristic of the general method of the work, to note that fictions like *priyachatvar*, discussed by the commentators in the same passage of Pâṇini (vii., 1, 98, 99), are excluded.[1] In the rules for verbs, it might be of assistance to add at abular summary of the *sandhi*-rules, and in particular to note a case like *vatsyati*, where the rule for the general tenses differs from that for the special tenses.

In the **rules for the insertion of i**, the use of the native terms *seṭ* and *aniṭ* is most convenient; but European readers must, I fear, be content to envy the native memory that could learn the 100

---

[1] And yet I well remember being set to learn this form by even a European teacher, who rendered it, by-the-by, into a monstrosity of English worthy of the original: *dears-four-(having)*.

'*anit*' roots given in the five formidable couplets on p. 110. I may perhaps be allowed to record my own experience in learning and teaching, that the best way to master this crux is to divide the final consonants into two groups, according as they tend to cause the insertion or rejection of the *i*. The exceptions amongst verbs in ordinary use will be found to be very few, when this has been done, as it easily may be done, from the tables in Monier-Williams and Whitney.

In other cases, where the Pâniniyan nomenclature is concise, and not difficult even for beginners to acquire, *e g*. the names of tenses, it might be added parenthetically. This would facilitate intercourse with Paṇḍits and their books, as well as prepare the way for the study of the older authorities.

The **list of Irregular Verbs** (§ 403) is printed with admirable clearness; but in some cases the verbs selected are of rare occurrence, at least in the forms tabulated. For example, the first root *aj* seems only to occur in the "Classical" Language in the Parasmai Special Tenses; the same applies to √*mi*; while √*ûrṇu* is, like *anaḍuh*, to the ordinary student, little more than a grammatical curiosity. The statistical school, as represented by Prof. Whitney, would, it is to be feared, make great havoc of the elaborate rules for forming causal aorists from vowel-initial roots, interestingly parallel though they are to Greek forms like ἤγαγον; for we now learn that only three of these forms have been found in literature (Whitney, 'Verb-forms,' pp. 224, 225) Still it must by no means be concluded that the study of Indian grammar, as set forth from traditional sources, when unconfirmed by the statistics, confessedly and indeed necessarily imperfect, of modern research has no more than the theoretic value to which we referred at the outset. Much important literature in Sanskrit itself still remains to be explored: while the scientific study of the Prâkṛits[2] and Âryan vernaculars is daily progressing and throwing side-lights on the ancient grammatical learning.

A special feature of the edition is the addition of a **Chapter on Syntax**, which has great value as one of the first expositions of this portion of grammar by a European scholar already distinguished as an exponent of the Native authorities.

I must conclude this very inadequate notice by an observation on two syntactical points, which have always interested me, and on which it would be extremely useful to hear the further opinion both of Dr. Kielhorn himself and of the traditional interpreters of the old *vyâkaraṇa*, such as might be easily gained by many an Indian reader of this Journal with little trouble to himself and possibly great profit to us in Europe.

(1) In § 584 (*a*) Dr. Kielhorn states that "in the classical literature the three past tenses are used without distinction."

This no doubt holds good as a general statement as far as concerns the Imperfect and Aorist. But as for the Perfect Dr. Speijer's[3] illustrations of the Pâniniyan sûtra (iii., 2, 115) *parôkshê liṭ*, from Daṇḍin and Sômadêva, merit consideration, as tending to show that good prose writers do observe Pânini's rule; and to the same conclusion we are led by the rarity of the occurrence of the 1st and 2nd persons of the tense.

(2) In explaining the rule for the case assumed by the agent of the primitive when it becomes a causal, Dr. Kielhorn adheres to the old rule of Pânini (I. iv. 52, *gatibuddhi*°)

But surely there is much force in the objections urged by Bâbû Ânandarâma Vaḍuyâ[4] and by Dr. Speijer (*op. cit.* § 49), who point out that really the instrumental is always used when actual agency or instrumentality is emphasized: *e g*., Manu, viii., 371, तां श्वभिः खादयेद्राजा, which is against Pâṇini but still, I venture to think, a perfectly good construction, because the point is, not that the king makes the (possibly willing) dogs devour the criminal, but that the criminal meets her death by such degrading *means*. With this contrast another citation of Dr. Speijer, *Kathâsaritsâgara*, Tar. ix. ślô. 10: चरुं राज्ञीं प्राशयत्: where the point is, not getting the porridge eaten *by* someone, but *making the queen* eat it. So too it would seem that, in spite of authority, the process of making a person pay (दापय), doubtless always familiar to Orientals, could not be expressed by so gentle a means as the instrumental construction but takes two accusatives.

CECIL BENDALL.

FA-HIEN'S RECORD OF BUDDHISTIC KINGDOMS: translated by JAMES LEGGE, M.A., LL.D. OXFORD; the Clarendon Press. 1886. Small 4to; pp. iv., viii., 123, and 44 of Chinese text; with a Map and nine Illustrations.

Mr. Legge has done good work in bringing out this new translation of **Fâ-Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms**. And we regret not having been able to notice his book at an earlier date; the more so because, in addition to including

---

[2] This applies to the *Dhâtupâṭha* likewise √ *hind*, 'wander,' treated by European authorities as a doubtful ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, is found in Pâli as early as the Mahavagga (Vol. I. p. 23) and is still in use in Hindi and Marâṭhî.

[3] *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 330.

[4] Higher Sanskrit Grammar (Calcutta, 1879), §§ 159, 160.

a new and noteworthy feature, in the production of the Chinese text, from a copy obtained through Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, it is enriched with such ample notes, embodying all the advances up to date attained by recent researches in this line of study, that it must almost entirely supersede previous translations and expositions of the same work.

The visits to India, paid in the early centuries of the Christian era by eager Chinese pilgrims, are most interesting historical events. They stand out to great advantage from the mass of myths and legends which do duty as Hindu history. The spirit which drove these restless monks, the Luthers of an earlier Reformation, to seek truth at the cradle of their faith, preserved the records they left behind them from all taint of fable or exaggeration; and the result is in many respects a trustworthy tale. Nor are those elements wanting which might move us to deeper feeling than a mere passing interest. When we consider what a journey from China to India by way of Central Asia means even in these days, we may well be moved to admiration by the devotion, the zeal, and the fortitude which must have inspired a humble traveller to venture on such a journey fourteen centuries ago. It is true that Fâ-Hien took his time over it. After his start from China in A.D. 399 or 400, fifteen years passed away before he rested again in Nankin, having pierced Central Asia, crossed India from Peshâwar to the mouth of the Ganges, visited Ceylon, and returned home by way of Java. In view of the large tracts of country crossed and the ample leisure Fâ-Hien allowed himself, it must be admitted that his diary is meagre; the whole story reproduced in Chinese characters only taking up forty-four pages of Mr. Legge's book. It deals entirely with the religious state of the countries he visited. In this respect, therefore, it is a work of less value than that of Hiuen Tsiang, which tells a great deal of the political conditions of India Hiuen Tsiang clearly made good use of his time, but it cannot be said that Fâ-Hien, as a diarist, was equally industrious; and it is a most peculiar point that, though his visit to India was made at the time when the power of the Early Guptas of Northern India,— by whom Buddhism appears to have been favoured quite as much as the national religions of India, — was still almost at its zenith, yet no references to that dynasty are to be found in his book. He saw or noted nothing but the special objects of his journey, which were the state of the Buddhist faith, the most approved views of Buddha's doctrine, and the degree of piety with which its services were performed. He writes, however, as a simple, pious, single-eyed man; his writing is interesting in proportion to his zeal, and there is a fervour and simplicity about his diary which is very winning.

Mr. Legge, distrusting the power of Fâ-Hien's words alone to interest any but scholars, has inserted an attraction for the general reader, by illustrating the narrative with a series of interesting Plates. It would have added to their value, if Mr. Legge had told us something of the age and history of the original drawings. So far as we can judge, they are studies by a modern Chinese artist from older drawings. A few touches here and there are clearly modern, and some points, especially in the treatment of landscape, might well be the work of an artist who knew something of the way Europeans deal with the subject. These illustrations, however, are of great merit. They are taken from what Mr. Legge enthusiastically calls a superb Chinese edition of the Life of Buddha. There are nine in this book, and all are so good as to make us wish there were more. As illustrations by a Buddhist artist of incidents in the life of the great Buddhist Teacher, and as furnishing some striking examples of the likeness of the chief incidents of the Buddhist and Christian creeds, they are of special interest. The frontispiece, for example,—"The Dêvas celebrating the attainment of the Buddha-ship,"—might almost be the work of some Mongol Fra Angelico. The Buddha sits cross-legged on a lotus, surrounded by ranks of adoring hierarchies. Allowing for the difference of the Christian and Buddhist symbols, there is much in this picture to recall Fra Angelico. The handling of the Chinese hagiology, in fact, pointedly recalls the work of the Christian monks. The other illustrations, though not so striking, are remarkable and will repay study.

A further help to reading the story is to be found in Mr. Legge's profuse and scholarly notes, which occupy on an average one-half of each printed page. But, in respect of both the notes and the text, we cannot help remarking that an undesirable course has been followed in omitting to give always a transliteration of the exact Chinese representation of all the Hindu and other non-Chinese words and names that occur in the book. In respect, for instance, of the geographical names, no doubt the identification of most of the better-known places is now sufficiently well established. Yet on many points there is still room for doubt and controversy. And, as much for help in following the writings of other Chinese pilgrims, as for further investigation of doubtful points in connection with the present book of travels, the exact Chinese equivalents ought to have been given throughout, along with the established or supposed Hindu and other names.

The sketch map of Fâ-Hien's travels is very good as it stands, and shows the whole course of the journey in a way which is indispensable to following the text. It would have added to the value of the book, however, had this map been supplemented by others, on a larger scale, of portions of the countries he visited. Such detail is, of course, impossible when one has to show half Asia and Polynesia on a quarto page.

MANAVA-DHARMA-SASTRA, THE CODE OF MANU; THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXT, critically edited according to the standard Sanskrit Commentaries, with Critical Notes, by J. JOLLY, PH.D., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Würzburg; late Tagore Professor of Law in the University of Calcutta. TRUBNER'S ORIENTAL SERIES; London; Trübner & Co. 1887. Post 8vo; pp. xix., 346.

Professor Jolly's edition of the text of the Mânava-Dharma-Sâstra or Manu-Smṛiti, popularly known as **the Code of Manu,** is a very useful addition to the list of reliable texts of important Sanskṛit works. Of this book "the two European editions, Sir G. C. Houghton's published in 1825, and Loiseleur Deslongchamps' published in 1830, though very creditable productions in their own time, belong to a bygone period of Sanskṛit studies, and have long been out of print, while the numerous Indian editions are on the whole nothing but reprints from the two earliest Calcutta editions, published in 1813 and 1830." These remarks, in his Preface, by the editor of the present Text, will be fully understood and appreciated by anyone familiar with the usual quality of the Hindu "editions," so-called, of Sanskṛit works, prepared otherwise than under European superintendence, or by those who have studied under European teachers and have acquired the Western method of critical editing; and will serve to indicate the special importance of the present version of this ancient book. In addition to the previous printed editions, and to manuscripts of the text only, the preparation of the present Text has been facilitated by the recovery of early Commentaries, by Mêdhâtithi, belonging probably to the ninth century, — of which nine copies have been consulted, — and by Gôvindarâja, composed apparently in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and somewhat later ones by Sarvajña-Nârâyaṇa, Râghavânanda, and Nandana, including also an anonymous commentary from Kaśmîr "contained in an ancient carefully written and corrected birch-bark MS. in the Śâradâ character," which is now in the Deccan College Library; selections from all of which are being published by Professor Jolly in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, and will of course form a useful and indispensable aid in any detailed study of the original precepts. And a curious result is, that it is now found that Kullûka's commentary, which until recent times was always thought to be the most authoritative exegesis of the Code, and was always associated with it, does not possess the claims to special consideration with which it was invested by the early editors and translators of Manu, but, belonging apparently to the fifteenth century, is most substantially indebted to the preceding commentaries, and in particular to that by Gôvindarâja. Copious notes on the various readings of the Text are given in pages 287 to 335; and these are followed by a special feature, *viz.* a synopsis of the more important discrepancies between the present edition and the text as rendered in the four principal translations, by Houghton, Deslongchamps, Burnell, and Bühler. The last two translations, of which Burnell's was completed and brought out by Hopkins, are of recent date. To them the present edition of the Text, beautifully printed by W. Drugulin, Oriental and Old Style Printer, Leipzig, will be a most valuable accompaniment.

THE COINS OF THE DURRANIS, by M. LONGWORTH DAMES. Reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle,* Vol. VIII. Third Series, pp. 325-363. London, 1888.

This is a learned and very useful pamphlet on the coins of the successors of **Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî,** who stamped his mark literally on all the coinage of the Pañjâb, excepting that of Lâhôr and Amṛitsar and of Kaśmîr.

This paper, however, only deals with the coinage of his successors on the throne he established from 1773 to 1842. The history of the Durrânîs is, as Mr. Dames very rightly remarks, "an almost unparalleled series of treasons, rebellions, plots and murders," and as their coins very fairly represent the various fluctuations of power which so rapidly succeeded each other, Mr. Dames has done good service in recording them.

Aḥmad Shâh was succeeded by **Taimûr Shâh,** his son, who reigned 20 years, and between his death in 1793, and the extinction of the dynasty in 1842, there were 11 reigns over the whole or a part of the kingdom. In this interval, too, one ruler, Shujâ'u'l-Mulk Shâh, reigned three times, and another, Maḥmûd Shâh twice. Of the sons of Taimûr Shâh that came to the throne, there were Zamân Shâh, Shujâ'u'l-Mulk Shâh, Maḥmûd Shâh, Sultân 'Alî Shâh, and Ayyûb Shâh. Of his grandsons there were Kâmrân, Qaisar Shâh and Fatḥ Jang.

The varying fortunes of these princes can all be noted in the 156 carefully described coins to be found in Mr. Dames' pamphlet as issued from 15 mint-towns in the Pañjâb, Kaśmîr, Afghânistân, and Turkistân.

A DATED GRÆCO-BUDDHIST SCULPTURE.

BY V. A. SMITH, B.C.S.

THE date of the interesting School of Græco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Kâbul Valley has formed the subject of discussion, and is still unsettled. The paucity of inscriptions has rendered the solution of the problem especially difficult. The few which have been found are all in the Arian character.

The only published inscriptions which are directly associated with Græco-Buddhist Sculptures have been found at Jamâlgarhi and Kharkai. Those at the former place consist of some masons' marks, the Hindu names of a weekday and a month on a pilaster, and seven characters, read as *Saphaê danamukha*, on the back of the nimbus of one of the statues supposed to be those of kings. The record from Kharkai consists merely of the three characters *a*, *ra*, and *dê*, on the sides of a relic-chamber. Sir A. Cunningham wishes to read these as equivalent to the name of Ârya-Dêva, a Buddhist leader at the beginning of the Christian era; but this interpretation is too conjectural to command confidence. Masons' marks in Arian characters were also noticed at Kharkai.[1]

I reserve for another occasion a full discussion of the chronology of Græco-Buddhist art. My present purpose is confined to the publication of the only dated inscription which has yet been discovered, associated with an Indo-Hellenic work of art. I am indebted to the liberality of the discoverer, Mr. L. White King, B.C.S., for permission to publish this unique record.

In or about the year 1883, at Hashtnagar, the site of the capital of Peukeloaitis, in the modern district of Peshâwar, Mr. King came across a statue of the standing Buddha, which was ignorantly worshipped by the Hindus as an orthodox deity. He could not carry away the statue, but was allowed to remove its inscribed pedestal. This pedestal, like most of the Gandhâra sculptures, is composed of blue slate, and is 14¾″ long by 8″ high. Its front is adorned by an alto-relievo, enclosed between two Indo-Corinthian pilasters, representing Buddha, seated, and attended by disciples, who seem to be presenting offerings to him. An Arian inscription, consisting of a single line of characters, deeply and cleanly cut, and in greater part excellently preserved, occupies a smooth band below the relief. This band was evidently prepared for the inscription, which must have been executed at the same time as the sculpture. The accompanying facsimile is from a rubbing taken by Sir A. Cunningham. The record is incomplete at the end, and it is probable that the lost portion contained the name of the person who dedicated the image. The extant portion was read, for Mr. King, by Sir A. Cunningham, as follows:—

Saṁ 274 emborasmasa masasa mi pañchami 5.



Scale ·50

The record, as it stands, consists of a date, and nothing more. The month is stated to be intercalary, but is not further named. The numerals are distinct, and their interpretation appears to be certain; the 274 is expressed by two units, a symbol for 100, three symbols, each value 20, one symbol for 10, and one for 4; and the 5 is expressed by 1 and 4.

The main question suggested by the inscription is the identity of the era referred to. It may be the Saka era of A.D. 78, which was probably used by Kanishka; if so, the date of the record is A.D. 351 or 352. Or the era may be that used by Gondophares in his Takht-i-Bahi inscription from the same region where this pedestal was found. The Takht-i-Bahi inscription is dated in the year 103, and numismatic evidence shows that Gondophares ruled in

[1] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. V. pp. 54, 63, Pl. xii. xvi.

the first half of the first century A.D.[2] The era used by him, consequently, cannot have differed very much from that beginning in 58 B.C., which afterwards became known by the name of Vikrama. I do not, of course, mean to assert that the Vikrama era was actually used by Gondophares; I merely note the fact that he used an epoch which closely approximated to that known as the era of Vikrama. The era employed by Gondophares may have been that of the "great king Moga," in the 78th year of which the Taxila inscription of the Satrap Liako-Kusulako is dated.[3]

I hope that some one more learned in eras than I am, may solve the problems propounded by these inscriptions from the Yusufzai country. The style of the Hashtnagar relief is not very good, the figures not being undercut, as they are in the best examples of Græco-Buddhist art; and I feel more inclined to date the work in A.D. 351-52, than in or about A.D. 210-220; but I cannot say that the earlier date is impossible.

TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

By V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, B.A., B.L.

There are several ancient poems still extant in the Tamil language, which are of great historical value, but are as yet unknown to European scholars. I do not speak of those poetical works, which are only professedly historical, such as the *Madhurâ-Sthala-Purâṇa* and the *Kâñchî-Purâṇa,* which are translations of Purâṇas composed in Sanskṛit by pious Brâhmaṇs for the glory of the temples or local deities in which they were interested; they are full of absurd stories spun out of the imagination of the authors, interspersed with a few legendary traditions, and are utterly unreliable as historical guides. But I refer to those poems which were composed in praise of contemporary kings or chieftains, and which belong to the class of metrical compositions known in Tamil by the name of *Kôvai, Ulâ, Paraṇi*, and *Kalambakam*. They are all written in a conventional style peculiar to each class. The *Kôvai* is an amatory poem, in every stanza of which the praises of his patron are cunningly brought in by the author. The *Ulâ* gives a description of the personal appearance of a king or hero, when he comes out of his palace surrounded by his nobles and officers of state, and of the enamoured behaviour of women, young and old, who are fascinated by his beauty. The *Paraṇi* describes a battle or campaign, in which the victor is the author's patron. The *Kalambakam* is a poem very similar to the *Kôvai,* with only this difference, that in the former each stanza is of a different metre, and is addressed to the patron as uttered by his mistress, while in the latter the stanzas are all of one metre, and the patron is not one of the lovers. A poem of any of these kinds would be usually read by the author in a public assembly presided over by his patron, who on the conclusion of the recital would reward the poet with gifts of money or. land, and with costly presents such as horses, chariots, elephants, and the like.

These poems owe their preservation to the esteem in which they have been held, not as records of historical events, nor as relics of the poets who composed them, but as rare specimens of the class of metrical compositions to which they belong. Making due allowance for the exaggerations that would naturally find their way into eulogistic verses addressed by poets to their patrons, there is no reason to question the truth of the main events narrated in them; and to the antiquarian and archæologist who have now to elucidate the ancient history of India from inscriptions on temples and copper-plates, such works should be of great interest. The facts that may be gathered from this class of Tamil literature, would enable such enquirers not only to correct or confirm the information they have already collected from inscriptions, but also to trace the history of those periods for which no information can be gathered from the inscriptions.

[2] Cunningham, *Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. II. p. 60; V. pp. 59, 60; Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, p. xliv.

[3] Cunningham, *Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol II. p. 132; V. 67; Gardner, p. xlix.

With this view, I have commenced the translation of a few of the poems, which I consider would be most interesting to those who wish to study the ancient history of Southern India. I give below the translation of a small poem, belonging to the class of *Paraṇis*, called—

Kaḷavaḷi or the Battle-field.

It is popularly known as the *Kaḷavaḷi-Nârpatu*, or " forty stanzas on the battle-field." But all the extant manuscripts which I have examined, contain forty-one stanzas. A printed edition published some years ago by Subbarâya Chettiyâr, late Tamil Paṇḍit in the Government Normal School, Madras, also contains forty-one stanzas. The metre of the poem is known in Tamil prosody as Veṇpâ. Each line consists of four feet, except the last one in each stanza, which contains only three feet. There is no restriction as to the number of lines in a stanza; but usually it is never less than four. The rhyme is always at the beginning of each line, and not at the end as in English poetry. A few lines of prose, prefixed to the poem, state that, when **the Chôḷa Cheṅkaṇṇân and the Chêramân Kaṇaikkâ-Irumpoṛai,** engaged in battle, and the latter was defeated and taken prisoner, **the poet Poikayâr** recited this poem before the Chôḷa king and obtained the release of the Chêra from captivity. This fact of the Chôḷa releasing the Chêra king on hearing the *Kaḷavaḷi*, is mentioned in many later poems which I shall translate hereafter.

It appears from the poem that **the battle which it commemorates** was fought at **a place called Kaḷumalam** (stanza 36) which was situated somewhere **in the Koṅgu or Chêra country.** There was then a famous town of the same name in the heart of the Chôḷa country, which is now known as Shiyâli (a Station on the South Indian Railway, in the Tanjore District); but this cannot be the place mentioned in the poem. The battle was evidently a very sanguinary engagement, and was fought on a forenoon (St. 1.) The Chêra army was particularly strong in elephants, while the Chôḷa had a numerous band of archers and horsemen. The elephants were unable to stand the ceaseless fury of the arrows shot by the Chôḷa archers, and were slaughtered in great numbers by the cavalry and swordsmen. **The Chôḷa king** drove in a chariot drawn by horses with cropped manes (St. 33). He is described as young, valiant, and terrible in war. He wore ornaments made of gold and of precious stones, a sword and scabbard, and garlands of fragrant flowers. His name was **Cheṅkaṇ** or "Red-eye" (St. 4, 5, 11, 15, 21, 29, 30, 40). He is also described as **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** (" the land of floods," a name of the Chôḷa country), **Chembian** (a descendant of Sibi) and **king of the country watered by the Kâvêri.** Nothing is said of his rival, **the Chêra prince,** beyond that he was **the king of Vañji** (St. 39) and that his soldiers were **Koṅgas** (St. 14). The modern name of Vañji is **Karûr,** according to the Tamil metrical dictionary *Tivâkaram*. But the identification of this town with Karûr in the Coimbatore District, by all the European scholars who have discussed the Ancient Geography of Southern India, is erroneous. They were apparently misled by the similarity of the names. Ancient Tamil works however describe **Vañji** as situated **west of the Western Ghauts.** In the *Peria-Purâṇam*, a history of Saiva devotees, which was written in the eleventh century A.D., during the reign of the Chôḷa king Anabhâya-Kulôttuṅga, Vañji is mentioned as the capital of the Chêra king, and it is stated that it was known also as Makôtai or Koduṅkôḷûr. The name Makôtaipattanam occurs in the Chêra grants in the possession of the Syrian Christians of Cochin, and it is alluded to therein as the capital of the Chêramân. Ptolemy correctly places it (Carura Regia Cerobothri) near the western coast, on a river flowing into the sea, **close to the port of Muziris.** In the *Kêraḷôlpatti*, a legendary history of the Malabar country, Karûr or Tirukkarûr (the prefix *tiru* means 'sacred') is mentioned as the capital of a Chêramân who embraced the Buddhist faith. The site of the ancient Karûr should therefore be found somewhere near the modern towns of Koduṅkôḷûr or Tirukkarûr in the Cochin Territory.

We also gather from the poem that swords, javelins, lances, bows, and arrows, were used as weapons of war. Leathern sandals were worn by the soldiers to protect their feet. Big

thundering drums were carried to the battle-field on elephants, and tall banners were borne on chariots as well as on elephants. The soldiers fought on foot or on horseback; the nobles and princes rode on elephants, while the commanders drove in chariots. Umbrellas, with straight handles and flat circular tops covered with white cloth, were carried behind the officers of the army as tokens of their dignity. Another curious fact mentioned in the poem is that women went to the battlefield, to recover the bodies of their slain kindred (St. 29). Such of the bodies as were not taken away by their relations, lay on the field to be devoured by crows, hawks, eagles, and jackals. The Kârttikai feast or the "feast of lights," peculiar to the Drâviḍian people, is also alluded to in the poem (St. 17).

The date of the poem cannot be later than the sixth or seventh century A.D.; for **Cheṅkaṇṇân** or **Kôchcheṅkaṇṇân** (the prefix *kô* means 'king') is mentioned in the Leiden grant (see *Archæol. Surv. South. India,* Vol. IV. p. 217) as one of the ancient and illustrious ancestors of Râjarâja-Chôḷa, who lived in the eleventh century A.D., and the poem is to be taken as composed in his life-time, very shortly after the battle described in it. He is similarly mentioned as a progenitor of Vîra-Nârâyaṇa-Chôḷa, whose date is presumed to be about A.D. 935 to 955 (see the grant of the Bâṇa king Hastimalla, published by Mr. Foulkes, *Manual of the Salem District,* Vol. II. p. 369). It will be seen from other poems which I shall translate, that his date is also anterior to that of Pallava-Malla-Nandivarman, who lived most probably in the seventh or eighth century A.D. (see his grant published by Mr. Foulkes in the *Manual of the Salem District,* Vol. II. p. 355). In the later Tamil poems which I shall notice hereafter, Cheṅkaṇ is described as having extended his authority over the Pâṇḍya and Chêra kings; as having settled Brâhmaṇs, and built for them houses, at Chiṟṟambalam (now known as Chillumbrum, a station on the South Indian Railway, in the South Arcot District), where there is a famous temple of Śiva; and as having built no less than seventy temples, dedicated to the worship of that god, in different parts of the Chôḷa country. He was, in fact, one of the earliest of the Chôḷa kings who favoured Śaivism, and helped the revival of the Brâhmaṇical religions in Southern India.

TEXT.

(1) Nâṇ ñâyiṟuṟṟa cheruviṟku vîḻntavar
vâṇ mây kuruti kaḷiṟuḻakka tâṇmâyntu
mun pakal ellâm kuḻampâki pin pakal
tuppu tukaḷil keḻûum **punanâdan**
tappiyâr adda kaḷattu.

(2) Ñâdpinuḷ eñchiya ñâlañchêr yânaikkîḻ
pôrppil idi murasinûdu pôm oṇkuruti
kârppeyal peytapin cheṅkuḷak kôddukkîḻ
nîrtûmbu nîrumiḻva pôṉṟa **punanâdan**
ârttamar adda kaḷattu.

(3) Oḻukkuṅkuruti uḻakkittaḷarvâr
iḻukkuṅkaḷiṟṟukkôdûṉṟi eḻuvâr
maḻaikkuran mâmurachin **malku nîr nâdan**
piḻaittârai adda kaḷattu.

(4) Uruvakkaduntêr murukki maṟṟattêr
parutichumanteḻunta yânai yiruvichumbil
chelchudar chêrnta malai pôṉṟa **Cheṅkaṇ-mâl**
pullârai adda kaḷattu.

(5) Terikaṇai ehham tiṟanta vâyellâm
kuruti padintuṇda kâkam uruviḻantu
kukkil puṟatta chiralvâya **Cheṅkaṇmâl**
tappiyâr adda kaḷattu.

(6) Nânâṟṟichaiyum piṇam piṟanka yânai
adukkupu êṟṟikkidanta iditturaṟi
aṅkaṇvichumpin urumeṟinteṅkum
perumalaittûṟeṟintaṟṟê arumaṇi
pûṇ:nteḻin mârpiyaṟṟiṇdêrch **Chembian** tev
vêntarai adda kaḷattu.

(7) Añchanakkuṉṟêykkum yânai amaruḻakki
iṅkulikak kuṉṟê pôṟṟôṉṟum cheṅkaṇ
varivarâl mînpiṟaḻum **Kâviri nâdan**
porunarai adda kaḷattu.

(8) Yânai mêl yânai neritara ânâtu
kaṇṇêr kaduṅkaṇai meymmâyppa evvâyum
eṇṇarum kuṉṟil kurîinam pôṉṟanavê
paṇṇâr idi murachil **pây punal nîr nâdan**
naṇṇârai adda kaḷattu.

(9) Mêlôrai kîḻôr kuṟuki kuṟaittidda
kâlâr chôduṟṟa kaḻal kâliruṅkadaluḷ
nîla cuṟapiṟaḻva pôṉṟa **punanâdan**
nêrârai adda kaḷattu.

(10) Palkaṉai evvâyum pâytalil chelkalâ
tolki uyaṅkkum kaliṟellâm tolchiṟappiṟ
chevvalaṅkuṉṟam pôṟṟôṉṟum **punanâdan**
tevvarai adda kaḷattu.

(11) Kaḷumiya ñâdpinuḷ maintikantâr idda
oḻimuracham oṉkuruti âdi tôḻinmadintu
kaṉkâṇâ yânai utaippa iḻumena
maṅkul maḻayin atirum atirâppôr
Cheṅkaṇmâl adda kaḷattu.

(12) Ovâk kaṇai pâya olki yeḻil vêḻam
tîvây kuruti iḻitalâl chentalai
pûvalaṅkuṉṟam puyaṟkêṟpa pôṉṟanavê
Kâviri nâdan kadâikkaditâka
kûdârai adda kaḷattu.

(13) Nirai katir nîḷchham nîddi vayavar
varai purai yânaikkai nûṟa — varai mêl
urumeṟi pâmbil puraḷum cheru moimbil
chêy porutadda *kaḷattu.*

(14) Kavaḷaṅkoḷ yânaiyin kai tunikkappaddu
pavaḷañchoritaru pai pôṟ — tivaḷolya
oṉcheṅkuruti umiḻum **punanâdan**
konkarai adda kaḷattu.

(15) Kolyânai pâyakkudai murukki evvâyum
pukkavâyellâm piṇampiṟaṅka — tachchan
vinai padu paḷḷiyil tôṉṟumê **Cheṅkaṇ**
chinamâl poruta kaḷattu.

(16) Paruma inamâkkadavitterimaṟavar
ûkki eduttavaravattinârppañchâk
kuñcharakkumbattu pâyvana kuṉṟivarum
vêṅkai irum puli pôṉṟa **punanâdan**
vêntarai adda kaḷattu.

(17) Ârppeḻunta ñâdpinuḷ âḷâḷetirttôdi
tâkki eṟitara vîḻtarum oṉ kuruti
Kârttikai châṟṟiṟ kaḻiviḷakkai pôṉṟanavê
pôrkkodittânai **poru punal nîr nâdan**
ârttamar adda kaḷattu.

(18) Naḻinta kadaluḷ timiṟirai pôlenkkum
viḻintâr piṇam kuruti îrkkum teḻintu
tadaṟṟidankkoḷ vâddaḷai aviḻum târ **chêy**
udaṟṟiyâr adda kaḷattu.

(19) Idai maruppin vidderinta ebham kâl mûḷki
kadai maṇi kâṇvarattôṉṟi nadai melintu
mukkôdda pôṉṟa kaḷiṟellâm **nîr nâdan**
pukkamar adda kaḷattu.

(20) Iruchiṟakar îrkku parappi eruvai
kuruti piṇaṅkavarum tôṟṟam tiravilâ
chîrmuḷa paṇṇamaippân pôṉṟa **punanâdan**
nêrârai adda kaḷattu.

(21) Iṉai vêl eḻinmarumattiṅka puṉ kûruntu
kaṇai alaikkolkia yânai—tuṇai ilavâi
tol vali âṟṟi tuḷaṅkinavâi mella
nilaṅkâl kavarum malai pôṉṟa **Cheṅkaṇ**
chinamâl poruta kaḷattu.

(22) Iru nilañchêrnta kudaikkîḻ varinutal
âdiyal yânai tadakkai oḻiruvâḷ
ôdâ maṟavar tuṇippa tuṇintavai
kôdu koḷ oṇmatiyai nakkum pâmbokkumô
pâdâr idi murachil **pây punal nîr nâdan**
kûdârai adda kaḷattu.

(23) Eddivayavar eṟiya nutal pilantu
neyttôrppunaluḷ nivanta kaḷiṟṟudampu
chekkarkoḷvânil kaduṅkoṇmûppôṉṟavê
koṟṟavêṟṟânai kodittindôr **Chembian**
cheṟṟârai adda kaḷattu.

(24) Tiṇdôṉ maṟavar eṟiya tichaitôṟum
paintalai pâriṟ puraḷpavai—naṅkenaittum
peṇṇaiantôddam peruvali pukkaṟṟê
kaṇṇîr kamaḷ teriyal **Kâviri nîr nâdan**
naṇṇârai adda kaḷattu.

(25) Malai kalaṅkap pâyum malai pôl nilai koḷḷâ
kuñcharam pâyak kodi eḻuntu-poṅkupu
vânantudaippana pôṉṟa **punanâdan**
mêvârai adda kaḷattu.

(26) Evvâyum ôdi vayavar tuṇittidda
kaivâyil kondeḻunta chenchevi punchêval
aivâi vayanâkam kavvi vichumbivarum
chevvâi uvaṇattiṟṟôṉrum **punanâdan**
tevvarai adda kaḷattu.

(27) Cheñ chêṟṟuḷ chel yânai chîṟi mitittalâl
oṉ cheṅkurutikaḷ tokkîndi niṉṟavai
pû nîr viyaṉṟa midâ pôṉṟa **punanâdan**
mêvârai adda kaḷattu.

(28) Odâ maṟavar uruttu matañcherukki
pîdudai vâlâr piṟaṅkiya ñâdpinuḷ
kêdakat tôdaṟṟa tadakkai kaḷ kondôdi
ikalanvâituṟṟiya toṟṟam ayalârkku
kaṇṇâdi kâṇpâriṟṟoṟṟum **punanâdan**
naṇṇârai adda kaḷattu

(29) Kadi kâvil kâṟṟuṟṟeṟiya vedipaddu
vîṟṟu vîṟṟu ôdum mayil inam pôl — nâṟṟichaiyum
kêḻiriḻantâr alaṟupavê **Cheṅkaṇ**
chinamâl poruta kaḷattu.

(30) Madaṅka eṟintu malai uruddu nîr pôl
tadaṅkoṇḍa oṉkuruti kolkaḻiṟikkum
madaṅkan maṟa moimpil **Cheṅkad-chinamâl**
adaṅkârai adda kaḻattu.

(31) Ôdâ maṟavar eṟiya nutal piḻanta
kôdêntu kol kaḻiṟṟu kumbattu eḻilôdai
minnukkodiyin miḻirum **punanâdan**
onnarai adda kaḻattu.

(32) Maiyin mâmêni nilamennum nallavaḻ
cheyyatu pôrttâl pôṟ chevvantâl—poitîrnta
pûntâr muraciṟ **poru pûnal nîr nâdan**
kâintârai adda kaḻattu.

(33) Poikai udaintu punal pâynta vâyellâm
neytal idai idai vâḻai piṟaḻvanapôl
aitilankehhinaviroḻi vâḻ tâyinavê
koichuvan mâviṟ kodittiṇḍêr **Chembian**
tevvarai adda kaḻattu.

(34) Iṉariya ñâdpinuḻ êṟṟeḻunta maintar
chudarilaṅkehbam eṟiya chôrntukka
kudar kondu vâṅkum kuṟunari kantil
todarodu koṉâi puraiyum adar paimpûṉ
chêy porutadda kaḻattu.

(35) Chevvaraichchenni arimânôdavvarai
olkiurumiṟ kudaintaṟṟân—malki
karaikonṟiḻitarûuṅ **Kâviri nâdan**
uraichâl udampidi mûḻka arachô
darachuvâ vîḻnta kaḻattu.

(36) Ôo uvaman uṟaḻvinṟi ottatê
Kâviri nâdan Kaḻumalam kondanâḻ
mâvutaippa mâṟṟâr kudai ellâm kîḻmêlây
âvutai kâḻâmbi pônṟa **punanâdan**
mêvârai adda kaḻattu.

(37) Arachar piṉaṅkânṟa neyttôr murachôdu
muttudai kôdda kaḻiṟîṟppa — ettichaiyum
pauvvam puṉar ambi pônṟa **punanâdan**
tevvarai adda kaḻattu.

(38) Parumap paṉai eruttiṟ pal yânai punkûrnt
urumeṟi pâmbiṟ puraḻum cheru moimbiṟ
ponnâra mârpiṟ punai kaḻaṟ **kâl Chembian**
tunnârai adda kaḻattu.

(39) Maintu kâl yâttu mayaṅkiya ñâdpinuḻ
puintu kâl pôki pulân mukanta veṉkudai
pañchi pey tâlamê pônṟa **punanâdan**
vañchi kô adda kaḻattu.

(40) Veḻḻi veṇṇâñ chilân ñalamuḻuvanapôl
ellâk kaḻirum nilam chêrnta — pal vêṟ
paṉai muḻaṅku pôrttânai **Cheṅkadchinamâl**
kaṉai mâri peyta kaḻattu.

(41) Vêṉiṟaittiṅka vaṟavarâl êṟundu
kanilaṅkoḻḻâkkalaṅki chevichâittu
mânilaṅkûṟu maṟai kêdpa pônṟavê
pâdâr idi murachiṟ **pâi punal nîr nâdan**
kôdârai adda kaḻattu.

TRANSLATION.

(Stanza 1) In the forenoon it was miry with the blood flowing from the sword-wounds of those who fell in the fight, trampled by elephants; and in the evening it was bright with dust of a coral hue, — in the battle-field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** killed those who had failed in their duty.

(2) The bright blood of the elephants which had dropped during the strife, streamed through the torn drums that were tied to their backs, like water bursting through sluices in the high embankment of a tank, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** rushed to the battle shouting the war-cry.

(3) The warriors who sank with weariness from wading in the blood that was spilt in the fight, rose again by holding the tusks of slain elephants, — in the field where **the lord of the land abounding in water** killed those who had erred.

(4) The elephants, which rose lifting up on high the shining wheels of strong and well shaped chariots which they had broken, resembled mountains on the brow of which descends the setting sun, — in the field where **Cheṅkaṇmâl** killed his foes.

(5) Red as jungle-cocks were the crows which dipped in and drank the blood flowing from wounds caused by the well-directed arrows and lances, — in the field where **Cheṅkaṇmâl** killed those who had failed in their duty.

(6) Piles of slaughtered men and elephants lay on all sides like the boulders of a mighty rock scattered by a terrific thunderbolt, — in the field where **the Chembian**, riding on a strong chariot, and bearing on his breast jewels set with rare gems, killed the rival kings.

(7) Elephants which looked like black rocks, when they entered the fight, resembled hills of red sand after the conflict, — in the field where **the king of the country watered by the Kâvêrî,** in which the striped *varâl*-fish (*delight to*) sport, killed his foes.

(8) Elephants, huddled one with another, and pierced on all sides by swiftly shot arrows, appeared like countless rocks with birds perched on them, — in the field where **the lord of the land of the bounding waters,** who owned thundering drums, killed those who slighted him.

(9) The feet of the horse-soldiers covered with leathern sandals and adorned with anklets, which were cut off by the warriors on foot, rolled in the flowing blood like blue sharks in the great ocean, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** killed his enemies.

(10) The elephants, which, unable to bide the storm of numberless arrows flying on all sides, were in great distress, appeared like the famous red mountain (Mêru), — in the field where the lord **of Punal-Nâdu** slaughtered his enemies.

(11) The drums, abandoned by the weak in the thick of the fray, bathed in blood, and kicked by blinded elephants, resounded like thunder proceeding from dark-clouds, — in the field where the dauntless **Cheṅkaṇmâl** destroyed his foes.

(12) Majestic elephants, shedding crimson blood, having been pierced by ceaseless arrows, appeared like rocks with red peaks, washed by rain, — in the field where **the king of the country watered by the Kâvêrî,** charged fiercely and killed those who would not be his friends.

(13) The trunks of elephants, lofty as mountains, which were cut down by warriors flourishing their bright and long swords, rolled on the ground like huge rocksnakes struck by lightning, — in the field where **the young king,** valiant in war, killed (*his foes*).

(14) The bright blood flowing from the maimed trunks of elephants, fell like strings of coral dropping from bags, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** defeated **the Koṅgas.**

(15) The furious elephants having broken umbrellas and killed men wherever they charged, the scene appeared like the workshop of a carpenter, — in the field where the wrathful **Cheṅkaṇmâl** engaged in battle.

(16) Like tigers springing on rocks, columns of mailed steeds, ridden by veteran warriors, charged against the elephants which stood (*motionless*) unawed by the shouts of the horsemen, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** slaughtered his rivals.

(17) Amid the battle-shouts the bright blood, shed by warriors who rushed on each other, resembled the lights in the Kârttikai feast, — in the field where **the lord of the land of raging waters,** who leads bannered hosts, killed his enemies with a loud shout.

(18) Corpses floated in the running blood like ships in the broad sea, — in the field where **the young king,** who wears garlands of full-blown flowers (*on his breast*), and a sword and scabbard (*at his waist*), killed his enemies.

(19) Elephants, pierced by javelins which had entered deep between the tusks, appeared as if they had three tusks, — in the field where **the lord of the land of waters** killed his enemies.

(20) The eagles, flapping their extended wings, and feeding ravenously on the bleeding corpses, appeared like musicians beating their drums with both hands, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** killed those who opposed him.

(21) Pierced in the chest by rows of javelins, and sorely wounded by waves of arrows, helpless, faint, and weary, the elephants sank on the ground like falling rocks, — in the field where the wrathful **Cheṅkaṇmâl** engaged in battle.

(22) The massive trunks of elephants, whose foreheads are wrinkled, cut off by undaunted swordsmen, lying on the ground alongside of the umbrellas, appeared like serpents licking the full-moon, — in the field where **the lord of the land of surging floods,** possessing thundering drums, killed those who would not be reconciled.

(23) Slain elephants, floating in blood, with their foreheads cut open by warriors, appeared like dark clouds in a red sky, — in the field where **the Chembian,** who possesses the bannered chariots and the ever-victorious army of lancers, killed those who frowned at him.

(24) Men's heads, cut off by strong-shouldered warriors, rolling on the ground, appeared like (*the round black fruits which had dropped down in*) a grove of palmyra-palms shaken by a storm, — in the field where **the king of the country watered by the Kâvêri,** who wears garlands of fragrant flowers, killed those who would not be attached to him.

(25) Like rocks advancing on rocks, elephants rushed against elephants, and the tall banners borne aloft on them shook and fluttered as if brushing the sky, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** killed those who would not be united with him.

(26) The red-eared hawks, which flew upwards holding in their mouths the hands cut off by warriors, appeared like the red-beaked eagle which soars in the sky, seizing a five-headed snake, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** killed those who would not submit to him.

(27) The bright crimson blood which gathered in the deep foot-prints, left in the red mire by furious elephants, appeared like the juice of flowers collected in pots, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** killed those who would not be allied to him.

(28) The jackals which snatched away the hands of warriors, with shields in their grasp, cut off by heroes who had never fled (*from their foes*) and who rushed furiously brandishing their massive swords, appeared as if holding up mirrors, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** killed those who would not approach him (*to be his friends*).

(29) Like troops of peacocks flying from groves shaken by a tempest, came women, wailing for their kindred slain in the fight, — in the field where the furious **Chenkaṇmâl** engaged in battle.

(30) Like floods which washed down rocks, was the flowing blood that dragged down the elephants, — in the field where the wrathful **Chenkaṇmâl,** brave and strong as a lion, killed those who would not submit.

(31) The gold plates adorning the foreheads of ferocious elephants killed by fearless warriors, were dazzling, like flashes of lightning (*mid dark clouds*), — in the battle-field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** killed his enemies.

(32) The faultless fair lady earth crimsoned, as if she had clothed herself in red, — in the field where **the glorious lord of the land of raging floods,** who possesses drums adorned with garlands, killed those who offended him.

(33) Broken swords of shining steel lay glittering in streams of blood, like fishes struggling on land inundated by floods which had burst suddenly from a tank, — in the field where **the Chembian,** driving in a bannered chariot drawn by horses with cropped manes conquered his enemies.

(34) The jackals which tugged at the entrails cut out by warriors with flashing swords in the mêlée, appeared like chained wolves (*struggling to get free*), — in the field where **the youthful king,** adorned with ornaments of gold, killed (*his enemies*) in battle.

(35) Like rocks rolled down with lions on them by the shock of a thunder-clap, the royal elephants fell, with the princes that rode them, — in the field where (*fought*) **the king of the country watered by the Kâvêri** which bursts its banks when swollen by floods.

(36) Like mushrooms trodden by cattle, were the enemies' umbrellas trampled by war-steeds, and the comparison was indeed too true, — in the battle-field where **the king of the country watered by the Kâvêri** seized **Kaḷumalam.**

(37) Big drums, and the dead bodies of princes and of tusked elephants, floated on all sides, like ships at sea, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** killed his enemies.

(38) Huge caparisoned elephants, wounded and sore, rolled like snakes struck by lightning, — in the field where **the Chembian,** valiant in war, and adorned with necklaces and anklets of gold, killed those who would not approach him (*in friendship*).

(39) Where hardy warriors strove, setting foot against foot, the white umbrellas, lost by the enemy, lying without handles, and filled with blood, appeared like salvers containing water coloured with red cotton, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nâdu** defeated **the king of Vañji.**

(40) The elephants all dropped down, and seemed as if raking the soil with silver ploughs — in the field where the fierce **Cheṅkaṇmâl,** with an army possessing thundering drums, and countless lances, showered arrows on his enemies.

(41) The elephants, pierced in their breast with lances by warriors and unable to stand, dropped, and laid their ears on the ground, as if to hear the secrets of the earth, — in the field where **the lord of the land of leaping floods,** who possesses thundering drums, killed those who would not unite with him.

BAGUMRA GRANT OF NIKUMBHALLASAKTI; DATED IN THE YEAR 406.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined edition of the **Bagumrâ grant of Nikumbhallaśakti**[1] has been prepared according to an excellent ink-impression taken by Mr. Fleet. It is frequently the case with imperfectly preserved inscriptions that a good impression is easier to read than the original, where the half-effaced strokes are difficult to recognise. And it thus happens that, thanks to Mr. Fleet's work, I am able to restore now the whole text, and to give a number of important emendations of the version published in my German article "Ueber eine Sendraka Inschrift aus Gujarât" (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Band CXIV. p. 169ff.) from the original plates. The most important is the new reading of the date, which I formerly gave as *saṁvatsaraśata-chatushṭayê shaṭchatvâriṁśadadhikê*, etc. The reading *shaḍuttarê* is plain on the accompanying lithograph. It was first recognized by Mr. Fleet.

The grant is engraved on two copper plates, — now in the British Museum, — each measuring about $7\frac{7}{8}''$ by $5\frac{1}{2}''$. The rims are raised. Two holes on the lower broad side of the first plate and on the upper one of the second, show that they were held together by two rings which have been lost. Only the inner sides of the plates are inscribed; the first has nineteen, the second twenty lines. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are often badly formed, of unequal size, and sometimes stand so close together that they run into each other. The upper part of the first plate and the lower one of the second have considerably suffered by oxydisation. The letters closely resemble those of the Kâvi and Nausâri inscriptions[2] of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa IV. A few peculiarities, such as the round form of the subscribed *ma* in °*lakshmîkaḥ* (l. 9) and in *brâhmaṇôttarâṁ* (l. 17), occur also in the later Valabhî inscriptions. The abnormal form of the same letter, which looks like *sha*, *e.g.* in *Nikumbhallaśaktiḥ* (l. 15), and in *grâmarû*° (l. 17), is probably due to want of skill on the part of the engraver. The **language** is throughout Sanskṛit, and, with the exception of the introductory verse and the quotations from Vyâsa towards the end, very faulty prose. The grammatical knowledge of the author of the document must have been very limited. He uses the accusative instead of the nominative in *savitâram ivôdayavantam anuraktamaṁḍalaṁ cha* (l. 7), *kalpadrumam iva*, and *Janârddanam iva* (l. 8), makes the accusative plural of the *a*-stems and *i*-stems end in the *anusvâra* before consonants and in *m* before vowels (ll. 17-18), and forms compounds like *vikasitamahatiyaśasi* (l. 2-3), instead of *vikasitamahâyaśasi*, °*amalayaśasaḥ* (l. 7.), instead of °*yaśâḥ*, and *apahṛitamaśêshabalirâjya* (l. 8-9), instead of *apahṛitâśêshabalirâjyaḥ*. It is to his ignorance and carelessness that we owe the monster *rajaḥśrîḥ* (l. 29), instead of *râjaśrîḥ* or

[1] Regarding its discovery, see *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 179.

[2] *ante*, Vol. V. p. 113, and Vol. XIII. p. 70.

râjyaśrîḥ, as well as the omission of various consonants, vowels and *visargas*, the erroneous repetition or transposition of words, and numerous mistakes in spelling. The details may be learnt from the transcript where the necessary corrections have been inserted.[3]

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Balisa which was situated in the âhâra of Trêyaṇṇâ to a Brâhmaṇ called Bappasvâmin Dîkshita, an inhabitant of Vijaya-Aniruddhapurî, a member of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, and a student of the Mâdhyandina *śâkhâ* of the White Yajur-Vêda. The grantor was the illustrious Pṛithivîvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti of the Sêndraka line of kings, whose father was the illustrious lord of men, Âdityaśakti, and whose grandfather was the illustrious lord of men, Bhâṇuśakti. Trêyaṇṇâ is no doubt the same place as Trêṇṇâ, or Têṇâ, the modern Têṇ, near Bârdôlî, which the Râṭhôr grants mention as the head-quarters of a political district;[4] and Balisa, the modern Wanesa,[5] south-east of Têṇ. Both localities thus are not very distant from Bagumrâ, the place where the plates were found. Regarding Vijaya-Aniruddhapurî, the residence of the grantee, I am not able to offer any conjecture. The above identifications make it certain that the Sêndraka Pṛithivîvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti held a portion of southern Gujarât. As far as the information, furnished by the formerly known inscriptions, went, the Sêndrakas appeared to have been settled exclusively in the Kanarese country and in Maisûr. In one of the Kâdamba grants published by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 32, the Kâdamba Harivarman grants the village of Mâradê to certain Jainas " at the request of Bhânuśakti-râja, the ornament of the Sêndraka race." Again the Chalukya Vikramâditya I. (A.D. 670-80-81) presents ten Brâhmaṇs with some fields in the village of Raṭṭagiri "at the request of the illustrious Dêvaśakti-râja, who was famous in the Sêndraka family" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI. p. 239). Further, in a third inscription (Fleet, *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 152) the name of the Chalukya Vinayâditya (A.D. 680-81-96) is found together with that of the illustrious Sêndraka Pogilli. Finally, in Mr. L. Rice's Mercara inscription (*Inscriptions from Mysore*, p. 283), a Sêndraka is named among the witnesses. The first three documents indicate, as Mr. Fleet has stated in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 10, that the Sêndrakas were feudatories first of the Kâdambas and later of the Western Chalukyas who overthrew the former. The appearance of Sêndrakas in Gujarât must under the circumstances excite surprise, and it would be inexplicable, if we did not know that southern Gujarât was conquered about the middle of the seventh century by the Western Chalukyas. The oldest document which proves this conquest, is the Khêḍâ grant of Vijayarâja, who in (Chêdi)-Saṁvat 394 or A.D. 642-43 held the Kâśakûla *vishaya*, immediately north of the Taptî.[6] To somewhat later times belong the grants of the *Yuvarâja* Śîlâditya-Śryâśraya, dated (Chêdi)-Saṁvat 421 and 443, or A.D. 669-70 and 691-92, the grant of his brother Maṅgalarâja, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 663 or A.D. 731; and the grant of Pulakêśi-Vallabha-Janâśraya, dated (Chêdi)-Saṁvat 490 or A.D. 738-39.[7] As the Sêndrakas in Kanara were feudatories of the Chalukyas, it seems probable that they came to Gujarât in the service of their liege lords, and were rewarded with grants of districts on the conquest of the country. In support of this conjecture it may be pointed out that the titles, 'the illustrious lord of men' and 'the illustrious,' which are applied respectively to Bhâṇuśakti and Âdityaśakti, and to

[3] I have intentionally not changed those words where the *saṁdhi* has been simply neglected in prose sentences. Permission to make any number of breaks in prose and to use then, instead of the Saṁhitâ, the final forms of the single words, is clearly given by the well known Kârikâ :—

Saṁhitaikapadê nityâ nityâ dhâtûpasargayôḥ ।
nityâ samâsê vâkyê tu sâ vivakshâm apêkshatê ॥

The first line is quoted by Vâmana in his *Kâvyâlaṁkârasûtravṛitti*, v. 1, 2, and the verse no doubt goes back to early times.

[4] See *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 181, and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. XL. p. 322. Têṇ is to be found on the Trig. Surv. Map, Guj. Ser., No. 34.

[5] The change of *la* to *na* is very common in Gujarâtî, *e.g.* in *nahôn* for *lahân*.

[6] For the grant itself, see *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 248, and for the identification of the geographical names, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 197.

[7] See Dr. Bhagwânlâl's papers, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 75, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 1 ff., and *Verhandlungen des Siebenten Int. Or. Congr. in Wien*, Arische Section, p. 210ff.

Nikumbhallaśakti, indicate their being vassals of some great power. It may further be urged that the possessions of the last chief lay exactly in those districts which we know to have been included in the Chalukya possessions. A connection of these three personages with the Southern Sêndrakas of Harivarman's and Vikramâditya's inscriptions is, I think, indicated by the not very common termination *śakti*, which occurs in both sets of names. If this conjecture is to stand, it is, of course, necessary to refer **the year 406**, in which our grant is dated, to **the Chêdi era**, and to take it as equivalent to A.D. 654-5. The characters of the inscription too may be adduced in support of this view. They cannot, I believe, be assumed to belong to an earlier period. The specification of the date, "the full-moon-day of the month of Bhâdrapada," without any such details as the week-day, does not permit us to test its exact equivalent by calculation.

In conclusion, I will add that, when I sent my German paper on this inscription to the late Dr. Bhagwânlâl, he informed me that he possessed **several sets of Sêndraka plates from southern Gujarât.** It is advisable that they should be looked for and published. They will probably bring us certainty regarding the points which at present are merely conjectures.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ô[ṁ*][8] Prathama[9]-dik-sarasî-pri(pṛi)thu-paṁkajaṁ gagana-vâridhi-vidruma-pallavaṁ [|*] tridaśa-rakta[10]-japâ-kusumaṁ navaṁ

2 diśatu vô vijayaṁ ravi-maṁḍalaṁ || Svasti Mêru-mahîdhara-vijara-sthira-rachita-samunnatê vikasi-

3 ta-mahati-yaśasi[11] **Sêṁdraka-râjñâm**=anvayê naika-chânu(tu)rddanta-gaja-ghaṭ-ôha-samada-saṅghaṭṭa-la-

4 bdha-vijayô vijit-âśêsha-ripu-gaṇaḥ sva-bhuja-bala-vikkram-âkrânta[12]-mahî-maṁḍalaḥ praṇat-âśê-

5 sha-sâmanta-śirô-muku[ṭa*]-nighṛishṭa-pâda-paṁkajaḥ naya-vinaya-satya-śauch-âchâra-dama-dayâ-dâna-dâ-

6 kshiṇya-śrî-saṁpad-upêtô narapatiḥ śrîmad-**Bhânuśaktiḥ** tasya putras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtô(taḥ) śarad-ama-

7 la-śaśâṁka-maṁḍal-âmala-yaśasaḥ[13] savitâram=iv=ôdayavantaṁ[14]=anurakta-maṁḍalaṁ(ś)=cha kalpa-lu(dru)-

8 mam=iv[15]=âbhivâṁchhit-âśêshajan-ôpabhujyamâna-vibhavô Janârddanam=iv[16]=âpa-hri(hṛi)tam-aśêsha[17]-Bal[i*]-

9 râjya[ḥ*] para-chakr-ânurakta-lakshmîkaḥ śrîman-[n*]arapatiḥ **Âdityaśaktiḥ** tasya putras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâta[ḥ*]

10 śrîmân dakshiṇa-gur[u*]-bâhu-daṁḍaḥ(da)-pri(pṛi)thivî-pâlana-kshamô vyapagata-sajala-jala[18]-jaladhara-

11 paṭala-dhyâ(vyô)ma-tala-gata-śarad-indu-kiraṇa-dhavalatara-yaśô-visânala[19]-vitânô dhi-y[â*] para-[20]

12 parama-gabhîrô di(dê)va-dvijât[i*]-tava[21]-jana-b[â*]ṁdhav-â(ô)pabhujyamâna-vibhavô Bhava-sûnur=iva pra-

13 tihat-ârâtiḥ Sattir=iv=ôpâtta-râjyaḥ samada-dvirada-vara-salîla-gatir=Arjuna iv=âśêsha-saṁ-

14 grâma-vijayî anavarata-vikkram-â(ô)tsâha-śakta-shapanaḥ[22] Kâma iva samâna-yuvati-jâ(ja)na-

---

[8] Expressed by the Valabhî symbol for 9. [9] Metre, Drutavilambitâ. [10] *rakta* is doubtful.

[11] If the text stands thus, then read *mahâ-yaśasi*; but the syllables *mahati-yaśa* are doubtful.

[12] Possibly *âkkrânta*. [13] Read *yaśâḥ*. [14] Read *savitâ=iv=ôdayavân*.

[15] Read *kalpa-druma iv°*. [16] Read *janârddana iv°*. [17] Read *apahṛit-âśêsha*.

[18] Dele this word. [19] Dele this word. [20] Dele these two syllables.

[21] Read *guru*. [22] Read *śatru-mardanaḥ*.

15 nayan-ana danaḥ[23] śrîma[t*]-**Prî(pṛi)thivîvallabha-Nikumbhallaśaktiḥ** sarvân=êva yathâ-sa[ṁ*]badhyamâ-
16 nakâ[n*] râja-râjasthânîya-chôrâ(rô)ddharaṇika-dâṁḍapâśika-dûta-gamagamika-bhaṭa-chàṭa-si(sê)-
17 vak-âdî[n*] brâhmaṇ-ôttarâṁ(n) vaṇig-da(ja)napadâm(n)=anyâ[ṁ*]ś=cha vishaya[pa*]ti-râshṭragrâmarû(kû)-
18 ṭ-[â*]yuktaka-mahattar-âdhikârik-âdîm(n)=anayuty[24]=Astu vô vidita[ṁ*][25] may[â*]
19 para-lôk-âvêkshatvam=a[ṁ*]gîkri(kṛi)tya

Second Plate.

20 mahârthaṁ va(cha) śrutvâ dataḥ[26] **Trêyaṇṇ**-âhâr-âṁtarggata-vishayê **Balisa-grâmô**
21 bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgnî(ni)hôtr-âdi-kriy-ôtsarppaṇ-ârttha[ṁ*] mâtâ-pitr[ô*]r=âtmanaś=cha pu-
22 ṇya-yaśô-bhivri(vṛi)ddhayê â-cha[n*]dr-ârkt(kk)-ârṇṇava-kshiti-sthiti-samakâlînaḥ putra-pô(pau)tr-ânvaya-kram-[ô*]-
23 pabhôgyaḥ sabhûta-vâta-praty[â]y-ôparikaraḥ[27] sarvv-âdâna-ditya-vishṭi-pr[â*]tibhêdikâ-parihînaḥ
24 bhûmichchhidra-nyâyên=âchaṭa-bhaṭa-pravaśyaṁ[28] sôdraṁgaḥ s[ô*]parikaraḥ **Bhâdrapada-paurṇam[â*]syâṁ Vija-**
25 **y-Âniruddhapurî**-vâstavya -Bhâradvâja-sagôtra-Vâji(ja)sanêy[i*]-M[â*]dhyaṁdina-sabrahmachâriṇê Bappasvâmi-
26 n[ê*] Dîkshitasyityê[29] udak-âtisarggêṇa pratipâditaḥ [|*] yatô=smad-va[ṁ*]śajair=anyair=vv=â-
27 gâmi-nri(nṛi)patibhir=nnala-v[ê*]ṇu-kadalî-sâraṁ saṁsâraṁ jala-budbud-ôpamaṁ cha jîvitam=avadbâryya
28 śirîsha-kusuma-sadri(dṛi)ś-âchaṁpâcha[30] yauvana[ṁ*] giri-nadî-salila-gatvarâṇi ch=aiśvaryy[â*]ṇi prabasa(la)-
29 pavan-âhat-âśvattha-pat[t*]tra-chaṁchalâ cha rajaḥ-śrîr[31]=ity=ayam[32]=âkalayy=âyam=asmad-dâyô=numaṁtavaḥ[33]
30 pratipâdayitavyaś=cha yô v=âjñâna-timira-paṭalâ-vri(vṛi)ta-matir=âchchhi..yâd=âchchhidyamânaṁ v=[â*]numôdôta
31 sa paṁchabhir=mmah[â*]p[â*]takaiḥ sôpa sêpapâtakaiś=cha[34] saṁyuktaḥ syâd=ity=uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ Pârâśaryyêṇa vê-
32 da-vyâsêna Vyâsêna || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhir=yyasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[s*]=
33 tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || Viṁdhy-âṭavîshu tôyâsu[35] śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ kri(kṛi)shṇ-âhayô hi jâyantê bhûmi-d[â*]-
34 × × ranti yê || Shashṭi[ṁ*] varshsha[36]-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmidaḥ [|*] âchchhêttâ ch=â × × mantâ cha tâny=êva narak[ê*]
35 vasê × × × × × para-dattâ[ṁ*] vaṁ(vâ) ya[t*]nâd=raksha Yudhishṭi(shṭhi)ra mah[î*]ṁ mah[î*]matâṁ śrê × × × × yô=nupâlanaṁ[||*]
36 Yân=îha dattâni purâ narêṁdrair=ddânâni dharmmârttha-yaśaskarâṇi ni × × × × × × mâni tâni kô
37 nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadîta || **Saṁvatsara-śata-chatushṭayê shaḍ-uttarê Bhâdrapada-su(śu)ddha-paṁchadaśy[âṁ*]**

[23] Read *ânandanaḥ*.
[24] Read *anudarśayaty*.
[25] Insert *yathâ* after this word.
[26] Read *'tas*, i.e. *atas*.
[27] Dele *parikaraḥ* which appears again in the next line
[28] Read *chôtabhaṭâprâvêśyaḥ*.
[29] Read *dîkshitâya* or *dîkshitây=ty*.
[30] Read *°âpâyaṁ cha*.
[31] Read *râjaśrîr*.
[32] Dele *ayam*, which gives no sense and is superfluous.
[33] Read *anumantavyaḥ*.
[34] Dele *cha*.
[35] Read *vindhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu*.
[36] Read *varsha°*. The ungrammatical doubling of sibilants which are preceded by a *ra* and followed by a vowel, is, however, found in all MSS. from Southern India. Its occurrence in this inscription may indicate that the Pandit who composed it was a Southerner.

Bagumra Plates of Nikumbhallasakti.—The Year 406.

i.

ii.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE ·82

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

38 dûtakô=tra Srîvallabha-Bappaḥ [|*] mahâbalâdhikri(kṛi)ta-Mâsam-âdêsâma[37] likhitam=i[daṁ] tasy=aiv=ânu-[38]

39 [jê]na sa[ṁ]dhi(dhi)-vigrah-âdhikri(kṛi)ta-Dêvadinnên=êti

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ! May the orb of the sun, the broad water-lily of the lake-like eastern region, the coral-branch of the ocean of the sky, the newly-(opened) flower of the red Japâ of the gods, grant you victory!

(Line 1.) — Hail! In the race of the **Sêndraka kings** that is free from decay, firmly fashioned and high like mount Mêru, the great fame of which has unfolded itself, (*there was*) he who obtained victory by the furious[39] onslaught of arrays[40] of troops of four-toothed elephants, he who conquered the crowd of all his foes, he who gained the circle of the earth by the valour of his arms, he whose lotus-feet were scratched by the crowns on the heads of all his bending vassals, he who was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, virtuous behaviour, self-restraint, mercy, liberality, kindliness, glory and wealth, the lord of men (*narapati*), the illustrious **Bhâṇuśakti.**

(L. 6). — His son, who meditated on his (*father's*) feet, (*was*) he who possessed a fame spotless like the orb of the pure autumnal moon, he who (*daily*) rose (*higher*) (*udayavân*) and had a loyal kingdom (*anurakta-maṇḍalaḥ*) and thus resembled the sun who (*daily*) rises (*udayavân*) and whose orb is coloured (*red in the evening*) (*anuraktamaṇḍalaḥ*), he who resembled the tree of paradise, his wealth being desired and constantly enjoyed by all people, he who took tribute or (*their*) empire (*balirâjya*) from all (*kings*) and thus resembled Janârdana who took the whole kingdom of Bali (*balirâjya*), he whose Fortune was attached to the kingdoms of his foes,[41] the illustrious lord of men (*narapati*), **Âdityaśakti.**

(L. 9). — His son, who meditates on his (*father's*) feet, who is glorious (*and*) able to protect the earth with his weighty staff-like right arm, whose canopy of glory is more brilliant than the rays of the autumnal moon that stands in the sky from which the water-laden clouds have departed, who is most deep in intellect, whose wealth is being enjoyed by gods, Brâhmaṇs and his Gurus, who like the son of Bhava repulses his enemies, who like Satti[42] has gained a kingdom, who has the coquettish gait of a most excellent rutting elephant, who like Arjuna is victorious in all battles, who destroys his foes by unceasing acts of bravery and energy, who like Cupid is the joy of the eyes of the courtezans, the illustrious **Pṛithivîvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti** instructs even all, however they may be connected (*with him,*) (*viz.*) kings, viceroys, thief-catchers,[43] policemen, messengers, *Gamagamikas*, regular and irregular soldiers, servants and so forth, Brâhmaṇs, traders and lower provincials and others, rulers of *vishayas*, heads of *râshṭras* and of villages, officials (*âyuktaka*), *Mahattaras*, persons in authority (*âdhikârika*), and so forth (*as follows*):—

(L. 18). — "Be it known to you (*that*), being convinced of the reference (*of donations of land*) to the next world,[44] and having been taught (*their*) great advantage, I have therefore granted, (*confirming the gift*) with a libation of water, for the increase of my own and my parents' merit and fame, **the village of Balisa in the vishaya included in the âhâra of Trêyaṇṇâ,** for a period equal to the duration of the moon, sun, seas and earth, — (*the said village*) being to be enjoyed by (*the donee's*) sons, grandsons, and their offspring, together with the *bhûtavâtapratyâya*, together with the *udraṅga*, (*and*) together with the taxes payable by non-

[37] Read *mâsaṁmâdêśât* (?)

[38] The syllables *daṁ* and *jê* are very faint.

[39] The connexion of *samada*, 'furious,' with a word not denoting an animal is most unusual. Probably it should stand before *gaja*.

[40] I translate *ûha* by 'array,' as the author seems to have used it in the sense of *vyûha*.

[41] This means, I suppose, that his Fortuna was not contented with his empire, but desired to possess those of his foes and induced him to conquer them.

[42] This name is, of course, corrupt.

[43] Probably the *Pagîs* are meant.

[44] I understand *bhûmidânasya*, with *paralôkâvêkshatvam* and *mahârtham*.

resident cultivators, being exempted from all *ádána*, *ditya*, forced labour and *prátibhédiká*, (*and*) not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, — (*the grant being made*) according to the maxim concerning land unfit for tillage,[45] **on the full-moon day of Bhâdrapada**, to Bappasvâmin-Dîkshita, an inhabitant of **Vijaya-Aniruddhapurî**,[46] a member of the Bhâradvâja family, a student of the Mâdhyandina (*branch*) of the Vâjasanêyi (or White Yajur-Vêda) in order to defray the expenses of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra*, and other rites. Wherefore future kings, whether of our line or others, understanding that worldly existence possesses (*as little*) kernel as a reed, a bamboo or a plantain-tree, and that life is comparable to a water-bubble, and considering that youth is liable to fade like the *śirisha*-flower, that sovereignty passes away like the water of a mountain-torrent, and that regal splendour is unstable like an *aśvattha*-leaf which is struck by a very strong wind, should agree to and protect this our grant. But he, who with a mind covered by the dense darkness of ignorance resumes it, or allows it to be resumed, shall be guilty of the five mortal and the minor sins. And it has been said by the worshipful son of Parâsara, Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas . . . .

(L. 37). — **In the year four hundred and six, on the fifteenth (lunar day) of the bright half of Bhâdrapada.** The messenger for (*the conveyance of*) this (*grant*) is **Srî-vallabha-Bappa**. By order of the great general (*mahábaládhikṛita*) Mâsama, this has been written by his younger brother Dêvadinna, the minister of peace and war (*saṁdhivigrahádhikṛita*).

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 182.—BELUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIṀHA III.—SAKA-SAṀVAT 944.

Bêlûr is a village about seven miles south-east of Bâdâmi, the chief town of the Bâdâmi Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Bijâpur District, Bombay Presidency; in the map, Indian Atlas Sheet No. 41, it is entered as 'Belloor,' Lat. 15° 51′ N., Long. 75° 49′ E. It is mentioned in this record by the old name of **the Pêrûr agrahâra**, in line 33; and as simply **Pêrûr**, in lines 35 and 38. There are two inscriptions at this village; both inside the Fort. One of them is on a large stone-tablet that stands facing a modern shrine of the god Hanumanta. On this stone there are the remnants of an Old-Kanarese inscription of sixty-seven or sixty-eight lines of about thirty letters each; but a great deal of this record is now illegible; and, at my visit, I only noted that the date (line 32 f.) is Saka-Saṁvat 962, the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*.[1] The other inscription, which I am now editing, is on a stone-tablet at an old temple, now known as the temple of the god Nârâyaṇa. A photograph, from my estampage, has been published in *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 70. And I have noticed it in *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 43 f. But it is now edited for the first time.

The temple, which is now half below the level of the ground, is of some interest, though it does not present any elaborate architectural decorations. Instead of having the usual porch and entrance-hall, it is entered by a small door about 5′ 6″ high by 3′ 0″ broad. The first hall, the roof of which is supported by sixteen pillars, is about forty-five feet square. The second half is smaller, about thirty feet long by twenty feet broad. Over the door from the first hall to the second, there is a sculpture of Lakshmî and her elephants; and the same is repeated over the door from the second hall into the shrine. In the shrine, standing on an *abhishêka*-stand, there are three stone images, between three and four feet high, of the gods Brahman, Vishṇu, and Siva, with emblems and attendant figures, and of beautiful antique workmanship. They are, in fact, among the best specimens of their class that I have ever seen; and, if they are still in a state of perfect preservation, as at the time of my visit in January, 1877, it would

[45] See *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 138, note 2, and the rectification on p. 221 above.

[46] I suppose that the real name of the town is Aniruddhapurî, and that the prefixed *vijaya* means 'victorious' as in *Vijaya-Vaijayantî*, *Vijaya-Palâśikâ*, etc.

[1] In connection with the results for the date in the inscription now edited, it would be useful to have the full details of this date. But, as they are not in my notes, they are probably illegible.

be well worth while to remove them to a Museum; this could probably be easily arranged, as I found that the temple was not used for purposes of worship; and, as the roof had begun to fall in, it is desirable that the images should be secured and removed. The presence of these three images in the shrine, is in accordance with line 34 of the inscription, which speaks of "the hall of the Traipurushas," *i.e.* of the three gods Brahman, Vishṇu, and Śiva. And the record shews that they date, with the temple, from in or about A.D. 1020. The inscription is on a **stone-tablet** which stands outside the temple, against the east or front face, on the south side of the door. As it is fixed in its position, I could not remove it, to place it in safety inside the temple; but I covered it with stones, so as to guard it from further injury.

The **emblems** at the top of the stone have at some time or another been purposely defaced; but enough of them remains to shew that they were: — In the centre, a *liṅga* on an *abhishêka*-stand, with an officiating priest; on the proper right, the bull Nandi or Basava; and on the proper left, a cow and calf. There must have been also the sun and moon; but these have been quite destroyed. — The **writing** covers a space of about 1′ 9½″ broad by 5′ 1½″ high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation; not many letters having been destroyed. — The **characters** are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record refers itself. They include, in line 30, the **decimal figures** 4 and 9. The **virâma** occurs only twice, in *mêdiniyoḷ*, line 13, and *dêviyar*, line 28; and is represented by its own proper sign. In *beḍaṁgiyum*, line 27, we have very clearly the separate form of *ḍ*, as distinct from *d*. The engraving is bold and excellent. — The **language** is Old-Kanarese; with four Sanskṛit verses in lines 42 ff. And the inscription is in verse and prose mixed. — In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the *anusvâra*, instead of the proper nasal; and (2) the repetition of *bh*, instead of its doubling by *b*, in *nirbhbhatsanâ*, for *nirbbhartsanâ*, line 16.

The inscription refers itself to **the reign of the Western Châlukya king Jagadêkamalla-Jayasiṁha III.** And its object is to record that, while governing the district known as **the Kisukâḍ Seventy,** his elder sister **Akkâdêvi,** apparently in memory of her elder brother **Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramâditya V.,** made a grant of **the Pêrûr agrahâra,** and caused to be built there "a hall of the Traipurushas," the Elders of which granted some land for the purpose of feeding and clothing students. The inscription is of interest in giving an instance of the **combined worship of the three gods, Brahman, Vishṇu, and Śiva.** And we also learn from it that Akkâdêvi practised the religious observances of **Jina and Buddha,** as well as those of Vishṇu and Śiva.

As regards **the identity of the names Pêrûr and Bêlûr,** there can be no doubt about the fact, though the record contains no specification of the boundaries of the Pêrûr *agrahâra.* In the first place, there is no other name in the vicinity at all resembling Pêrûr. In this part of the country, the only Herûr or Hêrûr, written 'Yehroor' in the map, is in the Hungund Tâlukâ, about twenty-seven miles from Bêlûr, in a north-easterly direction. And, though in the Parasgaḍ Tâlukâ there is a Hirûr, yet this is a different name altogether, and the village is about forty miles distant from Bêlûr, to the east. And in the second place, the text tells us distinctly that "the hall of the Traipurushas," *i.e.* plainly the temple at which the inscription stands, was in the Pêrûr *agrahâra.* I may mention that, in spite of the spelling in the map, 'Belloor,' which might be thought to indicate the short *e*, the *ê* in Bêlûr is long. And the metre, in line 38, distinctly marks the *ê* in Pêrûr as long. In this name, *r* has been changed to *l*; an instance of the opposite change, from *l* to *r*, occurs in Kâdalavaḷḷi, which appears elsewhere as Kâdaravaḷḷi, and is now Kâdarôḷḷi (see the Kalbhâvi Jain inscription, in the next number of this Journal).

The **date** is given as Śaka-Saṁvat 944, expressed in decimal figures, **the Dundubhi saṁvatsara; the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti** or winter solstice; **a vyatîpâta;** on Âdityavâra or **Sunday.** The month and the *tithi* are not given. And the details that are given, refer to the making of the grant; not to the writing of the record. By the **southern luni-solar system, the Dundubhi saṁvatsara** coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 945 current; *i.e.* with the

given year, 944, as an expired year. But I find, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, that in this year the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Saṁkrânti, occurred, not on a Sunday, but on Monday, 24th December, A.D. 1022, at about 5 *ghaṭis*, 19 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bâdâmi;[2] and this must, apparently, have been the proper day for the celebration of any rites connected with it. For, the general rule regarding the *puṇyakâla*- of the Makara-Saṁkrânti is that, lasting according to some for twenty *ghaṭis* and according to others for forty *ghaṭis*, it comes *after* the *saṁkrânti*; and, though there are certain exceptions to this, and though there is a rule that, at the solstices and at the equinoxes, the rites of bathing, making a grant, &c., should be performed after fasting for either three nights or one night beforehand, yet this seems to refer only to the fast, and neither in the *Nirṇayasindhu* nor in the *Dharmasindhusâra* can I find any authority by which, as this *saṁkrânti* occurred after sunrise on the Monday, the making of the grant could properly have been performed on the Sunday. The term vyatîpâta ought to help in explaining the date; but what it may mean in this passage, is not apparent; and all that I can say is that it does not seem to denote the Vyatîpâta *yôga*. For, by Prof. Jacobi's Tables, at sunrise on Sunday, 23rd December, the *yôga* was Vriddhi, No. 11; and at sunrise on Monday, 24th December, the *yôga* was Dhruva, No. 12; so that the Vyatîpâta *yôga*, No. 17, did not occur even on this day. Later on the Monday there commenced the Vyâghâta *yôga*, No. 13; but the *vyatîpâta* of the text is very distinct, and can hardly be a mistake in writing for *vyâghâta*. In the preceding year, however, Saka-Saṁvat 944 current, the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred at about 49 *gh.* 47 *p.* on Saturday, 23rd December, A.D. 1021; and it must apparently have been then celebrated on the Sunday, in accordance not only with the general rules, but also with a special rule in the *Dharmasindhusâra* which states that, if the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurs in the night, — in the present instance about 43 minutes after midnight, — its *puṇyakâla* is always on the following day. This date, accordingly, Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021, may perhaps be the day that is intended. This solution entails the application of the given year as a current year; but to this there is no obstacle in the expression that is used in the text.[3] And as regards the *saṁvatsara*, it is at least a curious point that, by the southern Vikrama luni-solar system, if it can be established and can be carried back so far,[4] the Dundubhi saṁvatsara would coincide with Saka-Saṁvat 944 current; for, by the mean-sign system, with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, it commeneed on the 5th December, A.D. 1019, in Saka-Saṁvat 942 current; and by the northern luni-solar system it coincided with Saka-Saṁvat 943 current. But here, again, the term vyatîpâta fails to help in deciding the question; for, at sunrise on Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021, the *yôga* was either Prîti, No. 2, or Âyushmat, No. 3. This date, therefore, must remain for further consideration, when the rules regarding the *puṇyakâla of saṁkrântis* have been fully elucidated, and when we can determine what is meant by the use of the word *vyatîpâta* in this passage.

The exact meaning of the mention of Vikramâditya V. in this record, seems to call for some remark. His name is introduced in line 32, where it stands in the dative case, and is apparently governed by the immediately following word *parôksham*. This word in Sanskrit governs the genitive, and means 'out of sight, behind one's back, in the absence of, without the knowledge of.' And we have met with it in a rather peculiar passage in the Miraj grant (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 17; see also Vol. XVI. p. 19), where Vikramâditya V. himself is mentioned as supporting the earth "behind the back, or in the absence (*parôksham*)," — *i.e.*, as I take it, "in succession after the death," — of Satyâśraya II. Now, the latest certain date that we have for Vikramâditya V. is Saka-Saṁvat 933, in an inscription at Galagnâth in the Râṇîbennûr Tâlukâ (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 40), which mentions him as then reigning. While, in an inscription at Hirûr in the Hângal Tâlukâ (*id.* Vol. I. p. 44), Jayasiṁha III. is mentioned as the reigning king in Saka-Saṁvat 940. The inference is that Vikramâditya V.

[2] The difference of time for Bombay is only 30 *palas* earlier; so that nowhere in India did the *saṁkrânti* occur on the Sunday.

[3] See my remarks, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f.

[4] See page 222 ff. above.

died in the interval, and at least four years before the date of the present record. And the same inference is to be drawn from the omission of his name in the genealogical part of this record. The use here of the dative case with *parôksham* seems certainly peculiar, even in Old-Kanarese. And the sense of the passage could be considerably altered by the insertion of an *anusvâra* after *Tribhuvanamalla,* in line 32; thus making it a nominative case, instead of taking it, as part of a compound. The meaning might thus be arrived at, that it was Tribhuvanamalla, *i.e.* Vikramâditya V., who had previously granted the Pêrûr *agrahâra,* to a god named Vikramâdityadêva after himself, and who had caused the hall of the Traipurushas to be built; and that, on the specified date, Akkâdêvî simply made a grant of land for the purpose of feeding students. But this seems hardly a satisfactory method of dealing with the passage; especially because it leaves *parôksha[ṁ vi]nayadiṁ,* line 32-33, and *mâṇigaḷ=aynûrvaruṁ,* line 34, without any apparent context and meaning, and because line 40 expressly refers to a "pious act of the Five-hundred" which can only be found in line 34f. And taking the passage as it stands, including the perhaps wrong or at least exceptional use of the dative case with *parôksham,* the meaning seems certainly to be that Akkâdêvî granted the *agrahâra* and caused the hall to be built, and did so "behind the back, or in the absence," or, as I understand it, "after the death, and in memory," of Vikramâditya V.

TEXT.[5]

1 [Ôm Sva]st[i] Samastabhuvanâśraya śrîpri(pṛi)thvîvallabha mahârâjâdhirâja
2 [pa]ramêśvara paramabhaṭṭârakaṁ **Satyâśraya-kuḷa**-tiḷakaṁ
3 **[Châ]ḷuky**-âbharaṇaṁ śrîmaj-**Jagadêkamalladêvara** vijaya-râ-
4 [jya]m=uttar-ôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamânam=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-târaṁ
5 [sa]luttam-ire [I*] tad(j)-**Jayasiṁha**-chakravarttiya nij-âgrajâte II
6 [Ka]ṁ[6] II Śrî[7]-vanitey=enisid=**Akkâdêvige** vâg-dêvig=akhiḷa-jana-
7 nuta-Sîtâdêvige Mâdêvige[8] bhû-dêvige saman=eṁba nṛi-
8 pa-sutâ-samudayamaṁ II Guṇada-beḍaṁgiy=enal=sad-guṇa-
9 maṁ negaḻd=êkavâkyey=ene sûnṛitamaṁ raṇa-Bhairaviy=ene sau(śau)-
10 ryyada guṇaman=ad=ên=eṁdu baṇṇipeṁ nri(nṛi)pa-suteyaṁ II Vṛi[9] II
11 [Ja]nakaṁ[10] śrî-**Dasa(śa)varmmadêvan**=abhayaṁ **Châḷukya**-vajraṁ dinêśa-nibhaṁ **Bhâga-**
12 **ladêvi** puṇyavati saty-âḷâpe tây=chakravartti nija-prôj[j*]vaḷa-kîrtti-
13 mûrtti **Jayasiṁhaṁ** tamman=aṁd=aṁde mêdiniyoḷ śrî-negaḻd-ê-
14 kavâkyeya yasa(śaḥ)-prakhyâti-sâmânyam=ê II Avinamn(mr)-âri-nri(nṛi)-
15 pâḷaka-praḷe(ḷa)ya-saṁpâda-ksham-ôchchaṇḍa-Bhairavi tân=âgiyum=e-
16 yde śâṁtatara-rûp-ânvîte[11] nirbhbhatsanâ[12]-rava-siṁh-âgrajey=â-
17 giyuṁ mada-gaj-ôdyad-yâney=eṁd=aṁdu dhâ(dhau)ta-vichitraṁ negaḻd=êka-
18 vâkyeya charitraṁ bhûri-bhûchakradoḷ II Jina[13]-Buddh-Ânanta-Ru-
19 dr-âgama-nigadita-dharmmaṁgaḷa[ṁ] mâḍi kayyâṁtana[— — —] vrajakk=âpp-e-
20 nitan=anudinaṁ koṭṭu sarvv-ôrvviyoḷ=dâna-nay-âḷaṁkâre rârâ-
21 jisidaḷ=akhiḷa-vidyârtthi-dîn-âvaḷî-nandiniy=**Akkâdêvi** dharmm-âgra-
22 ṇ[i*] vimaḷa-vacha[ḥ*]śrî-jayaśrî-yaśa[ḥ*]śrî II Vachana II Antu saka-
23 ḷa-jagat-praṇûteyuṁ samasta-ripunṛipa-charaṇâraviṁde-

[5] From the original stone. [6] *i.e. kaṁda.* [7] Metre, Kanda; and in the next verse.

[8] *i.e. mahâdêvige.* [9] *i.e. vṛitta.* [10] Metre, Mattêbhavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

[11] Monier-Williams gives both forms, *anvita,* and *anvîta.* I have met with the latter in other Old-Kanarese inscriptions, and also with *praṇûta,* which occurs in line 23 below, or else with *vinûta*; though I cannot just now give the references.

[12] Read *nirbbhartsanâ.*

[13] Metre, Mahâ-Sragdharâ; *i.e.* Sragdharâ, with two short syllables, instead of one long, at the commencement of each *pâda.*

24 [y]uṁ[14] vivê[ka]-chûḍâmaṇiyuṁ dîn-ânâtha-chiṁtâmaṇi-
25 y[u]ṁ [sva-vaṁśa(?)]-varddhan-aika-sâkshâl-Lakshmiyuṁ parijana-
26 [kaḷ]p[a]vri(vṛi)[kshe]yuṁ vasudhâ-jana-kâmadhênuvum=êka-vâ-
27 kyeyuṁ goṇada-beḍaṁgiyum=enisi negaḷda śrîma-
28 d-**Akkâdêviyar** **Kisukâḍ**-erppattaṁ sukha-saṁkathâ-vi-
29 nôdadin=âḷuttam-ire **Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-**
30 **[śa]taṁga[ḷ*]** **944neya** **Duṁdubhi-saṁvatsarad=uttarâyaṇa-**
31 **saṁkrântiyuṁ** **vyatîpâtamum=Âdityavârad** a[ṁ*]du aṇṇaṁ
32 **Tribhuvanamalla-śrî-Vikramâdityadêvarge** parôksha[ṁ vi]-
33 nayadin=agrahâraṁ **Pêrûraṁ** sarvva-namaśya(sya)ṁ biṭṭ=alli
34 mâḍisida Traipurushara śâleya mâṇigaḷ=aynûrvvaruṁ
35 vidyârtthigaḷg=aśan-âchchhâdanake koṭṭa nelaṁ mattar=**Ppêrûro-**
36 ḷ=aynûṟu maney=ayvattu pûvina-tôṁṭa mattar=eraḍu
37 chatus-sîmê(mâ)-paryyaṁtam=eraḍuṁ nasave[15] râjâ(ja)-rakshitaṁ dharmma ||
38 Kaṁ || Vîra[16]-guṇar=int=idaṁ **Pêrûra** mahâjanam=oṟaldu nâlnû-
39 rvvarum=urvvî-ramaṇar=akhiḷa-guṇa-gaṇa-sârar=ppâlisuge vâ-
40 rddhi-nagam=uḷḷ-inega[ṁ*] || Mannisiy=aynûrvvara dharmm-ê(ô)nnatiyaṁ ka-
41 ṇḍu **Pâṇḍuvaṁśa**-lalâmaṁ Manneya-Chaṭṭaṁ biṭṭaṁ manneya-
42 maṁ nelada nêsaṟ=uḷḷ-annevaraṁ || Ślôkaṁ || Sva[17]-datt[â*]ṁ para-da-
43 tt[â*]ṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâ[ṁ*] shashṭir-vvarsha[18]-sahasrâṇi vi-
44 shṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimi[ḥ*] || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ
45 râjabhis=Sage(ga)r-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhû-
46 miḥ tasya tasya tadâ phaḷaṁ || Dânaṁ vâ pha(pâ)ḷanaṁ v=[ê*]ti
47 dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâḷanaṁ dânât=svarggam=avâpnôti
48 pâlanâd=achyutaṁ padaṁ || Sâmânyô[19]=yaṁ dha-
49 rmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê-kâlê pâlanîyô bha-
50 vadbhiḥ sarvvân=êtân bhâgi(vi)naḥ pârtthivêndrô(ndrân) bhû-
51 yô-bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ || Maṁgaḷa-ma-
52 hâ-śrî[ḥ*] Ôm[20] Ôm [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

During the reign of the asylum of the universe (*samastabhuvanâśraya*; line 1), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahârâjadhirâja*, the *Paramêśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the ornament of **the family of Satyâśraya** (l. 2), the glory of **the Chaḷukyas**, the glorious **Jagadêkamalladêva** (l. 3.):—

The elder sister of that same *Chakravartin* **Jayasiṁha (III.)** (l. 5) is **Akkâdêvi** (l. 6), who has the epithets of 'she who is charming by reason of her virtues' (*guṇada-beḍaṅgi*, l. 8; and *goṇada-beḍaṅgi*, l. 27), and 'she whose speech is single and uniform' (*êkavâkye*, ll. 9, 13-14, 17-18, 26-27), and who is a very Bhairavî in battle and in destroying hostile kings (ll. 9, 15). Her father was the glorious **Daśavarmadêva** (l. 11),[21] **the Chaḷukya** diamond or thunderbolt; her mother was the virtuous **Bhâgaladêvi** (ll. 11-12); and her younger brother is the

---

[14] Here we ought to have something like *nṛip-ârchchita-charaṇâravindeyuṁ*.

[15] This word is quite distinct; but what it is intended to mean, is not apparent. Perhaps it is connected with *nase*, 'delight, joy;' or with *nasu*, 'little.'

[16] Metre, Kanda; and in the next verse.

[17] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next two verses.

[18] Read *shashṭi-varsha*.

[19] Metre, Śâlinî.

[20] Represented in both places here by a symbol.

[21] This is one of the metrical passages spoken of in connection with my remarks on his name, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 19 f.

Chakravartin **Jayasiṁha (III.)** (l. 13). And she has practised the religious observances prescribed by the rituals of Jina (l. 18), Buddha, Ananta (Vishṇu), and Rudra (Śiva).

While she, the glorious **Akkâdêvî**, is governing **the Kisukâḍ Seventy** (l. 28) with the delight of pleasing conversations; — **(At) the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti (l. 31) of the Dundubhi saṁvatsara, which is the 944th (year in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Saka king (l. 29); and (at) a vyatîpâta (l. 31); on Sunday,** — in the absence[22] of her elder brother the glorious **Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramâdityadêva (V.)** (l. 32), she with reverence allotted **the Pêrûr agrahâra** (l. 33) as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, and caused to be made there a hall of the Traipurushas (l. 34), the Five-hundred Elders[23] of which, for the purpose of feeding and clothing students, gave (*one*) *mattar* of land, and two *mattars* out of the flower-garden, consisting of fifty (*mattars*), belonging to the five-hundred houses[24] at **Pêrûr** (l. 35).

The Four-hundred *Mahâjanas* of **Pêrûr** (l. 38) shall preserve this grant, as long as the ocean and the mountains endure. And seeing, and honouring, the excellence of this pious act of the Five-hundred (l. 40), Manneya-Chaṭṭa, the ornament of **the Pâṇḍuvaṁśa** (l. 41), gave a *manneya*-grant, to endure as long as the sun.

The inscription ends with four of the customary Sanskṛit benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 42 to 51.

FOLKLORE IN BURMA.[1]

BY TAW SEIN KO.

No. 1.—*Maung Pauk Kyaing*,[2] *or the Dull Boy who became a King.*

In former times at Tetkatho[3] there were congregated, for their education, sons of Mins, Pônnas, Thatês and Thagywès,[4] from all parts of Zabudeik.[5] Among them was **Maung Pauk Kyaing**, a young man of obscure birth, who, despite his long residence at the schools, was found to have made no progress whatever in his studies. His restless energy, his superior physical strength, and his aversion to books, convinced those who came in contact with him that his sphere lay not in secluded cells and cloisters, but in the wide work-a-day world. His preceptor, therefore, taught him the following **three formulæ** and enjoined on him to make good use of them as occasion required :—

(1) *Thwá : bá myá : hkayî : yauk* :—Distance is gained by travel ;

(2) *Mê : bá myá : sagá : ya* :—Information by inquiry ;

(3) *Ma eik ma nè athet shê* :—And long life by wakefulness.

Maung Pauk Kyaing bade his preceptor good-bye and started for his home. Arrived there he could find no congenial occupation for his restless spirit, so he resolved to leave his country and carve out a fortune for himself.

---

22 *parôkshaṁ*; see the introductory remarks.

23 *mâni* seems to be a corruption of the Sanskṛit *mânya*, 'respectable, venerable;' and the present meaning is doubtless to be given to it in also the Aihoḷe inscription, *ante*, Vol. IX., p. 74, No. 63.

24 This passage seems to give the average size of the village at that time; and to indicate the proper meaning of such expressions as "the Sixty Cultivators," "the Ugura Three-hundred," and "the Five-hundred-and-four," which occur, for instance, in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 21, 22, 23. The point, however, requires further consideration.

1 The transliteration, or rather the method of rendering Burmese sounds,—for strict transliteration is impossible,—adopted, is that usually used officially in Burma, so that those acquainted with the Burmese language may at once know how the words are spelt in the original. Pronounce *ei* as short *ê*, *aw* as in *awful*; *è* as *ai* in *air*; *th* as in English, *i. e.*, as in *the* or *thing* according to context. In aspirated consonants *h* is placed before the letter, thus *ht*, *hp*, *hs*, though it is pronounced after the consonant as usual; but in the case of aspirated semi-vowels and nasals, it is pronounced before the consonant, thus *hl*, *hm*, *hn*, and so on. Other sounds are pronounced as is usual in the Hunterian system. The heavy accent of Burmese is rendered here by a mark resembling the English colon, after the letter affected; and the light staccato accent by ̥ under the letter affected.

2 Maung Pauk Kyaing is a well-known character in legendary Burmese history, as Thadonâganaing. He was the ninth of the 2nd dynasty of Sâkya Kings supposed to have reigned at Tagaung.

3 Tetkatho = Takshaśilâ (Skr.) = Taxila (Greek), near Râwal Piṇḍi in the Pañjâb.

4 Mins, Pônnas, Thatês, and Thagywès = Kshatriyas, Brâhmaṇs, and Vaiśyas; Thatês and Thagywès being classed under the third caste. Observe the precedence accorded to the warrior-caste, to which Gautama Buddha belonged.

5 Zabudeik = Jambudvîpa, the southern continent in the cosmogony of the Buddhists.

Applying the first formula of his preceptor to his case, he travelled on and on and passed through strange scenes and countries. During his journey he asked the people he met questions on various subjects, and gained much information. At last he reached **Tagaung**,[6] the most ancient capital of the kings of Burma. His inquisitive spirit soon made him acquainted with the condition of the country he was in. The King had been dead for some time, and his **Queen had taken a Nâga**,[7] **or a huge serpent, for her spouse**, much against the wish of her people. The ministers and her other subjects wanted a human being to rule over them; but their wish was foiled because every one of the candidates elected by them to be their King, **was killed by the Nâga after passing a single night in the palace.**

Maung Pauk Kyaing became desirous of aspiring to the hand of the widowed Queen, in spite of the rumours that all that had done so met with sure death. He accordingly intimated his wish to the ministers, and was, in due course, ushered into the palace. He observed that the Queen was sedate and silent, and he vainly tried to put her in good humour by his joviality.

Night came on, and the Queen put on her blandishments to induce Maung Pauk Kyaing to fall into a slumber. But he was too sharp for her. He had ascertained that all the former aspirants to her hand were killed by a **Nâga**, whose spouse she was, and **that to sleep in the palace was to sleep for ever.**

He therefore pretended to go off to sleep and snore as loudly as possible. The Queen slept by his side. As soon as he found out that she had fallen into a natural slumber, he got up and placed the trunk of a plantain-tree on the bed, covered it up with his own blanket, and retired behind a screen to see what would happen. He had not to wait long. Out from the darkness **came a huge serpent** hissing and wriggling along in a fearful manner. It reached the place where the Queen was sleeping, and taking a well-directed aim its head descended on the plantain tree with a tremendous crash. The **Nâga** could move no more. Its fangs had been deeply buried in the fibrous tree, and tenaciously held there, while Maung Pauk Kyaing with the quickness of lightning, darted forth from his hiding place and plunged his dagger into the **Nâga, cutting it in twain.**

In due course Maung Pauk Kyaing was crowned King. There was great rejoicing and jollification among his subjects, but the Queen would not cast off her sullen and melancholy aspect.

The news of the good fortune that befell Maung Pauk Kyaing soon reached his parents, who accordingly set out for their son's kingdom. On nearing Tagaung they rested under a tree on which **two crows**, who were husband and wife, were perched. **The male bird said:** "Wife, to-morrow we shall have a good feast." "Why?" asked the female bird. "Because the King is to be executed. He and the Queen, you know, laid **a wager** that on his failure **to solve a certain conundrum** he was to forfeit his life, but that if he was successful, the Queen was to die." "What may that conundrum be?" "It is this:—

Htaung pe ႏ [illegible] *hsôk*
Yá pe ႏ lo chôk
Chit tè lú ayo ႏ sado ေ sagyin lôk.
"A thousand is given to [illegible]ear;
A hundred to sew;
And the bones of the loved one
Are made into hair-pins."

The female crow observed that its solution was very easy, and she said [illegible]:— "This conundrum refers to the **Nâga**, the loved one of the Queen. A thousand coins were pa[illegible]d for tearing

[6] Tagaung is on the left bank of the Irrawaddy, and lies about a hundred miles north of Mandalay. [illegible]t is supposed to be the most ancient capital of Burma, and to have remained as such during the reign of 50 kings. Its founder was Abiyâzâ (Abhirâja) who immigrated from the valley of the Ganges long before the birth of Gautama Buddha (623 B. C.).

[7] The Nâgas play an important part in Burmese folklore. They are represented as huge serpents; but as a matter of fact they are the indigenous Nâga races inhabiting the country.

off its skin, and a hundred to sew it into pillows and cushions; and its bones were made into hairpins, which are worn by the Queen."

The aged parents of Maung Pauk Kyaing overheard the conversation of the crows, and with increased speed they resumed their journey. They were just in time to save the life of their son; and the Queen, in accordance with the terms of the wager, offered herself to be killed. But the King, with great magnanimity, characteristic of a real hero, spared her life.

Eventually the Queen became reconciled to **Maung Pauk Kyaing**, who assumed the title of **ThadonAganaing**;[8] and they reigned happily together.[9]

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XVIII.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Russian Archæological Society, Vol. III. Part 3.

(a) *The finding of a hoard of Bulgarian Coins in the year 1887; by A. Likhachev.*

On the subject of **Jûchi numismatics** there is an interesting question, which remains to the present time unsettled. Among the coins of the Jûchi dynasty relating to the XIIIth-XVth centuries, a whole series is met with, struck in the city of Bulgar in the name of the Baghdâdi Khalifa An-Nasir-li-dîn-Allah who is known to have ruled the Eastern Khalifate from 585 to 622 A.H. (=1180-1225 A.D.). On these coins are no dates, and the time when they are coined can only be ascertained relatively. The obverse contains the Khalîfa's name and title 'Commander of the Faithful': the reverse the name Bulgar and some pious expression. It is found both in silver and copper. Among the latter some are stamped with the Jûchî mint in the name of **Mangu**, the Mongolian Khân. The name of the Khalîfa An-Nasîr li-dîn-Allah is met with earlier than that of Mangu Khân. In consequence of this fact, Ch. D. Fachu thought that the money coined at Bulgar in the name of An-Nasîr was an independent coinage during the XIIth and the first quarter of the XIIIth century, before the country had been conquered by the descendants of Changêz Khân. This opinion gained ground from the antiquity of the coins. Thus these coins were considered the last monument of independent Bulgaria on the Volga, which from the tenth century became connected with the Eastern Khalifate and Muhammadan. Fachu found that the Bulgarian maliks as they were called, coined their own money, like the Sâmanî *dirhams*. He found among the hoards of Kufic money some Bulgarian coins, upon which are recognised the names of **Tâlib, the son of Ahmad,** who coined money, A.H. 338, in Suvar, and his brother **Mûmin,** A.H. 366, in the towns of Bulgar and Suvar. He was able to furnish a quantity of dynastic knowledge, adding to the information gained from coins thus preserved in their histories. The coins discovered by Fachu are very rare. They differ from the Sâmanî *dirhams* by the inscriptions which resemble those found on monuments on the soil of ancient Bulgaria, and sometimes barbarous corruptions of words are found. Besides the coins described by Fachu, there was found at Bulgar in 1868 a *dirham* of Tâlib, the son of Ahmad, coined A.H. 338. It has come into the writer's collection, and as so far as concerns the place where it was struck it is still unpublished, he calls attention to it. After these coins, till the end of the twelfth century, no independent Bulgarian money is met with, and the cause of the long interval is unknown. Judging by the rarity of these Bulgarian coins of the tenth century, we may conclude that they were never much used and could not supplant the Kufic money introduced into the country in large quantities. Consequently they are only attempts at establishing a national coinage. But the plan was abandoned, probably because there was not

[8] ThadonAganaing = "the Prince who conquered the Nâgas:" *vide* note 2.

[9] The above tale is widely known among the Burmese. It was narrated to me by Maung Tin, late Sayegyî (clerk) of the Hluttaw (Late Royal Council Chamber at Mandalay), but now employed in the Burma Secretariat.

[This tale is common in many variants throughout India. See *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 401, where many instances are quoted: and again pp. 24, 25, above, where the tale crops up in Bombay. S. D'Oldenbourg, quoted in *Trübner's Record*, 3rd series, Vol. I. Pt. I. pp. 14-15, says—"The oldest known version of the legend about the snake and the girl is found in *Kathâsaritsâgara*, vi., 8ff, where Gunâdhya is the child. For other versions of the birth of Sâlivâhana, see the *Siṁhâsanadvâtriṁśika*. In Buddhist books serpents and Nâga tribes are often confounded with one another. Concerning *jîmûtavâhana*, compare a number of snake stories in Târanâtha's *History of Buddhism*, especially pp. 108, 109. For Buddhistic stories about serpents, see further the portion of the *Mêghasûtra* ed. Bendall (*J. R. A. S.*, April, 1880): Th. Pavie, *Quelques observations sur le mythe du serpent chez les Indous* (*Journal Asiatique*, 5th series, Vol. V. pp. 469-529), and the *Nâgapûjâvidhi*, a small Buddhist tract (Paris, Bibl. Nat. D 117)." These serpent tales are by no means confined to Âryan and the old world folklore, but are common to America: See *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. I., No. 1, pp. 44f, and 74ff.—R. C. T.]

enough of workmen and there was no experience in the technical parts. They therefore returned to the use of foreign money. While there was so much of this the attempt to coin native money was not stimulated by any need, but was only the fruit of the ephemeral fancy of royal personages. This is further proved by the fact that, when in the first quarter of the eleventh century the importation of foreign money was stopped, there was no fresh attempt at coining. Coined money was exchanged for bars of silver of various kinds, such payments being common at the time. In hoards, besides perfect coins, many such bars are found which have been cut, and sometimes scales are discovered with a balance. Thus we see that money was taken according to the weight of the metal. So matters went on to all appearance till the close of the twelfth century, when a new attempt was made to coin real Bulgarian money, and the issue lasted not only till the end of the independent kingdom of great Bulgaria, but even after the conquest of the country by the descendants of Chaṅgêz Khâṅ. These coins are totally different from those of the tenth century. They are coined, however, like them, by illiterate workmen. There was thus felt to be a complete want of good coiners. But still coins were struck in great numbers. They bear the name of the Khalîfa An-Nasîr-li-dîn-Allah, and it is by the years of his reign that we are enabled to tell their date. The coining was protracted even after his death. Their transformation into Jûchî coins only occurred in the time of Mangû Khâṅ. He was elected in 1250, whereas the conquest of Bulgaria on the Volga occurred in the year 1237. That the Khâṅs of the Golden Horde did not establish the use of their money in the country immediately after its conquest, is explained from the descendants of Chaṅgêz never destroying the institutions of a conquered country unless they were opposed to their interests. Besides, they thought only of new conquests, and being able to gain what they wanted by plunder they had no need of money.

Among the Jûchî there have been found other coins, struck in the name of the Khalîfa An-Nasîr-li-dîn-Allah, but with the date A.H. 692-693 (= 1293-1294, A.D.), exhibiting a completely inexplicable anachronism. They only resemble the previously mentioned coins in having the Khalîfa's name, and were coined in the Jûchî epoch in the time of Tokhtû Khâṅ. Why was the Khalîfa's name on them, when he had been dead already seventeen years? This led Fachu to alter his views about these coins and look upon them as Jûchî.[1]

P. S. Saveliev, however, the Russian numismatist, looks upon these as special coins of the independent Bulgaria of the Volga, and makes a class of their coins before the Mongols. The periods he subdivides into (a) Xth century, (b) the end of the XIIth and first quarter of the XIIIth. These coins only agree in having been coined in the names of the 'Abbâsî Khalîfas, whose spiritual power was reverenced in Bulgaria, when converted to Islâm. But on the first coins, together with the names of the Khalîfas Mustafî B'illah, Muta B'illah and Tai-B'illah, there were also included

[1] There had been already an *attempt to* coin money among the Mongols in the time of Chaṅgêz Khâṅ, [Tiesenhausen]. [The above abstract has much interested me because I think I can throw light on its subject. A paper will be shortly published in this Journal illustrating my collection of the coins of the modern Pañjâb Native Chiefs. All these coins are now in the British Museum. The modern Pañjâb Native Chiefs who are entitled to coin money are Paṭiâlâ, Jînd, Nâbhâ and Mâlêr Kôṭlâ. They obtained the right in the last quarter of the XVIIIth century, originally from Aḥmad Shâh Abdâlî (Durrânî) Afghân conqueror of Dehlî. Paṭiâlâ, Jînd, and Nâbhâ are Sikhs, Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ is Afghân. They all coined as independent Chiefs, and used the coin of Aḥmad Shâh of his fourth year, *i.e.*, of A.D. 1751, exactly as it stood. *From that day to this* there has been no change in the die beyond a mark, as the reigning Chief's special mark or crest. A gold coin struck for me at the mint at Paṭiala in 1884 in my presence, bore the date 1751, *i.e.* year 4 of Aḥmad Shâh

The only attempt to vary the die has been made by Nâbhâ, which State dates its coins by the Vikrama Saṁvat on the obverse, and uses the couplet adopted by the Sikhs of Lâhôr in the days of Aḥmad Shâh. The reverse bears the date, "*Sanh-i-jalûs* 4."

I once had a set of gold *môhars* from the Râjput (Hindu) State of Jaypur, purporting to have been struck during each year of Bahâdur Shâh the last emperor of Dehli (1838-1857 A.D.) But Jaypur was at no period of Bahâdur Shâh's reign under his suzerainty, but was more under British suzerainty than any other Râjput State. The fact is that the Râjâs used the Dehli coin as a convenience. The legends contained no record of real historical or political facts.

In a letter to me the late Mr. Gibbs, a good authority on such subjects, said that the same adaptation of anachronistic coins to local uses was the universal rule among the native states in Kachh.

In Burma King Mindôn Min (1852-1878 A.D.) established a mint, indenting on London and Calcutta for his dies. This was about A.D. 1860, but his earlier coins all bear date Burmese era 1214 = A.D. 1852. All in Mandalay tell me that Mindôn Min used the peacock as his crest, and his son, Thibö Min (1878-1885 A.D.), whom the English deposed, used the lion (or dragon). But I have "lion" coins dated 1214 = A.D. 1852. I am told by a man who was once employed in the mint, that this was because the Burmans would sometimes use the *reverse die* of one coin with the obverse die of another! It is also doubtful whether the Pañjâb chiefs really coined before Saṁvat 1820 = A.D. 1763, though their coins bear date A.D. 1751.

The coins of the Buddhist kings of Arakan bore Muhammadan titles and designations and even the *kalima* long after the country ceased to be tributary to the Muhammadan Kings of Bengal, Phayre's *History of Burma*, p. 78. The history of the early British coinage in India strongly exhibits the same falsification of facts and is described by Prinsep as an "unhappy tissue of misstatements as to names, places, and dates:" *Useful Tables*, Pt. I. p. 4.

The inferences therefore are (1) that anachronisms are the rule, not the exception, in the coinage of Minor Oriental Mints; (2) by analogy the deductions about the Bulgarian coinage are probably all correct.—R. C. TEMPLE.]

the names of the Bulgarian kings **Tâlib** and **Mûmin.** On the coins of the second class is only read the name of An-Nasîr-li-dîn-Allah. Saveliev considers them the last memorials of the independent **Bulgarian Empire,** and thinks that they were coined in great quantities.

These coins are generally copper, and of an antique type. The silver money is rarest with the inscription :— "Use life, short as an hour, in honourable works." The writer disagrees with Saveliev's opinion that many were coined. On the 2nd of December, 1887, some silver coins were brought to the writer from Al-Kasar. The discovery had been made while a grave was being dug. 104 silver coins were found in a heap. There was no Jûchî coin among them. Their condition showed that they had long been buried. They were rudely fashioned, and the inscriptions ungrammatical.

He then proceeds to give a few of the most interesting—

1. Obverse:—En-Nasîr-li-dîn Allah, Commander of the Faithful.

Reverse :—a *dînâr*, coined in Bulgaria.

The Khalîfa's name is spelled wrong: and instead of *dînâr*, which means gold coin, *dirham,* silver coin, should have been used.

2. Obverse and reverse the same as above, but on the reverse a kind of zigzag is cut.

3. On the obverse there are three stars placed horizontally. Reverse: the inscription is, "Life is an hour; use it for piety."

Some of these coins are rare. The writer, during thirty years, has had only one example of No. 3. He concludes by stating that the coins are **independent Bulgarian money,** the coining of which continued after the conquest of the country by the Mongols till the establishment of an independent Jûchî rule.

Finds of large hoards of money coined in the name of An-Nasir-li-dîn-Allah were not known up to this time.

(*b*) *Nicholas Spathari, before his arrival in Russia; by P. Sirku.*

There is a Chinese account in the Manchu language of the stay of Nicholas Spathari in Pekin. This document is valuable, because it explains the relations existing between Russia and China. Only some extracts have previously appeared in the *Manchu Chrestomathy* of Prof. Vasiliev. The writer of the article does not propose to give a complete account of Spathari, but some new material about him, especially from the Greek State Papers. He was born about 1625 in Moldavia, of a family which had come from the Peloponnesus, and was educated at Constantinople. Here he acquired ancient Greek, Turkish and Arabic, and afterwards probably finished his education at Padua. In 1653 Stephen Giorgitsa seized the hospodarship of Moldavia from Basil Lupu, and Nicholas became his secretary and private friend. In 1657 George Ghika was hospodar, and into his good graces Spathari insinuated himself. But under a subsequent governor we find Spathari caught intriguing, and he had his nose cut off, hence he was called Kurnal or the snub-nosed. Afterwards on the recommendation of Dositheus, the patriarch of Jerusalem, he was received into the Russian service. In consequence of his great knowledge of foreign languages, the Tsar Alexis sent him as ambassador to China in 1675.

(*c*) *List of Persian-Turko-Tatar and Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of St. Petersburg (concluded): extends from page 197 to page 220; by V. Rosen.*

In a note at the conclusion, the writer thanks J. Gotwald for the presentation to the Library of a very old copy of the celebrated work of **Gazzâlî.** It is true that a Bulâq edition exists of this work; but a good old manuscript always preserves its value, inasmuch as the greater part of the oriental editions are only reproductions of some one manuscript, and it is good to test them by other copies.

There is also an additional list of ten manuscripts given by E. F. Kahl, which he collected in Bokhâra and Tashkand.

(*d*) *'The Wisdom of Balavar,' a Georgian version of the History of Varlaam and Joasaf.*

The writer became acquainted with this **Georgian version** of the story of Barlaam and Joasaph during his stay in the Caucasus. He was told of two copies, one in possession of the priest of the Alaverd monastery, Simeon Gadzeliev, and the other in that of Ivan Berdzenov, who died two years ago. There were also in Guria some persons with the name of Balaver, which might point not only to the existence of a book about **Balavar,** but also to its popularity in Georgia, because in that country personal names are often taken from popular works. In the *Georgian Gazette* (*Iveria*), was an account of some books, which had been given to the Society for Spreading Education among the Georgians, and among these was mentioned **the Wisdom of Balavar.** When the writer was in Tiflis, he copied the whole MS. It was of the very recent date 1860, but this very circumstance gave hopes of finding the original, and with this object he put a notice into the *Iveria* of his desire to find it. Soon after, in the *Gazette*, No. 104, there was a communication that the copy of the *Wisdom of Balavar* had been made from that of the

Miltaurovs, inherited by them from the **Georgian Tsareviches**, under one of whom a Miltaurov was the court captain. The manuscript, which belongs to the Society and includes the *Wisdom of Balavar*, has the form of an ordinary pamphlet. The story of Balavar, which occupies the first 153 pages is followed by 20 pages containing various poems, and an interpretation of the Lord's prayer. The last ten pages are blank. It is in the civil character, with the exception of the capitals, which are in the ecclesiastical. The pagination is in Arabic numerals.

At the beginning of the manuscript we read:— *The Wisdom of Balavar: the work of Father* **Sophronius of Palestine,** *the son of Isaac.* There are some lines at the beginning of the tale, apparently by the author, pointing to the Ethiopian *i.e.* **Indian, origin of the book:** — "Once I was in the country [Ethiopia] where in the library of the king of the Indians, I found this book, in which his deeds are described." The following is the inscription at the end: — "On October 6th, 1860, this tale was copied by the Government Secretary, the noble Anthony Zakharievich Dapkviev.

"The hands of the labourers are turned to dust:

"Their work will remain, like a treasure."

The language is ecclesiastical, with all those peculiarities of style which we find in the Bible and religious authors of the best period of Georgian literature. The use of the demonstrative pronoun in the place of the definite article, and many other archaic forms of speech and ancient words,—thus the proper word for nightingale, *nitchrinavi*, which has become supplanted in modern Georgian by the Greek ἀηδών, &c. &c.,—all show the value of the manuscript.

Up to the discovery of the **Georgian manuscript**, two chief redactions of the tale of the Indian king's son were known: the Greek, which was most celebrated, and the Arabic, which was only recently published from a defective manuscript. In it the story is interrupted at the moment when **Balabhar** has bidden adieu to the king's son, and the king takes counsel with the wizard how to bring back his disobedient child. Hommel, of Munich, reckons among the sources of the *Fihrist* some books about **Bilavhara,** translated from Pahlavî into Arabic, and thinks that this tale is in the closest connexion with the **Kalila and Dimna,** also translated from the Pahlavî. At the same time he states that the Hebrew redaction, called *The Son of the King and the Wrestler*, is a translation from this Arabic redaction, which is Musalmân and not Christian. There were many versions of the history of **Barlaam in Pahlavi,** whence there was an Arabic translation, which was turned into Greek by John, a monk of the Savva Monastery. There is also another Arabic translation from the Pahlavî which is the original of the Hebrew *rifacimento* of Ibn-Khisdan.

In the tale about the son of the Indian king, if we contrast the Georgian version with the Greek and Musalmân Arabic, we can distinguish three elements: — (1) A fable; (2) A parable; (3) Religious teaching.

The writer compares the various redactions and alludes to an edition of the Georgian text which he is about to publish. He gives the Georgian version with a translation. The Greek and Arabic redactions are also compared. The Arabic version appears to be of the least importance: in the Greek two of the creeds are cited: in the Georgian, only one. The article concludes with a list of proper names contained in the tale, in Georgian, Greek, and Arabic. The author hopes in a forthcoming work to trace the progress of this tale from the East to the West.

(*e*) *Various Notes.*

(1) *Baron V. Rosen on the Anthology of Aḥmad-Ibn-Abî-Tâhir.*

In the British Museum (MS. Add. 18532), is preserved a fragment of the anthology of one of the remarkable writers of the third century, A.H., namely **Abu'l-Fadhl, Aḥmad-ibn-abî-Tâhir Taipna,** *ob.* 280 A.H. (893-94 A.D.). This is a most important century of Arabic literature, as all Arabists know. These works were driven from popularity by the great compilations, such as the History of Tabarî, the Book of Songs (*Kitâbu'l-Agâni*) of 'Alî Ispahânî, and others, which have not preserved all the material which existed. The anthology cited above had been described by Dr. Rieu in his Arabic Catalogue, and the writer, during his stay in London in 1875, made some extracts from it, in the hope that interest may be awakened in it.

Ibn-Abî-Tâhir, the author of the *Fihrist* tells us, came from a family of Khurâsân, and was born at Baghdâd A.H. 204. He died in the 76th year of his age. He is accused of pilfering from other poets. Of his numerous works mentioned in the *Fihrist*, not one has come down complete, as far as the writer knows. Only fragments of two of them have been preserved: *viz.* (1) *The Book about Baghdâd*; (2) *The Book of Prose and Verse.* These fragments are in the British Museum. *The Book about Baghdâd* treats of the history of the 'Abbâsis;' the London fragment is that which treats of the Khalîfa Mâmûn. *The Book of Prose and Verse* is an anthology. According to the *Fihrist* it consisted of 14 parts, but only thirteen were published:

the London fragment contains parts 11 and 12. The loss of the greater part of this manuscript is much to be regretted. The eleventh part is entirely devoted to women, distinguished and undistinguished, free and slave, clever and stupid, pre-islamite and post-islamite: their speeches, and witticisms are introduced with many anecdotes. The author gives some of the heads of the chapters which he noticed, as a supplement to Dr. Rieu's work. In the twelfth part two poets especially deserve attention: **Aḥmad Ibn-Alî-Karîm** has an elegy on an old shirt, the whole history of which the author lays before us; the other gives a very realistic picture of the sufferings which were endured from the tax-gatherers, &c.

The text of the London manuscript is very mutilated. One chapter is devoted to the 'incomparable verses' of various poets. The author was to all appearance a special worshipper of **Nabigi.** Among other things there is an **Epistle of Abu'l Kabî-Muḥammad-ibn-al-Lais to Constantine,** the emperor of the Greeks, which is no doubt the same as the book of the **Answer to Constantine in the name of Hârûn** which the *Fihrist* mentions among the works of that celebrated secretary. It contains an enthusiastic defence of Islâm, with a quantity of citations from the Old and New Testament, and deserves notice as one of the oldest specimens of Muhammadan polemic with Christianity. The Epistle appears to be complete.

The rest of the MS. contains letters and fragments. Enough will have been said to shew the character and importance of this anthology.

We see from this manuscript that (1) the ancient poems, or *mu'allahs*, as they were called in later times, in the time of our author, *i.e.* the third century A.H., already formed a subject of study. (2) The Khalîfa 'Abdu'l-Malik collected seven pieces of poetry, which up to that time had never been gathered into any *recueil*. Among this number were six pre-islamite; and, strange to say, there was not one production of the Yaman or South-Arabian races. Finally, it is curious that our author does not make use of the term *mu'allah*, and knows nothing about the *mu'allahs* or any other ancient poems, which were written in golden letters and hung at the Ka'aba: so we must consider Ibn-'Abd-u'r-Rabbi, as the oldest author acquainted with this legend.

(2) *The latest discoveries in Egypt and Southern Arabia.*

V. S. Golenistchev has already communicated on pp. 121-126 of the *Journal of the Russian Archæological Society,* some notes on the discoveries made in Egypt in **Tal-el-Amârna,** cuneiform tablets and **rubâyât** (a collection of portraits). Bezold has contributed further information to the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* his report being partly compiled from that of L. A. Budge.

(3) Rosen adds a further note on the Essay by F. Hommel on 'Eduard Glaser's *Reise nach Marib (in Südarabien).* For all Arabists this book preserves great interest and throws much light on the **Early history of Yaman.**

(4) *The Persian Version of the Story of Varlaam and Joasaf.*

S. F. Oldenburg in a letter from London, dated 17/29 of October has written to say that there is **a Persian Varlaam and Joasaf in the British Museum.** The MS. is without date: it came from the Churchill collection, and belongs to the last century. It is in *tâlik* handwriting, and contains 33 leaves. This MS., the speedy publication of which would be very desirable, will perhaps give the full text of the Musalmân version of the Romance, which in its Arabic form has no conclusion. The opening lines of the MS. quoted in the letter of Oldenburg, give us the first account of the Romance among Musalmâns.

The Ibn-Bataveih mentioned in this part, must be the celebrated **Abû-Jâ'far-Muḥammad-ibn-'Alî-ibn-Bataveih-al-Kummî,** *ob.* A.H 381 (A.D. 991), whom the Shî'a authors considered the best of the scholars that came from Kumm, and one of the most notable Shî'a teachers. He compiled about 300 books, of which a few are preserved in the great European libraries. There is also mention in the same passage of **Abû-Bakr-Muḥammad ibn-Zakarî-ar-Râzî,** the celebrated philosopher, surgeon and polyhistor, who died probably A.H. 320. Among his numerous productions is *the Book of the man who has not a surgeon at hand,* a short guide to medicine. Ar-Râzî was a many-sided writer, among other things on Ethics, and in his works we might hope to find mention of the Romance; moreover he was not unacquainted with foreign languages.

(5) *N. Miednikov: on the coin No. 1 of the collection of A. V. Komarov.*

On a previous page is described the **'Abbâsî fels** coined at Merv, A.H. 156, in the reign of the Khalîfa Al-Mahdî. Here an inaccuracy has crept in, inasmuch as Al-Mahdî ruled from 158 to 169 A.H. (A.D. 775-785). This *fels* was not coined in the time of Al-Mahdî, but in that of his predecessor Al-Mansûr.

(*f*) *Criticism and Bibliography.*

S. Georgievski. An analysis of the Chinese Characters, &c. St. Petersburg, 1888.

The book is uncritical: the author connects the Chinese language among others with the Âryan.

An attempt is made, by an analysis of the characters, to give a sketch of the old Chinese culture. The results already obtained by the study of early Âryan culture are well known, but these results have been brought about by a comparative study of roots, which are unquestionably connected, but even about which scholars are not uniform in their opinions. Our author only investigates the Chinese language, and is very fantastic in his explanation of the Chinese combined characters. And in the Chinese characters the same group has a different meaning with different keys.

There is also this radical fault in his interpretation: he accepts the idea that the present style of writing is nothing else than simplification of the ancient styles. But why should we not believe that, as the culture changed, the writing changed, so that in their different conditions the people would naturally express their thoughts by different combinations and thus change the old methods? He frequently treats as old characters those which are late. He attempts to prove, among other things, that the Chinese, at the time when they settled in the east from Central Asia, had not black hair, and were of a fair complexion, but not one of the examples introduced confirm this. He interprets the combination of characters which Vasiliev takes to mean 'black-haired' as signifying 'ploughmen, agriculturists,' which he holds the primitive Chinese to have been.

The writer is too fond of seeing allusions to foreigners everywhere. He is led to this by the fact that the names of foreigners are written with keys denoting the dog, snake, &c., but this may point to the custom of calling races after animals, and does not shew any attempt to look upon them with dislike. Throughout, the author interprets the characters from preconceived notions, and also explains the same character differently in different parts of his book. Thus, as explaining the earliest unit of the Chinese family, father, mother and son, he interprets the character *tsra*, on page 21, as 'three people under a roof,' and on page 97 he says, 'the character *tsra*, 'house or family,' is compounded of *mian*, 'a roof,' and *shi*, 'swine,' — *i.e.* each Chinese family had swine.

To conclude: the Chinese language and its literature are still too little studied for it to be possible to investigate the primitive culture of the Chinese people: the analysis which our author gives, is arbitrary and can lead to no satisfactory results.

(2) *Z. Matusovski. A. Geographical Survey of the Chinese Empire. St. Petersburg* 1888.

This work answers a want long felt in Russia. It is valuable both to the general public and to specialists. There is not only a careful map appended, but **plans of some of the Chinese towns**. Perhaps the former is somewhat overcrowded with names, but the work is a very valuable one.

(*g*) *Catalogues of Oriental MSS.; by Rosen.*

(*i*) *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum, by Ch. Rieu. London,* 1888.

(*ii*) *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin von Wilhelm Pertsch. Berlin,* 1888.

(*iii*) *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin von W. Ahlwardt. Erster Band. Berlin,* 1887.

The materials for the study of these three Muhammadan languages are constantly increasing; the British Museum and the Library of Berlin being very active in their purchase. Dr. Rieu's *Turkish Catalogue* will be warmly greeted, because, with the exception of that of the Viennese Library by Flügel, there was little to aid our study of Ottoman literature.

The collection of the **British Museum** contains **444 Ottoman MSS.** (including some from Azurbijân) and 39 **Chughatai**. It is rich in ancient works preserved in ancient copies. In this respect it almost surpasses all other collections. Those of Paris and Oxford, of which up to the present time there is no description, perhaps will prove richer. The British Museum has no copy of the **Kudatku-Bilik,** of which Vienna is justly proud, and manuscripts in the Uïghur character are wanting, but it boasts an old copy of the **History of the Prophets by Rubguzi,** compiled A.H. 710, and referred by Dr. Rieu to the XV. century. The MS. is not dated, but we can rely upon such a competent scholar as Dr. Rieu. He identifies the Amir Nâsiru'd-dîn Tukboga, mentioned in the preface of Rudguzi, to whom the whole work is dedicated, with the Amîr Tukboga, whom Ibn-Batûta (A.H. 733) saw in the camp of Sultân Termashirin, near Naksheb. When Rudguzi is edited again,— which is much to be desired,—the London copy must be compared with the text.

Besides this pearl, we find (p. 290) a rare old Chughatai work, *Muḥabbat-nâmah,* by a certain Khwarizmî, compiled in A. H. 754, in a manuscript of the year 914, which also contains the *Makhsan-u'l-isrâr* of Haidar' Telbë, the *Gul-i-Nûrûz* of Maulânâ Lutfî and also his *dîvân*, the *De-nâma* of Amîrî (compiled in A.H. 833), the *Qasîda* of Shaibânî Khân, the *Latâfat-nâma* of Khozhdeni (a work up to the present entirely unknown), the *Ta'ash-Shah-nâma* of Sîdî Aḥmad *ibn*-Mîrân Shâh and some other small poetical productions. There is also the *Dîvân* of Sakkâkî, the oldest contemporary of Mîr 'Alîshêr, unfortunately

incomplete. The works of Mîr 'Alishêr are to be found in several examples: especially remarkable is the dated copy of his *divân* of the year A.H. 887 and the copy of his *Majâlis-an-nafaris* of A.H. 987. There is also the historical work of *Tavârîkh-Guzida-i-Nusrat-nâma*, compiled in A.H. 908, which contains the history of Shaibânî Khân. The *Shaibânî-nâma*, according to Dr. Rieu, appears to be an abridgment of this work. The London copy is incomplete. Among Chughatai MSS. is the only known copy of the great Chughatai-Persian dictionary, **Seng-Lâkh,** compiled by Mîrzâ-Mahdî Khân, the historian of Nâdır Shâh. Among Osmânlî MSS. very rare are the Turkish translation of Tabarî (in MSS. of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), the *dîvân* of 'Âshiq Pâshâ, the contemporary of Dante in an excellent copy, a treatise on Sufism by the patron of the Janissaries, Hâjî Bakbâsh, the *Iskandar-Nâma*, of Ahmadî, composed A.H. 792 in three copies, *Futuh-ash-Sham* by the Pseudo-Wâkidî, (compiled, according to Dr. Rieu, A.H. 795, by Zarîr-Mustafa of Erzerum), the very rare Sûfî treatise *Bashârat-nâma*, by a certain Rafî who wrote A.H. 811, the *Khushrav* and *Shîrîn* of Shaikhî in three old copies. These books must be studied if we wish to have a really scientific Ottoman grammar and Ottoman dictionary.

In history the British Museum Collection is poorer than that of Vienna, but it possesses a small number of valuable MSS. even in this branch. In some of them we may hope to find fresh information about the Crimean Khanate, or events connected with Russian history: for example, *the History of the Ottoman Sultâns from Ilderinz Bayazid to the death of Muhammad II.*, written by Sinân Chelebi, surnamed Bihishth the contemporary of Neshrî,—*the Histories of Bayazid II. and Selîm I.* by an unknown author, but a contemporary. Here we should perhaps find an account of the stay of Salîm at Kaffa and the visit he paid to Mengli Ghirei. Valuable are the works of Koji Nishânji and Mustafa-Jalâlgâda on Sulaimân the Great and Selim I. The London copy of the latter work is the third which has been found.

The History of Islâm-ghirei from A.H. 1054-1060 (1644-1650) has a direct connection with the Crimea; the copy is almost unique. The conquest of Georgia, by Lâla-Mustafa-Pâshâ, is told in the *Wusrat-nâma*, written by 'Alî of Gallipoli, his secretary, which is preserved in an excellent copy.

In the collection of **Letters of Abu'l-Kâsim** we appear to have the oldest specimens of **Ottoman prose.** In another collection are letters from and to Peter the Great, and a copy of the treaty of the Pruth in July, 1711. There is also a very old cosmography, translated from the Persian. The original Dr. Rieu assigns to the beginning of the fourth century A.H., but it has not been found. Everyone who is acquainted with the Persian Catalogue of Dr. Rieu, will find in this new work the same excellent qualities which made that a model. We see in it the same vast erudition and perfect criticism. Moreover there is a copious index.

The Persian Catalogue of Dr. V. Pertsch, contains a description of about 1150 manuscripts. Numerically Berlin is the richest in this branch, but in quality it yields to the British Museum and probably to Paris and Oxford. There are however some ancient MSS. one *a Recueil of Edifying Tales*, dated A.H. 543. Six dated MSS. refer to various years of the seventh century A.H. We may here mention the Persian translation of the *Kalîla-wa-Dimna* of A.H. 669, the very rare *Astronomy of Muhammad-al-Masû'dî* of A.H. 685, the *Cosmography of Tûsî* of A.H. 687. There are six MSS. belonging to the eighth century A.H. One of A.H. 731, a very rare translation of Samarkandî. One of A.H. 734, a little treatise on the difficult words in the *Qurân*, &c.

Persian MSS. of the ninth century A.H. meet us pretty often in all great libraries. The writer has not remarked many rare ancient works on going through the Catalogue. There are, however, a short encyclopædic work of Avicenna, almost unique; a rare *Tazkira* of Aufî, a valuable copy of the mystic poem of Senaie, and the *Dîvân* of his pupil Sozeni; and some comparatively old copies of the works of Nizâmî. No ancient copies of the *Shâh-Nâma* of Firdûsî are to be found in this library, and the manuscript of the *Vis-u-Ramîn* has no value. But an old copy of the great *Medical Encyclopædia of Jurjânî* and two copies of the *Cosmography of Tûsî* deserve notice. This last work is very interesting both in contents and language, and deserves editing.

Besides these there is a copy of *Tabakât-i-Nâsirî*, incomplete but somewhat old; two good copies of *Zafar-Nâma*; a comparatively rare *Dustûr-u'l-Vusarâ* of Khondamîr; *the History of the Kirmân Seljûks*, not long since edited by Houtsma; *the History of Haidar-Râzî*; *the Memoirs of Shâh Tahmâsp*, important for the modern history of Persia; &c.

Generally speaking, the Berlin Collection is richest in Indo-Persian history and literature, as might be inferred from the fact that the greater part was brought by Sprenger from India. The Catalogue here published is the best known of Persian literature, with the exception of that of Dr Rieu. The condition of Dr. Pertsch in

oriental literature is already known from his *Catalogue of the Arabic books at Gotha.* The reviewer has only two faults to find:—(1) There is no systematic reference to copies of the books in other libraries; (2) The author in the case of the minor *tazkira* gives full lists of the poets mentioned in them; of these there are about 4,000; our knowledge of Persian poetry is certainly thereby increased, but instead of so many names of mere rhymesters it would have been better to have given extracts from rarer works.

The indices are copious: these include the geographical names and *ansáb,* lists of Indian words in Arabic transcriptions, and indices of MSS. in which are found seals, miniatures, remarkable arabesques, beautiful bindings, &c. The Catalogue of Dr. Pertsch will undoubtedly take an honourable place in the library of all students of Persian literature.

The first volume of the *Arabic Catalogue* of Prof. Ahlwardt embraces about the sixth part of the vast collection of the Berlin Royal Library, which in all possesses about 6,500 vols. of Arabic MSS. The great characteristic of the Library is its richness in the works of all periods of Arabic literature.

The following MSS. are especially worthy of attention:—

Fragments of the Encyclopœdia of Nuvairî (with the author's autograph) written in A.H. 733, an old copy, about A.H. 600, of a work of Khwarizmî which up to this time was considered unique in the Leiden collection, a work by Gazzârî, extracts from the *Qurán* in Kufic writing, two very rare Kufic fragments of an historical character, a *Qurán* of A.H. 883, with Turkish interlinear translation, three copies of Abd-u'l-Azîz-al-Kinânî, a work of Abu Obaid-al-Kârim-Ibn-Sallâm, almost unique, rare and important works on the various readings of the *Qurán* by Mîkhî, a valuable *Dictionary to the Qurán* by Rajab Isfahânî, and some very rare commentaries on the *Qurán* forming a complete series.

The Catalogue of Prof. Ahlwardt is compiled upon a plan in complete contrast to those of similar works. In the descriptions of the books, the European literature on the subject is completely ignored. The various parts of a manuscript are described under different heads, and therefore we do not realise what were the literary tastes of the compilers of the *recueils.* The reader is obliged to be constantly referring to the indices. There are quantities of cross-references. It would have been better to describe each manuscript separately, and to add, as Dr. Rieu does, at the end a systematic index to the subjects. As regards ignoring European literature, it leads to constant repetitions. The author catalogues with equal accuracy the rarest MSS. and those in everybody's hands. At the end of each section he gives a kind of summary of Arabic literature on the subject, but the reviewer does not think this beneficial. The history of Arabic literature will be produced by the united labours of many generations, founded on a great number of monographs, and in no other way. The ordinary system of a detailed description only of unknown or little known books is the best.

The reviewer then proceeds to shew some instances of confusion in the Catalogue, but concludes that he is far from wishing to undervalue the importance of the work of Prof. Ahlwardt. He looks upon the Catalogue as a triumph of erudition and industry, and dwells with affectionate enthusiasm upon the time when he sat at the feet of the author. For a course of more than twenty years Prof. Ahlwardt devoted himself for ten hours a day to the compilation of this Catalogue. But great as is the work, the author might have found some more original task more worthy of his splendid abilities.

W. R. MORFILL.

A LITERARY QUERY.

Can any of your readers, more especially those in South India, give me any particulars as to the authorship or date of a Sanskṛit philosophical work called *Gurujñánavásishṭha?* A quarto edition of a portion (*Jñána-Káṇḍa*) of this work appeared at Madras in 1882, under the editorship of Appayadikshita of Pattamaḍai (? a descendant of the well-known writer on *alaṁkára,* etc.) It would seem, from the preface in Telugu, that the book has other *Káṇḍas* (*Upásana-k°, Karma-k°*); but if it is connected with the *Yóga-vásishṭha* or *Jñána-vásishṭha-rámáyaṇa,* it must belong to an unknown recension of that work, as the latter work is not divided into *Káṇḍas.*

More recently, an extract from the same *Guru-jñánavásiṣtha* has reached me (Kâṇḍa I, vada i. adhyâya, xi. 45—xiii.), under the curious title *Yajñavaráha-bhagavadgítá,* and edited with an extensive Telugu commentary by a scholar whose name is itself a crux,—Mantri Lakshmî Nârâyaṇa. This appeared recently, undated, at the Âdi-Kalânidhi Press, Madras. As to the editor's name, I at first took Mantri for a kind of family epithet, and the remainder for a compound personal name, children being, in North India at least, often dedicated to two deities. But this supposition is rather discountenanced by the circumstance that in a Sanskṛit Ślôka at the

beginning, the *Lakshmî*- is dropped, as if an unessential part of the name. Even if no one can settle my bibliographical query, perhaps some correspondent can at least solve this point of nomenclature.

According to Dr. Oppert's Catalogue (i. 7053), a copy of the *Gurujñânavâsistha* exists at Kottapêṭa, Vijayanagaram (Library of Mandadi Koṇḍayya Pantulu).

CECIL BENDALL.

British Museum.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.
No. 29.

In the spurious copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya I., from Kurtakôṭi in the Gadag Tâlukâ, Dhârwâḍ District, published by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 217 ff., the passage containing the date (line 20 ff.), with all its inaccuracies, runs — viditam=astu sô=smâbhi batriṁś-ôttara-paṁcha-śatêshu Saka-varshêshv=âtîtêshu vijaya-râjya-sambachchara-shôshaśa-varshê pravarttamâna Kisuvoḷal-mahâ-nagara vikhyâta sthitvâ tasya Vaiśâkha - Jêshṭhâ - mâsa - madhyam - amavâsya-Bhâskara-dinê Rôhiṇya-ṛikshê madhyâhna-kâlê Vikra[mâ]dityasya âtmâ cha âtma-vinîtê nâma mahâ-dêvitayôḥr=ubhayôr=Vvṛishabha-râśau tasmin Vṛishabha-râśau sûryya-grâhaṇa sarvvamâsi (*read* sarvvagrâsî)bhûtê, — " be it known to you that by Us, when there have expired five hundred Śaka years, increased by the thirty-second (*year*); in the current sixteenth year of the years of the victorious reign; (*by Us*) stationed at the famous great city of Kisuvoḷal; on Sunday, which is the new-moon day between the months Vaiśâkha and Jyêshṭha of that (*year*); (*the moon being*) in the Rôhiṇî *nakshatra*; at noon; . . . . , . . . (*the sun being*) in the sign Vṛishabha; there being a total eclipse of the sun." And the charter goes on to record a grant of the village of Kuruta-kûṇṭe,—the modern Kurtakôṭi,—or of some land at that village, to a Brâhmaṇ.

Here the details for calculation are—Śaka-Saṁvat 532, distinctly specified as expired; the new-moon day between the months Vaiśâkha and Jyêshṭha, *i.e.* **the new-moon tithi of the amânta Vaisâkha,** since, by the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, the phase of the moon that separates these two months, is the full-moon of Vaiśâkha, and the new-moon of Vaiśâkha, or of Jyêshṭha, falls in the middle of its month; Bhâskaradina or **Sunday**; **the Rôhiṇî nakshatra,** for the moon; **the sign Vṛishabha,** for the sun; and **a total eclipse of the sun,** apparently indicated as central at noon, or at any rate as including the hour of noon in its duration.

With Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, in the given year Śaka-Saṁvat 533 current (532 expired), **the new-moon tithi of the amânta Vaisâkha**[1] ended, not on a Sunday, but on Tuesday, 28th April, A. D. 610, at about 59 *ghaṭis*, 20 *palas*, after mean sunrise for Bâdâmi.[2] On this day, **the sun was in Vṛishabha**; having entered that sign at about 46 *gh.* 39 *p.* on Sunday, 19th April. And, though by the equal-space system of the *nakshatras* with Prof. Jacobi's Tables, Kṛittikâ, No. 3, commenced at about 8 *gh.* 42 *p*, and Rôhiṇî, No. 4, did not commence till the next day, yet by both of the equal-space systems **there was the Rôhiṇî nakshatra,** commencing by the Brahma-Siddhânta system at about 36 *gh.* 38 *p.*, and by the Garga system at about 39 *gh.* 55 *p.* On this day, however, **there was no eclipse of the sun,** visible or invisible. The eclipse, a total one, which was not visible in or anywhere near India, but only in northern Europe, North America, and the Pacific Ocean,[3] took place on Monday, 30th March, on which day there ended, at about 40 *ghaṭîs*, the the new-moon *tithi* of the *amânta* Chaitra or the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha. This eclipse, however, is expressly barred by the wording of the text, which distinctly specifies the new-moon of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha. Moreover, the week-day is not correct; for, even if the word *madhyâhna-kâlê* is not to be connected with the eclipse, still the *tithi* only commenced at about 44 *gh.* 37 *p.* on the Sunday, and was not current at noon (15 *ghaṭîs*) on that day. Also, the sun had not then entered Vṛishabha. And the *nakshatra* at sunrise being Aśvinî, No. 1, by all three systems, there was no Rôhiṇî, No. 4, at all on that day.

If it should be thought that the given year is wrongly specified as expired, then we have to consider the circumstances for Śaka-Saṁvat 532 current (531 expired). In this year **the new-moon tithi of the amânta Vaisâkha** ended, again not on a Sunday, but on Friday, 9th May, A. D. 609, at about 15 *gh.* 19 *p.* On this day **the sun was in Vṛishabha**; having entered that

---

[1] The *tithi* was nominally *amânta* Vaiśâkha krishna 14. The fourteenth tithi ended at about 5 *gh.* 29 *p.* on the same day; and consequently the fifteenth *tithi* was expunged. The results with Prof. Jacobi's Tables are very nearly the same; the ending-times being respectively 2 hrs. 25 min. = 6 *gh.* 2 *p.*, and 23 hrs. 51 min., = 59 *gh.* 38 *p.*

[2] The times here are for Bâdâmi all through; that place being the Western Chalukya capital, and Kisuvolal being the modern Paṭṭadakal, quite close to Bâdâmi.

[3] For this and the following eclipses, see von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 174, 175, and Plate 87.

sign at about 31 *gh.* 7 *p.* on Saturday, 19th April. And by all three systems the **Rôhiṇî nakshatra was current at sunrise,** and up to about 38 *ghaṭis.* **But there was no eclipse of the sun,** visible or invisible. The preceding new-moon *tithi*, of the *amânta* Chaitra or the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha,[4] ended at about 57 *gh.* 18 *p.* on Wednesday, 9th April. At this new-moon, again, there was a total eclipse of the sun, which, owing to the difference of longitude, is entered in the Tables for Thursday, 10th April; and which again was not visible in or anywhere near India, but only on the west coast of North America, in the Pacific Ocean, and in Australia. In addition, however, to the week-day not being correct, and to this not being the given new-moon *tithi* of the record, the sun, as we have seen, did not enter Vṛishabha till ten days later; and by all three systems the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Aśvinî, No. 1, so that Rôhinî, No. 4, could not occur at all on that day. This eclipse again, therefore, is not admissible from any point of view.

If it should be held that the Prâkṛit word *ba*, ' two, ' is not acceptable as part of the date, but is a pure mistake, *e. g.* for the *visarga* of the preceding word *asmâbhiḥ*, which otherwise was omitted, then we have to consider the circumstances for Saka-Saṁvat 531 current (530 expired). In this year **the new-moon tithi of the amânta Vaisâkha** ended, again not on a Sunday, but on Saturday, 20th April, A. D. 608, at about 16 *gh.* 42 *p* **The sun was then in Vṛishabha**; having entered that sign at about 15 *gh.* 46 *p.* on the preceding day, Friday, 19th April. By the equal-space system of the *nakshatras*, Kṛittikâ, No. 3, commenced at about 15 *gh.* 7 *p.*; and Rôhiṇî No. 4, did not commence till the next day, Sunday; but by both the unequal-space systems **there was the Rôhiṇî nakshatra** on the Saturday, commencing by the Brahma-Siddhânta system at about 43 *ghaṭis*, and by the Garga system at about 46 *gh.* 20 *p.* And on this day **there was a total eclipse of the sun**; though it was visible only in Australia and towards the South Pole, and not in or anywhere near India. As we have seen, however, **the week-day is not correct**; and therefore this eclipse also fails to give a completely satisfactory solution. In this year there was no solar eclipse, visible or invisible, at the preceding new-moon, of the *amânta* Chaitra or the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha. And in A. D. 607 the only solar eclipse in this period of the year was a partial eclipse, not visible anywhere north of the equator, on Wednesday, 31st May, at the new-moon of the *amânta* Jyêshṭha or the *pûrṇimânta* Âshâḍha.

Thus, in no way can a completely satisfactory solution of this date be obtained. This result was not needed in order to establish the spurious nature of the grant, which is perfectly clear (1) from the extreme inaccuracy of the language and orthography; (2) from the standard of the palæography, which marks at least the ninth or tenth century A. D. as the period of its composition; and (3) from the fact that, according as we omit or retain the syllable *ba* as part of the date, it gives a day corresponding either to the 20th April, A.D. 608, or to the 28th April, A.D. 610, as falling in the sixteenth year of the reign of Vikramâditya I., whereas we know perfectly well from the unquestionably genuine records of this family that his father Pulikêśin II. only commenced to reign in A. D. 608, 609, or 610, and continued to reign at least up to A. D. 634-35. **But the important point that attracts attention is the analogy between this spurious grant and the spurious Umêta,** Bagumrâ, and Ilâô grants of the Gurjara chieftain Dadda II., dated Saka-Samvat 400, 415, and 417. The Umêta date cannot be actually tested; and the nature of the record has only to be decided in accordance with that of the other two. As we have seen (page 93 above), the possibility of obtaining uniform results for the Bagumrâ and Ilâô dates rests entirely upon the use, by the person who calculated them for the forger of the grants, of the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, not only for his calculation, but also for the purpose of actual record in the civil reckoning for a period when it is not at all likely that this arrangement was used with the years of the Saka era, even in Gujarât; supposing that the era itself was then used there, which I do not believe to be possible. In the case of the present grant, it is not easy to decide whether the calculator worked out the eclipse of Saturday, 20th April, A. D. 608, with a correct result, except for the week-day,[5] and except for his improper use of the *amânta* instead of the *pûrṇimânta* month in formulating his results for record in the charter according to the civil reckoning; or whether he worked out the eclipse of Monday, 30th April, A. D. 610, again with a wrong week-day, and also with the mistake of a month either in the course of his work, or in formulating the results. And perhaps, under all the circum-

[4] Here, also, the *tithi* was nominally *amânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 14. The fourteenth *tithi* ended at about 3 *gh.* 45 *p* on the same day; and consequently the fifteenth *tithi* was expunged. With Prof. Jacobi's Tables the ending-times are respectively 1 hr. 55 min. = 4 *gh.* 47 *p.*, and 23 hrs. 13 min. = 58 *gh.* 2 *p*

[5] This point could be put right by assuming that *bhâskara-dinê* is a mistake for *bhâskaraputra-dinê*, Sani, the regent of the planet Saturn, being a son of the Sun.

stances, the former hypothesis, resting upon the rejection of the syllable *ba* as part of the date, may be considered the more acceptable of the two. But, whatever opinion may be held on this point, the very specific expression used in formulating the details of the date, *viz.* "the new-moon day between the months Vaiśâkha and Jyêshṭha," — an expression which cannot possibly be interpreted as meaning anything but the new-moon of an *amânta* month, in this case Vaiśâkha, — shews that the calculator, working, as is proved by the palæography of the grant, at a time when the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights had probably been adopted for all purposes in Southern India, not only used that arrangement for his work, as was proper enough, but was distinctly under the impression that it was valid for the civil reckoning in a period when, as we have already found (*ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 141, 142), the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement was used with the Śaka years, even in Southern India.

J. F. Fleet

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BOMBAY SOCIAL CUSTOMS; PREGNANCY.

On eclipse days, whether the eclipse be of the sun or of the moon, a pregnant woman is strictly prohibited from cutting anything asunder by means of a knife or any other cutting instrument, lest on her delivery she should have the child, then in her womb, injured.

Bombay. R. Jagannathji.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS; DEATH.

In Bombay.

One of the funeral rites amongst the Pârsîs is to carry a dog into the presence of the dead a certain number of times, from the time of death to the time the body is carried away. The dog's eyes are made to turn in the direction of the face of the dead. Does this custom bear any reference to the 'dog-hound,' the Kerberos of the Greeks?

Mandalay. H. E. B.

In Kasmîr.

With reference to *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, notes 333 and 917, most Musalmân tombs in the valley of Kasmîr have oblong hollows on the top, whether the tombs of men or women or children. The friends of the deceased are accustomed to meet round the grave once a year when the roses are in bloom, and to pour water and about a *ser* of rose-leaves into these hollows. A few prayers are then offered and the company depart.

Srinagar. J. Hinton Knowles.

MADRAS SOCIAL CUSTOMS; PARTURITION.

In South India, before a woman is confined, the room, in which her confinement is to take place, is smeared with cowdung, and in the room at the outer gate, to the height of four or five feet from the floor, are fixed small wet cowdung cakes. These cakes are stuck to the wall and are then covered over with *Margosa* (Hindustâni *nîm*, Sanskṛit *nimba*) leaves and cotton seeds. The cakes with these leaves and seeds are supposed to have a very great power in averting evil spirits from entering the room and doing mischief to the new-born baby or the lying-in woman.

Madras. S. M. Natesa Sastri.

BOOK NOTICES.

Masnavi-i-Ma'navi, the Spiritual Couplets of Maulana Jalalu'ddin Muhammad-i-Rumi; translated and abridged by E. H. Whinfield, M.A. late B.C.S., London. Trübner & Co.

In issuing a judiciously abridged translation of this work, so widely celebrated and respected throughout the East, Mr. Whinfield has added to the laurels already gained by his charming rendering of the quatrains of 'Umr Khayyâm.

The Masnavi of Jalâlu'ddin Rûmi, which Mr. Whinfield rightly calls the *Divina Commedia* of Islâm, is well deserving of a rendering into English, and we may congratulate ourselves on the task having fallen into such competent hands. We may further congratulate ourselves on the judiciousness that has reduced its 26,000 couplets to a readable size, without detracting from the value of the abridgment as an exponent of Eastern philosophical thought.

The philosophy of Jalâlu'ddin Rûmi was that the true basis of religion is love, and that all faith and piety not based on love are false. In illustrating at interminable length his doctrine that the visible universe is but what medical science would call the "symptom" of the spiritual reality within, the great poet took as his bases the *Qurân*, the *Hadîses*, and the writings of the theologians and of the Sûfîs. By his "Love" (*'Ishq*) the poet, as Mr. Whinfield insists at some length, meant the "Love," the "Charity" of the *New Testament*, and his "Knowledge" (*Gnôsis*) is the result of this Love. "The more a man loves, the deeper he penetrates the purposes of God."

The "Knower" (Gnostic, *'Arif*) therefore is he who possesses this Love, and whose "faith" is based on love alone. No writer, in fact, deals more severely with that faith which consists of orthodox dogmas (*jamâ'at*) and is based on orthodox customs (*taqlîd*). For mere ritual he expresses no respect.

Taking the above as a very brief expression of the cardinal points of the Sûfî faith, as expounded by one of their greatest representatives, it will be sufficient here to note one or two points of the practices he inculcated and of the doctrines he taught, to show what a remarkable thinker and teacher we have before us in this book. The Sûfîs aimed at perfection by self-annihilation (*fanâ*) and Jalâlu'ddîn Rûmî countenanced ecstasy (*hâl*) as an attendant of *fanâ*, though he was aware of its liability to abuse. He believed in saints as the special favourites of heaven, gifted with miraculous powers, which were not, however, of much consequence; and he also taught the doctrine of unrecognised saints, or those who were endowed with spontaneous goodness :—" against such as these there is no law."

The poet also always, as emphatically as he could, taught the "paramount obligation of compassion, humility, toleration, patience, and the peaceful temper": the mystical meaning of the text of the *Qurân*; the final restitution of those who throw themselves on the mercy of God at the Day of Judgment; and the doctrine that woman is "not a mere plaything of man but a ray of the Deity."

We may justly quote, from Mr. Whinfield's book, his dying instructions (*ob.* A.D. 1273) to his followers as a means of judging what manner of man this remarkable philosopher was: "My testament is this, that ye be pious towards God in private and in public; — that ye eat little, sleep little, speak little; — that ye depart from wickedness and sin; — that ye continue instant in fasting and steadfast in vigilance; — that ye flee from carnal lusts with all your might; — that ye endure patiently the contumely of all men; — that ye shun the company of the base and foolish, and consort with the noble-hearted and the pious. Verily the best man is he who doth good to men, and the best speech is that which is short and guideth men aright. Praise be to the God, who is the Unity!"

INDIA: A DESCRIPTIVE POEM, by H. B. W. GARRICK, Assistant Archæologist to the Government of India. London; Trübner & Co. 1889.

Before Mr. Garrick issues anything else, he might advantageously get some competent friend to revise his spelling of Sanskrit and other Indian words and names. Note 1, page 2, in addition to giving *Pūrānas* and *Bhagavat* instead of *Purānas* and *Bhāgavata*, contains no less than six mistakes in the well-known names which (according to the system aimed at) would properly have been written Jambudwīpa, Kuru, and Siddhapurī. And a still more remarkable peculiarity is Mr. Garrick's use, all through the book, of the long *ū* in Būddha and Būddhism, though the merest tyro should know that this is a mistake.

Some of the footnotes are very wonderful from other points of view. In note 1, page 56, Mr. Garrick tells us that "*Merū* is the Olympus of the Hindūs: hence the generic form of *mer* for a mountain or mountainous district, and hence also the affix of *mer* to such place-names as Ajmer, &c., in India." ! ! ! And in the note on the next page he arrives at B.C. 1424 as the date of the Bhârata War; an error of 1024 years, since the real date is B.C. 2448, as established by the well-known complete version, — quoted by Varâhamihira and Kalhaṇa, — of the first of the data mentioned by him. These are only typical instances out of a large number of mistakes which ought not to occur in even the lighter writings of one who tells us, on the title-page of the present book, that he is an Assistant Archæologist to the Government of India.

As to the "poetry," the kindest thing we can say of it is that it is on a par with the archæological knowledge and scholarship displayed throughout, as just noted. We can only hope that it will afford as much pleasure, as it will no doubt afford amusement, to that master of verse, the Earl of Lytton, to whom we observe it has been dedicated "by kind permission."

FOUR EDITIONS OF ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΧΝΗΛΑΤΗΣ, the Greek version of كتاب كليلہ و دمنہ, by VITTORIO PUNTONI. Publications of the Italian Asiatic Society, Vol. II. Rome, Florence and Turin; Hermann Loescher, 1889.

The **Fables of Bidpai**, equally well known by their other title of **Kalîlah and Dimnah**, in their Arabic and Syriac forms have long attracted the attention of Orientalists; and the distinguished Italian scholar who has now presented us with four distinct editions of **Stephanites and Ichnelates**, as the title of the Greek version runs, has earned the gratitude of all students of this class of Folklore and conferred a lasting benefit on the newly formed Italian Asiatic Society.

[1] Pubblicazioni della Società Asiatica Italiana, Volume II. Στεφανιτης και Ιχνηλατης Quattro Recensioni della Versione Greca del كتاب كليله ودمنه publicate da Vittorio Puntoni. Roma-Firenze-Torino, Libreria di Ermanno Loescher, 1889.

AN ANCIENT TERRA-COTTA SEAL FROM BULANDSHAHR.

BY F. S. GROWSE, M.A., C.I.E., B.C.S.; FATEHGARH.

THE curious **terra-cotta seal**, of which a full-size print is here given from a wax impression, was found about eight years ago at **Bulandshahr**, the capital of the District of that name, in the North-West Provinces. The site was a piece of high broken ground immediately to the west of the modern town. This was popularly known as the 'Môtî Chauk' or 'Môtî Bâzâr,' meaning, of course, not that it had ever been a 'pearl-market,' in the literal sense of the words, but that it was once the principal bâzâr of the place; in the same way as the beautiful mosque in the Âgra Fort is called the 'Môtî Masjid.' The spot is now occupied by the new Town-Hall and Municipal Garden, the latter — in order to preserve the old tradition — being styled the 'Môtî Bâgh.'

The seal was turned up accidentally in levelling the ground, and was only a few inches below the surface. Though probably some fourteen hundred years old, the lettering is perfectly fresh and clear, and the rudely moulded ring that forms the back of the seal, still shows the texture of the workman's fingers who had handled the moist clay. It was inside a closed earthen jar, which accounts for its excellent preservation. It is oval in shape, with a dotted rim, and is divided into two equal compartments by a pair of parallel lines across the centre. In the upper portion are two devices, one of which is a conch-shell; the other, which is raised on a little stand, looks like a wing. Mr. Fleet was inclined to take it for a nautilus; but it seems difficult to understand how such an emblem could be used so far inland. I myself had at first thought that it might be intended to represent the *chakwâ* or Brâhmaṇi duck, so frequently introduced in old Hindu painting and sculpture. In the lower compartment is the owner's name, in characters of about the 5th century A.D. Though the letters are so clear, they are somewhat abnormally shaped, and there has been considerable difference of opinion as to how they should be read. My first proposal was 'Sattila,' which Gen. Cunningham corrected to '**Mattila**,' and this has been finally endorsed by Mr. Fleet, who thinks the person in question may possibly be identified with the king Matila, of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, where the omission of the second *t* may have been a mistake. Dr. Hoernle had suggested 'Hattiya;' and Mr. Pincott, 'Hattipa.'



In spite of its modern Muhammadan designation, which is more correctly restricted to the Fort, the town of Bulandshahr, which stands on an eminence overlooking the river Kâlindî, is of prehistoric antiquity. It was originally called Baran (the Sanskrit *varaṇa*), and the name still survives as the title of the Pargaṇâ. Bactrian and Gupta gold coins have frequently been found, which attest its existence as a place of some wealth in those early days; and at the time of the invasion of India by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1017 A.D., Har-datt, the Râja of Baran, though nominally a feudatory of Kanauj, was virtually the independent sovereign of all the country now included in the districts of Aligaṛh, Bulandshahr, Mêraṭh and Dehli, with parts of Murâdâbâd, Mathurâ, and Êtâ. He was a Ḍôṛ Râjput, and, according to a copper-plate grant of one of his successors dated in the year 1076 A.D., he was the seventh of his line who had ruled at Baran. The Ḍôṛs,—now almost extinct,—claim to be a branch of the great Pramâr clan.

TABLES FOR THE APPROXIMATE CONVERSION OF HINDU DATES.

BY DR. ROBERT SCHRAM; VIENNA.

Professor Kielhorn's kind remark upon my *Hilfstafeln für Chronologie*, in his valuable paper on the epoch of the Nêwâr era, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 247, and the wish he expresses that these Tables may become more widely known, induce me to place before the English reader those of my Tables which treat of **the Hindu luni-solar year,** hoping that they may prove useful for an approximate, but rapid, conversion. The resolution of years and months in days, which in most cases facilitates the conversion of dates given in different eras, is especially fit for the Hindu year, in which the counting up of the *ahargaṇa*, or number of days, is a constant practice. The reader must, however, be cautioned that Tables like the following cannot, for the Indian dates, be expected to give always absolutely true results. There must remain some uncertainty, which, it is true, will not generally exceed one day, but which in exceptional cases may even amount to two days. This must always be borne in mind; as well as the circumstance that the place of an intercalated month also may sometimes be found to be different by the different rules. A calendar like the Indian one cannot be brought with absolute accuracy into a simple Table; and I consider it not a little dangerous to give dates as absolutely certain ones, which by means of a general Table cannot really be fixed with accuracy.

Tables 1 and 2 serve for converting dates of our own calendar (old or new style) into days of **the Julian period,** and *vice versâ*. **Table 1** gives the number of days elapsed since the beginning of the Julian period to the beginning of each century; whilst **Table 2** gives the number of days elapsed from the beginning of the century to the beginning of each month of every year within the century. And to obtain the day of the Julian period corresponding to a given date, we simply add up three quantities, *viz.* (1) the number of days corresponding to the given century; (2) the number of days corresponding to the given year and month; and (3) the given date of the month.

As regards **Table 2** it will be observed that it is arranged after the manner of logarithmic tables, the first number of the first column being common to all columns; *e.g.*, for the 22nd year January, we have the number of days 8036; for the same year, September, the number of days is 8279. There are always to be taken the *preceding* numbers, so long as the figures in the column of the months are not printed in italics, in which case the *following* number should be taken. So, *e.g.*, the number of days for the year 65, February, is 23773, while for the same year, November, it will be 24046. Supposing it now to be proposed to find the day corresponding to the 20th October, A.D. 879, we shall have the following calculation: —

Table 1, century 800, old style	2013 257
Table 2, year 79, October	29 128
Date of month	20
Sum	2042 405;

i.e. the 20th October, A.D. 879, corresponds to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period.

Similarly, for the 10th February, A.D. 1889, we find :—

Table 1, century 1800, new style	2378 495
Table 2, year 89, February	32 539
Date of month	10
Sum	2411 044;

i.e. the 10th February, A.D. 1889, corresponds to the day 2411 044 of the Julian period.

The date of the month, which is always a number not exceeding 31, may with some advantage be added immediately to the number taken from Table 2, so that the two above examples would stand as follows :—

Table 1, century 800, old style...............2013 257
Table 2, year 79, October, + 20............ 29 148

Sum 2042 405;

and Table 1, century 1800, new style 2378 495
Table 2, year 89, February, + 10............ 32 549

Sum 2411 044.

Two other remarks are necessary. When calculating for one of the years 1700, 1800, 1900; 2100, 2200, 2300; 2500, etc., new style, one should in Table 2 use the line 00{ g. K.}, (and *not* the line 00). Accordingly, for the 3rd February, A.D. 1800, we find : —

Table 1, century 1800, new style 2378 495
Table 2, year 00{g. K.}, February, + 3 35

Sum 2378 530.

When calculating for a year B.C., we should bear in mind that years are given here *as counted by the astronomers*, who count the year commonly called 1 B.C. as 0, the year 2 B.C. as — 1, the year 3 B.C. as — 2, and so on. The number expressing years B.C. must therefore be diminished by 1, to get the negative number of years counted in the astronomical manner. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, whilst the number of the centuries B.C. in Table 1 are *negative*, the number of years in Table 2 are always positive; and that therefore, in case we had to calculate *e.g.* for — 813, we would have to take — 900 from Table 1, and 87 from Table 2, because — 900 + 87 = — 813; in other words, we must always take from Table 1 the *preceding* century, exactly as in the case of years A.D. we take the (completed) preceding century. If then we should have to find the day corresponding to the 18th February, B.C. 3102, we should have (since B.C. 3102 = — 3101 = — 3200 + 99): —

Table 1, century — 3200 ....552 257
Table 2, year 99, February + 18 .... 36 209

Sum 588 466;

i.e. the 18th February, B.C. 3102, corresponds to the day 588 466 of the Julian period.

If, on the contrary, the day of the Julian period be given, and we have to find the corresponding day of our calendar, we must first substract from the given number of days the next lower number in Table 1 to find the century. From the remainder we must substract the next lower number in Table 2; the place which this number occupies in Table 2 gives the year and the month, and the remainder gives the day of the month. For instance, having to find the date corresponding to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period, we have —

given number of days 2042 405
— next lower number in Table 1 old style .... 2013 257 = century 800, old style;

Remainder 29 148
— next lower number in T. 2. 29 128 = year 79, October;

Remainder 20;

i.e. the day 2042 405 of the Julian period corresponds to the 20th October. A.D. 879, old style.

Here, again, the substraction of the number in Table 2 can be easily made, without writing it down. Thus, for converting the day 2411 044 into a date of new style, we simply have the following calculation : —

given number of days............2411 044
— next lower number in Table 1, new style......2378 495 = century 1800, new style;

Remainder 32 549 = year 89, February; remainder 10,

i.e. the day 2411 044 of the Julian period corresponds to the 10th February, A.D 1889 new style.

TABLE 1.

Tables for the Julian and Gregorian Calendar.

Years B.C. counted astronomically.

Years.	Day of Julian period.
—3500	442 682
—3400	479 207
—3300	515 732
—3200	552 257
—3100	588 782
—3000	625 307
—2900	661 832
—2800	698 357
—2700	734 882
—2600	771 407
—2500	807 932
—2400	844 457
—2300	880 982
—2200	917 507
—2100	954 032
—2000	990 557
—1900	1027 082
—1800	1063 607
—1700	1100 132
—1600	1136 657
—1500	1173 182
—1400	1209 707
—1300	1246 232
—1200	1282 757
—1100	1319 282
—1000	1355 807
— 900	1392 332
— 800	1428 857
— 700	1465 382
— 600	1501 907
— 500	1538 432
— 400	1574 957
— 300	1611 482
— 200	1648 007
— 100	1684 532

Years A.D. Old Style.

Years.	Day of Julian period.
0	1721 057
100	1757 582
200	1794 107
300	1830 632
400	1867 157
500	1903 682
600	1940 207
700	1976 732
800	2013 257
900	2049 782
1000	2086 307
1100	2122 832
1200	2159 357
1300	2195 882
1400	2232 407
1500	2268 932
1600	2305 457
1700	2341 982
1800	2378 507
1900	2415 032
2000	2451 557
2100	2488 082
2200	2524 607
2300	2561 132
2400	2597 657
2500	2634 182
2600	2670 707
2700	2707 232
2800	2743 757
2900	2780 282

Years A.D. New Style.

Years.	Day of Julian period.
{1500}	2268 922
1600	2305 447
{1700}	2341 971
{1800}	2378 495
{1900}	2415 019
2000	2451 544
{2100}	2488 068
{2200}	2524 592
{2300}	2561 116
2400	2597 641
{2500}	2634 165
{2600}	2670 689
{2700}	2707 213
2800	2743 738
{2900}	2780 262

When calculating for one of the secular years put in brackets, use the line 00{g K {of Table 2 (not the line 00).

TABLE 2.

Tables for the Julian and Gregorian Calendar.

Year.	I Jan.	II Feb.	III March	IV April	V May	VI June	VII July	VIII Aug.	IX Sept.	X Oct.	XI Nov.	XII Dec.	Year.	I Jan.	II Feb.	III March	IV April	V May	VI June	VII July	VIII Aug.	IX Sept.	X Oct.	XI Nov.	XII Dec.
00	g.K. 001	032	060	091	121	152	182	231	244	274	305	335													
00	000	031	060	091	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335	50	18 263	294	322	353	383	414	444	475	506	536	567	597
01	366	397	425	456	486	517	547	578	609	639	670	700	51	628	659	687	718	748	779	809	840	871	901	932	962
02	731	762	790	821	851	882	912	943	974	*004*	*035*	*065*	52	993	*024*	*053*	*084*	*114*	*145*	*175*	*206*	*237*	*267*	*298*	*328*
03	1 096	127	155	186	216	247	277	308	339	369	400	430	53	19 359	390	418	449	479	510	540	571	602	632	663	693
04	461	492	521	552	582	613	643	674	705	735	766	796	54	724	755	783	814	844	875	905	936	967	997	*028*	*058*
05	827	858	886	917	947	978	*008*	*039*	*070*	*100*	*131*	*161*	55	20 089	120	148	179	209	240	270	301	332	362	393	423
06	2 192	223	251	282	312	343	373	404	435	465	496	526	56	454	485	514	545	575	606	636	667	698	728	759	789
07	557	588	616	647	677	708	738	769	800	830	861	891	57	820	851	879	910	940	971	*001*	*032*	*063*	*093*	*124*	*154*
08	922	953	982	*013*	*043*	*074*	*104*	*135*	*166*	*196*	*227*	*257*	58	21 185	216	244	275	305	336	366	397	428	458	489	519
09	3 288	319	347	378	408	439	469	500	531	561	592	622	59	550	581	609	640	670	701	731	762	793	823	854	884
10	653	684	712	743	773	804	834	865	896	926	957	987	60	915	946	975	*006*	*036*	*067*	*097*	*128*	*159*	*189*	*220*	*250*
11	4 018	049	077	108	138	169	199	230	261	291	322	352	61	22 281	312	340	371	401	432	462	493	524	554	585	615
12	383	414	443	474	504	535	565	596	627	657	688	718	62	646	677	705	736	766	797	827	858	889	919	950	980
13	749	780	808	839	869	900	930	961	992	*022*	*053*	*083*	63	23 011	042	070	101	131	162	192	223	254	284	315	345
14	5 114	145	173	204	234	265	295	326	357	387	418	448	64	376	407	436	467	497	528	558	589	620	650	681	711
15	479	510	538	569	599	630	660	691	722	752	783	813	65	742	773	801	832	862	893	923	954	985	*015*	*046*	*076*
16	844	875	904	935	965	996	*026*	*057*	*088*	*118*	*149*	*179*	66	24 107	138	166	197	227	258	288	319	350	380	411	441
17	6 210	241	269	300	330	361	391	422	453	483	514	544	67	472	503	531	562	592	623	653	684	715	745	776	806
18	575	606	634	665	695	726	756	787	818	848	879	909	68	837	868	897	928	958	989	*019*	*050*	*081*	*111*	*142*	*172*
19	940	971	999	*030*	*060*	*091*	*121*	*152*	*183*	*213*	*244*	*274*	69	25 203	234	262	293	323	354	384	415	446	476	507	537
20	7 305	336	365	396	426	457	487	518	549	579	610	640	70	568	599	627	658	688	719	749	780	811	841	872	902
21	671	702	730	761	791	822	852	883	914	944	975	*005*	71	933	964	992	*023*	*053*	*084*	*114*	*145*	*176*	*206*	*237*	*267*
22	8 036	067	095	126	156	187	217	248	279	309	340	370	72	26 298	329	358	389	419	450	480	511	542	572	603	633
23	401	432	460	491	521	552	582	613	644	674	705	735	73	664	695	723	754	784	815	845	876	907	937	968	998
24	766	797	826	857	887	918	948	979	*010*	*040*	*071*	*101*	74	27 029	060	088	119	149	180	210	241	272	302	333	363
25	9 132	163	191	222	252	233	313	344	375	405	436	466	75	394	425	453	484	514	545	575	606	637	667	698	728
26	497	528	556	587	617	648	678	709	740	770	801	831	76	759	790	819	850	880	911	941	972	*003*	*033*	*064*	*094*
27	862	893	921	952	932	*013*	*043*	*074*	*105*	*135*	*166*	*196*	77	28 125	156	184	215	245	276	306	337	368	398	429	459
28	10 227	258	287	318	348	379	409	440	471	501	532	562	78	490	521	549	580	610	641	671	702	733	763	794	824
29	593	624	652	683	713	744	774	805	836	866	897	927	79	855	886	914	945	975	*006*	*036*	*067*	*098*	*128*	*159*	*189*
30	958	989	*017*	*048*	*078*	*109*	*139*	*170*	*201*	*231*	*262*	*292*	80	29 220	251	280	311	341	372	402	433	464	494	525	555
31	11 323	354	382	413	443	474	504	535	566	596	627	657	81	586	617	645	676	706	737	767	798	829	859	890	920
32	688	719	748	779	809	840	870	901	932	962	993	*023*	82	951	982	*010*	*041*	*071*	*102*	*132*	*163*	*194*	*224*	*255*	*285*
33	12 054	085	113	144	174	205	235	266	297	327	358	388	83	30 316	347	375	406	436	467	497	528	559	589	620	650
34	419	450	478	509	539	570	600	631	662	692	723	753	84	681	712	741	772	802	833	863	894	925	955	936	*016*
35	784	815	843	874	904	935	965	996	*027*	*057*	*088*	*118*	85	31 047	078	106	137	167	198	228	259	290	320	351	381
36	13 149	180	209	240	270	301	331	362	393	423	454	484	86	412	443	471	502	532	563	593	624	655	685	716	746
37	515	546	574	605	635	666	696	727	758	788	819	849	87	777	808	836	867	897	928	958	989	*020*	*050*	*081*	*111*
38	880	911	939	970	*000*	*031*	*061*	*092*	*123*	*153*	*184*	*214*	88	32 142	173	202	233	263	294	324	355	386	416	447	477
39	14 245	276	304	335	365	396	426	457	488	518	549	579	89	508	539	567	598	628	659	689	720	751	781	812	842
40	610	641	670	701	731	762	792	823	854	884	915	945	90	873	904	932	963	993	*024*	*054*	*085*	*116*	*146*	*177*	*207*
41	976	*007*	*035*	*066*	*096*	*127*	*157*	*188*	*219*	*249*	*280*	*310*	91	33 238	269	297	328	358	389	419	450	481	511	542	572
42	15 341	372	400	431	461	492	522	553	584	614	645	675	92	603	634	663	694	724	755	785	816	847	877	908	938
43	706	737	765	796	826	857	887	918	949	979	*010*	*040*	93	969	*000*	*028*	*059*	*089*	*120*	*150*	*181*	*212*	*242*	*273*	*303*
44	16 071	102	131	162	192	223	253	284	315	345	376	406	94	34 334	365	393	424	454	485	515	546	577	607	638	668
45	437	468	496	527	557	588	618	649	680	710	741	771	95	699	730	758	789	819	850	880	911	942	972	*003*	*033*
46	802	833	861	892	922	953	983	*014*	*045*	*075*	*106*	*136*	96	35 064	095	124	155	185	216	246	277	308	338	369	399
47	17 167	198	226	257	287	318	348	379	410	440	471	501	97	430	461	489	520	550	581	611	642	673	703	734	764
48	532	563	592	623	653	684	714	745	776	806	837	867	98	795	826	854	885	915	946	976	*007*	*038*	*068*	*099*	*129*
49	898	929	957	988	*018*	*049*	*079*	*110*	*141*	*171*	*202*	*232*	99	36 160	191	219	250	280	311	341	372	403	433	464	494

These examples will suffice to show how dates of our own calendar are converted into days of the Julian period and *vice versâ*, by Tables 1 and 2. By the construction of similar tables for the Hindu calendar, we shall now be able, when a Hindu date is given, to convert it first into days of the Julian period and afterwards into a date of our own calendar; or, when a date of our own calendar is given, to convert it first into days of the Julian period, and afterwards into the corresponding Hindu date.

The Tables 3 and 4 for converting Hindu luni-solar dates into days of the Julian period, and *vice versâ*, are arranged in exactly the same manner as the Tables 1 and 2; the only difference being this, that in Table 3, which takes here the place of Table 1, the argument does not proceed by complete centuries, but in a rather irregular manner, by periods of 19 or 122 years. To calculate the day of the Julian period corresponding to a given date, we first take out from Table 3 (using either the column *expired* or the column *current*, as the case may be) the number corresponding to the year next lower than the year of the date. We then add from Table 4, the number for the month of the date, in the line corresponding to the difference between the year of the date and the year taken out of Table 3; and to the sum we add the given date of the month. Thus, to ascertain which day of the Julian period was Kârttika śukla 1 of the Vikrama year 937, current, we have —

given year	937	
— next lower year in Table 3, Vikrama current	845	= 2008 562
Remainder	92	
Table 4, year 92, month Kârttika, + date 1 =		33 843
	Sum	2042 405;

i.e. Kârttika śukla 1 of the Vikrama year 937, current, corresponds to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period. And as this day has been already found (see above) to correspond to the 20th October, A.D. 879, this is the European date which corresponds to the given Hindu date.

The Table 4 is arranged for the *amânta* scheme, by which the dark half of a month follows upon the bright half of the same month. Here the nth day of the *śukla-paksha* or bright half is, of course, the nth day of the month, while the nth day of the *krishṇa-paksha* or dark half is to be sought as the (15 + n)th day of the same month. With the *pûrṇimânta* scheme, by which the dark half of a month follows upon the bright half of the preceding month, the nth day of the *śukla-paksha* will likewise be the nth day of the month; but the nth day of the *krishṇa-paksha* must be sought in Table 4 as the (15 + n)th day of the *preceding* month. But in applying this rule, we must always keep strictly to the year of the date, and must on no account calculate for the preceding *year*. Thus, calculating for Chaitra krishṇa 9 of the northern Vikrama year 837, current, we have to look in the tables for Phâlguna (15 + 9 =) 24 of Vikrama 837, current (*not* of 836 current). The reason of this is that, even with the *pûrṇimânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the year always begins with the bright half of the month; and consequently Chaitra krishṇa 9 belongs to the end of the given year.

It will be seen that in every second or third line of Table 4, two numbers are given for one and the same month; *e.g.*, for the month Jyaishṭha of the year 00. This shows that the month to which the numbers refer, is an intercalary month; and in such a case the upper number serves for the first or *adhika*, the lower one for the second or *nija* month of the name.

A few examples, suggested by Professor Kielhorn or taken from his papers on the Chêdi and Nêwâr eras (the results of which have been adopted in the construction of Table 3) will show the practical working of Tables 3 and 4, in conjunction with Tables 1 and 2:—

1. Which day of the Christian era corresponds to Vikrama 1397, current, Mâgha sudi 4 (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI., Plate xxix.)?

Given year : Vikrama 1397, current.
— Table 3, Vikrama current, 1371 ....2200 688
Table 4, 26, Mâgha + 4 .... 9 807
Sum 2210 495
— Table 1, old style, next lower number 2195 882 = century 1300, O. S.
Remainder 14 613
— Table 2, next lower number 14 610 = year 40, January
Final remainder 3.
Answer : 3 January, A.D. 1340.

2. Which day corresponds to Vikrama 1275, expired, Mârga sudi 5 (*Archæol. Survey of W. India*, No. X. p. 111) ?
Given year : Vikrama 1275, expired.
— Table 3, Vikrama expired, 1229..........2149 187
Table 4, 46, Mârga + 5 .... 17 073
Sum 2166 260
— Table 1, old style ....2159 357 = century 1200, O. S.
Remainder 6903, by Table 2 = year 18, November 24.
Answer : 24 November, A.D. 1218.

3. Which day corresponds to southern Vikrama 1224, expired, Âshâḍha sudi 2 (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. Plate xxiii. G.) ?
Southern Vikrama 1224, expired.
— Table 3, column for Âshâḍha, 1106 2104 625
Table 4, 118, Âshâḍha + 2 .... 43 205
Sum 2147 830
— Table 1, old style, 2122 832 = century 1100, O. S.
Remainder 24 998 by Table 2 = year 68, June 9.
Answer : 9 June, A.D. 1168.

4. Which day corresponds to Nêwâr 923, expired, Mârgaśîrsha vadi 10 (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 248) ? Since the Nêwâr year has the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, Mârgaśîrsha vadi 10 = Mârgaśîrsha 10 + 15 = 25 ; and we accordingly have :—
Nêwâr 923, expired.
— Table 3, column for Mârgaśîrsha 819......2341 313
Table 4, 104, Mârga + 25................ 38 266
Sum 2379 579
— Table 1, new style, 2378 495=century 1800, N. S.
Remainder 1 084 by Table 2=year 2, December 19.
Answer : 19 December, A.D. 1802, new style.

5. Which day corresponds to Chêdi 793, current, Phâlguna vadi 9 (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 215)? Since the Chêdi year has the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, Phâlguna vadi 9 = Mâgha 9+15 = 24 ; and we accordingly have :—
Chêdi 793, current.
— Table 3, Column for Mâgha 680 .... 2060 064
Table 4, 113, Mâgha + 24 ... 41 602
Sum 2101 666
— Table 1, old style ....2086 307 = Century 1000, O. S.
Remainder 15 359 by Table 2. = year 42, Jan. 18.
Answer : 18 January, A.D. 1042.

TABLE 3.

Tables for the Hindu Luni-Solar Year.

Nêwâr Era.				Chêdi or Kalachuri.				Śaka.		Vikrama Era.				Kaliyuga.		Day of the Julian period.	
This column serves for the months: Chaitra Vaiśâkha Jyaishṭha Âshâḍha Śrâvaṇa Bhâdra Âśvina		This column serves for the months: Kârttika Mârgaśira Pausha Mâgha Phâlguna		This column serves for the months. Chaitra Vaiśâkha Jyaishṭha Âshâḍha Śrâvaṇa		This column serves for the months: Bhâdra. Âśvina Kârttika Mârgaśira Pausha Mâgha Phâlguna				Southern (Kârttikâdi) year. This column serves for the months: Chaitra Vaiśâkha Jyaishṭha Âshâḍha Śrâvaṇa Bhâdra Âśvina		Northern (Chaitrâdi) year. This Column serves for all the months of this year. Southern (Kârttikâdi) year. This column serves for the months: Kârttika Mârgaśira Pausha Mâgha Phâlguna					
Exp.	Curr.	Exp.	Curr.	Exp.	Curr.	Exp.	Curr.	Exp.	Curr.	Exp.	Curr.	Exp.	Curr.	Exp.	Curr.		
														0	1	588	437
														122	123	632	998
														244	245	677	560
														263	264	684	500
														385	386	729	061
														507	508	773	623
														526	527	780	563
														648	649	825	124
														770	771	869	686
														789	790	876	626
														911	912	921	187
														1033	1034	965	749
														1155	1156	1010	310
														1174	1175	1017	250
														1296	1297	1061	812
														1418	1419	1106	373
														1437	1438	1113	313
														1559	1560	1157	875
														1681	1682	1202	436
														1803	1804	1246	998
														1822	1823	1253	938
														1944	1945	1298	499
														2066	2067	1343	061
														2085	2086	1350	001
														2207	2208	1394	562
														2329	2330	1439	124
														2451	2452	1483	686
														2470	2471	1490	625
														2592	2593	1535	187
														2714	2715	1579	749
														2733	2734	1586	688
														2855	2856	1631	250
										-68	-67	-67	-66	2977	2978	1675	812
										54	55	55	56	3099	3100	1720	373
								-61	-60	73	74	74	75	3118	3119	1727	313
				-111	-110	-110	-109	61	62	195	196	196	197	3240	3241	1771	875
				11	12	12	13	183	184	317	318	318	319	3362	3363	1816	436
				30	31	31	32	202	203	336	337	337	338	3381	3382	1823	376
				152	153	153	154	324	325	458	459	459	460	3503	3504	1867	938
				274	275	275	276	446	447	580	581	581	582	3625	3626	1912	499
				396	397	397	398	568	569	702	703	703	704	3747	3748	1957	061
				415	416	416	417	587	588	721	722	722	723	3766	3767	1964	001
-93	-92	-92	-91	537	538	538	539	709	710	843	844	844	845	3888	3889	2008	562
29	30	30	31	659	660	660	661	831	832	965	966	966	967	4010	4011	2053	124
48	49	49	50	678	679	679	680	850	851	984	985	935	986	4029	4030	2060	064
170	171	171	172	800	801	801	802	972	973	1106	1107	1107	1108	4151	4152	2104	625
292	293	293	294	922	923	923	924	1094	1095	1228	1229	1229	1230	4273	4274	2149	187
414	415	415	416	1044	1045	1045	1046	1216	1217	1350	1351	1351	1352	4395	4396	2193	749
433	434	434	435	1063	1064	1064	1065	1235	1236	1369	1370	1370	1371	4414	4415	2200	688
555	556	556	557	1185	1186	1186	1187	1357	1358	1491	1492	1492	1493	4536	4537	2245	250
677	678	678	679	1307	1308	1308	1309	1479	1480	1613	1614	1614	1615	4658	4659	2289	812
696	697	697	698	1326	1327	1327	1328	1498	1499	1632	1633	1633	1634	4677	4678	2296	751
818	819	819	820	1448	1449	1449	1450	1620	1621	1754	1755	1755	1756	4799	4800	2341	313
940	941	941	942	1570	1571	1571	1572	1742	1743	1876	1877	1877	1878	4921	4922	2385	875
959	960	960	961	1589	1590	1590	1591	1761	1762	1895	1896	1896	1897	4940	4941	2392	814
1081	1082	1082	1083	1711	1712	1712	1713	1883	1884	2017	2018	2018	2019	5062	5063	2137	376
1203	1204	1204	1205	1833	1834	1834	1835	2005	2006	2139	2140	2140	2141	5184	5185	2481	938
1325	1326	1326	1327	1955	1956	1956	1957	2127	2128	2261	2262	2262	2263	5306	5307	2526	499
1344	1345	1345	1346	1974	1975	1975	1976	2146	2147	2280	2281	2281	2282	5325	5326	2533	439
1466	1467	1467	1468	2096	2097	2097	2098	2268	2269	2402	2403	2403	2404	5447	5448	2578	001

TABLE 4.

Tables for the Hindu Luni-Solar Year.

Year.	Chai.	Vais.	Jyai.	Âshâ.	Śrâv.	Bhâd.	Âsvi.	Kârt.	Mârg.	Paush	Mâgh.	Phâl.
00	000	030	059/089	119	148	178	207	237	266	296	325	355
01	384	414	443	473	502	532	561	591	620	650	679	709
02	738	768	798	827	857	886	916	945	975	*004*	*034*	*063*
03	1 092/122	152	181	211	240	270	299	329	358	388	417	447
04	476	506	535	565	594	624	653	683	712	742	771	801
05	830	860	889	919	948/978	*008*	*037*	*067*	*096*	*126*	*155*	*185*
06	2 214	244	273	303	332	362	391	421	450	480	509	539
07	569	599	628	658	687	717	746	776	805	835	864	894
08	923	953	982/012	*042*	*071*	*101*	*130*	*160*	*189*	*219*	*248*	*278*
09	3 307	337	366	396	425	455	484	514	543	573	602	632
10	661	690	720	749	779	808	838	867	897	926	956	985
11	4 015	044/074	103	133	162	192	221	251	280	310	339	369
12	399	429	458	488	517	547	576	606	635	665	694	724
13	754	784	813	843	872	902/932	961	991	*020*	*050*	*079*	*109*
14	5 138	168	197	227	256	286	315	345	374	404	433	463
15	492	522	551	581	610	640	669	699	728	758	787	817
16	846	876	905	935/965	994	*024*	*053*	*083*	*112*	*142*	*171*	*201*
17	6 230	260	289	319	348	378	407	437	466	496	525	555
18	585	615	644	674	703	733	762	792	821	851	880	910
19	939	969/999	*028*	*058*	*087*	*117*	*146*	*176*	*205*	*225*	*264*	*294*
20	7 323	353	382	412	441	471	500	530	559	589	618	648
21	678	708	737	767	796	826/855	885	914	944	973	*002*	*032*
22	8 062	091	121	150	180	210	239	269	298	328	357	387
23	416	446	475	505	534	564	593	623	652	682	711	741
24	770	800	829	859	888/918	948	977	*007*	*036*	*066*	*095*	*125*
25	9 154	184	213	243	272	302	331	361	390	420	449	479
26	508	538	567	597	626	656	685	715	744	774	803	833
27	863	893	922/952	982	*011*	*041*	*070*	*100*	*129*	*159*	*188*	*218*
28	10 247	277	306	336	365	395	424	454	483	513	542	572
29	601	631	660	690	719	749	778	808	837	867	896	926
30	955/985	*015*	*044*	*074*	*103*	*133*	*162*	*192*	*221*	*251*	*280*	*310*
31	11 339	369	398	428	457	487	516	546	575	605	634	664
32	694	724	753	783	812/841	871	900	930	959	989	*018*	*048*
33	12 077	107	136	166	195	225	254	284	313	343	372	402
34	432	462	491	521	550	580	609	639	668	698	727	757
35	786	816	845	875/905	934	964	993	*023*	*052*	*082*	*111*	*141*
36	13 170	200	229	259	288	318	347	377	406	436	465	495
37	524	554	583	613	642	672	701	731	760	790	819	849
38	879	909/939	968	998	*027*	*057*	*086*	*116*	*145*	*175*	*204*	*234*
39	14 263	293	322	352	381	411	440	470	499	529	558	588
40	617	647	676	706	735	765/795	824	854	883	913	942	972
41	15 001	031	060	090	119	149	178	208	237	267	296	326
42	355	385	414	444	473	503	532	562	591	621	650	680
43	710	740	769	799	828/858	888	917	947	976	*006*	*035*	*065*
44	16 094	124	153	183	212	242	271	301	330	360	389	419
45	448	478	507	537	566	596	625	655	684	714	743	773
46	802	832	861/891	921	950	980	*009*	*039*	*068*	*098*	*127*	*157*
47	17 186	216	245	275	304	334	363	393	422	452	481	511
48	541	571	600	630	659	689	718	748	777	807	836	866
49	896/926	955	984	*014*	*043*	*073*	*102*	*132*	*161*	*191*	*220*	*250*
50	18 279	309	338	368	397	427	456	486	515	545	574	604
51	633	663	692	722	751/781	811	840	870	899	929	958	988
52	19 017	047	076	106	135	165	194	224	253	283	312	342
53	372	402	431	461	490	520	549	579	608	638	667	697
54	726	756	785	815/845	874	904	933	963	992	*022*	*051*	*081*
55	20 110	140	169	199	228	258	287	317	346	376	405	435
56	464	494	523	553	582	612	641	671	700	730	759	789
57	819	848/878	907	937	966	996	*025*	*055*	*084*	*114*	*143*	*173*
58	21 202	232	261	291	320	350	379	409	438	468	497	527
59	557	587	616	646	675	705/735	764	794	823	853	882	912
60	941	971	*000*	*030*	*059*	*089*	*118*	*148*	*177*	*207*	*236*	*266*

Year.	Chai.	Vais.	Jyai.	Âshâ.	Śrâv.	Bhâd.	Âsvi.	Kârt.	Mârg.	Paush.	Mâgh.	Phâl.
61	22 295	325	354	384	413	443	472	502	531	561	590	620
62	649	679	708	738	767/797	827	856	886	915	945	974	*004*
63	23 033	063	092	122	151	181	210	240	269	299	328	358
64	388	418	447	477	506	536	565	595	624	654	683	713
65	742	772	801/831	861	890	920	949	979	*008*	*038*	*067*	*097*
66	24 126	156	185	215	244	274	303	333	362	392	421	451
67	480	510	539	569	598	628	657	687	716	746	775	805
68	835/865	895	924	954	983	*013*	*042*	*072*	*101*	*131*	*160*	*190*
69	25 219	249	278	308	337	367	396	426	455	485	514	544
70	573	603	632	662	691/721	751	780	810	839	869	898	928
71	957	987	*016*	*046*	*075*	*105*	*134*	*164*	*193*	*223*	*252*	*282*
72	26 311	341	370	400	429	459	488	518	547	577	606	636
73	666	696	725	755/785	814	844	873	903	932	962	991	*021*
74	27 050	080	109	139	168	198	227	257	286	316	345	375
75	404	434	463	493	522	552	581	611	640	670	699	729
76	758	788/818	847	877	906	936	965	995	*024*	*054*	*083*	*113*
77	28 142	172	201	231	260	290	319	349	378	408	437	467
78	497	527	556	586	615	644/674	703	733	762	792	821	851
79	880	910	939	969	998	*028*	*057*	*087*	*116*	*146*	*175*	*205*
80	29 235	265	294	324	353	383	412	442	471	501	530	560
81	589	619	648	678	707/737	767	796	826	855	885	914	944
82	973	*003*	*032*	*062*	*091*	*121*	*150*	*180*	*209*	*239*	*268*	*298*
83	30 327	357	386	416	445	475	504	534	563	593	622	652
84	682	712	741/771	801	830	860	889	919	948	978	*007*	*037*
85	31 066	096	125	155	184	214	243	273	302	332	361	391
86	420	450	479	509	538	568	597	627	656	686	715	745
87	774/804	834	863	893	922	952	981	*011*	*040*	*070*	*099*	*129*
88	32 158	188	217	247	276	306	335	365	394	424	453	483
89	513	543	572	602	631/661	691	720	750	779	809	838	868
90	897	927	956	986	*015*	*045*	*074*	*104*	*133*	*163*	*192*	*222*
91	33 251	281	310	340	369	399	428	458	487	517	546	576
92	605	635	664	694/724	753	783	812	842	871	901	930	960
93	989	*019*	*048*	*078*	*107*	*137*	*166*	*196*	*225*	*255*	*284*	*314*
94	34 344	374	403	433	462	492	521	551	580	610	639	669
95	698	728/758	787	817	846	876	905	935	964	994	*023*	*053*
96	35 082	112	141	171	200	230	259	289	318	348	377	407
97	436	466	495	525	554	584/614	643	673	702	732	761	791
98	820	850	879	909	938	968	997	*027*	*056*	*086*	*115*	*145*
99	36 175	205	234	264	293	323	352	382	411	441	470	500
100	529	559	588	618	647/677	707	736	766	795	825	854	884
101	913	943	972	*002*	*031*	*061*	*090*	*120*	*149*	*179*	*208*	*238*
102	37 267	297	326	356	385	415	444	474	503	533	562	592
103	622	652	681/710	740	769	799	828	858	887	917	946	976
104	38 005	035	064	094	123	153	182	212	241	271	300	330
105	360	390	419	449	478	508	537	567	596	626	655	685
106	714/744	774	803	833	862	892	921	951	980	*010*	*039*	*069*
107	39 098	128	157	187	216	246	275	305	334	364	393	423
108	452	482	511	541	570/600	630	659	689	718	748	777	807
109	836	866	895	925	954	984	*013*	*043*	*072*	*102*	*131*	*161*
110	40 191	221	250	280	309	339	368	398	427	457	486	516
111	545	575	604	634/664	693	723	752	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
112	929	959	988	*018*	*047*	*077*	*106*	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
113	41 283	313	342	372	401	431	460	490	519	549	578	608
114	638	668/698	727	757	786	816	845	875	904	934	963	993
115	42 022	052	081	111	140	170	199	229	258	288	317	347
116	376	406	435	465	494	524/554	583	613	642	672	701	731
117	760	790	819	849	878	908	937	967	996	*026*	*055*	*085*
118	43 114	144	173	203	232	262	291	321	350	380	409	439
119	469	499	528	558	587/616	646	675	705	734	764	793	823
120	852	882	911	941	970	*000*	*029*	*059*	*088*	*118*	*147*	*177*
121	44 207	237	266	296	325	355	384	414	443	473	502	532

Amânta scheme : nth sudi = nth of same month; nth vadi = (15 + n)th of same month.

Pûrṇimânta scheme : nth sudi = nth of same month; nth vadi = (15 + n)th of preceding month.

6. Was Âshâḍha an intercalary month in Chêdi 958, current (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 219)? Deducting by Table 3, Chêdi, column for Âshâḍha, current, the next lower year 923 from the given year 958, we have a remainder of 35; and turning with 35 to Table 4, we find that in that year Âshâḍha *was* intercalary.

7. As a last example, we will ask, to which date of which northern Vikrama year current, corresponds the 2nd April, A.D. 1036?

Table 1, century 1000, old style 2086 307
Table 2, year 36, April, + 2, ... 13 242

Sum 2099 549
— Table 3 .... 2060 064 = northern V. 986, current.

Remainder... 39 485, by Table 4 = year 108, Vaiśâkha 3.

Sum, north. Vikrama 1094, current, Vaiśâkha 3.

Accordingly the 2nd April, A.D. 1036, corresponds to the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the northern Vikrama 1094, current (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 252, No. 24).

For **the Hindu solar year** it is generally more convenient to use Tables which give directly the beginning of the different months, according to the European calendar, without necessitating the conversion into days. But as it may be sometimes useful to have ready at hand, also for this year, Tables like those for the luni-solar year, our **Tables 5 and 6** may not be altogether superfluous. The arrangement of these Tables is exactly like that of the rest, and requires no further explanation They will be found convenient when we seek the solar date corresponding to a luni-solar date, *e. g.*, the solar date of the beginning of the luni-solar month; and they will also be useful for the computation of Saṁkrântis. As the new-moon days correspond to the 0th days of the luni-solar months, so the Saṁkrântis correspond to the 0th days of the solar months; and we have—

0th Vaiśâkha	= Mêsha-saṁkrânti	♈	0th Kârttika	= Tulâ-saṁkrânti	♎
0th Jyaishṭha	= Vṛisha ,,	♉	0th Mârgaśira	= Vṛiśchika ,,	♏
0th Âshâḍha	= Mithuna ,,	♊	0th Pausha	= Dhanuḥ ,,	♐
0th Śrâvaṇa	= { Karkaṭa ,, / Dakshiṇâyana ,, }	♋	0th Mâgha	{ Makara ,, / Uttarâyaṇa ,, }	♑
0th Bhâdrapada	= Siṁha ,,	♌	0th Phâlguna	= Kumbha ,,	♒
0th Âśvina	= Kanyâ ,,	♍	0th Chaitra	= Mîna ,,	♓

Two examples may show the application of Tables 5 and 6:—

1. Which day of the solar Chaitra corresponds to the beginning of the luni-solar northern Vikrama year 1881 expired?

Northern Vikrama 1881, expired;
— next lower year in Table 3....1877...............2385 875

Table 4, 4, Chaitra + 1............... 1 477

Sum 2387 352
— next lower number in Table 5 ....2361 429

Remainder... 25 923; by Table 6 corresponds to the 20th Chaitra.

Accordingly Chaitra sudi 1 of the luni-solar northern Vikrama year 1881, expired, corresponds to the 20th solar Chaitra (Warren, *Kâla-Saṅkalita*, p. 315).

TABLES 5 and 6.

Tables for the Hindu Solar Year.

Table 5.

Kaliyuga current.	Day of the Julian period.	Kaliyuga current.	Śaka current.	Day of the Julian period.	Kaliyuga current.	Śaka current.	Day of the Julian period.
1	588 463	1829		1256 156	3684	505	1933 711
59	609 648	1914		1287 203	3742	563	1954 896
144	640 695	1999		1318 250	3827	648	1985 943
229	671 742	2057		1339 435	3912	733	2016 990
287	692 927	2142		1370 482	3970	791	2038 175
372	723 974	2200		1391 667	4055	876	2069 222
430	745 159	2285		1422 714	4113	934	2090 407
515	776 206	2343		1443 899	4198	1019	2121 454
600	807 253	2428		1474 946	4283	1104	2152 501
658	828 438	2513		1505 993	4341	1162	2173 686
743	859 485	2571		1527 178	4426	1247	2204 733
801	880 670	2656		1558 225	4484	1305	2225 918
886	911 717	2714		1579 410	4569	1390	2256 965
944	932 902	2799		1610 457	4627	1448	2278 150
1029	963 949	2884		1641 504	4712	1533	2309 197
1114	994 996	2942		1662 689	4797	1618	2340 244
1172	1016 181	3027		1693 736	4855	1676	2361 429
1257	1047 228	3085		1714 921	4940	1761	2392 476
1315	1068 413	3170	−9	1745 968	4998	1819	2413 661
1400	1099 460	3228	49	1767 153	5083	1904	2444 708
1485	1130 507	3313	134	1798 200	5168	1989	2475 755
1543	1151 692	3398	219	1829 247	5226	2047	2496 940
1628	1182 739	3456	277	1850 432	5311	2132	2527 987
1686	1203 924	3541	362	1881 479	5369	2190	2549 172
1771	1234 971	3599	420	1902 664	5454	2275	2580 219

Table 6.

Year.	♈ Vaiś.	♉ Jyai.	♊ Āshā.	♋ Śrāv.	♌ Bhād.	♍ Āśvi.	♎ Kārtt.	♏ Mārg.	♐ Paush.	♑ Māgh.	♒ Phālg.	♓ Chai.
00	000	031	062	094	125	156	187	217	246	276	305	335
01	365	396	427	459	491	522	552	582	611	641	670	700
02	730	761	793	824	856	887	917	947	977	*006*	*035*	*065*
03	1 096	127	158	190	221	252	283	312	342	371	401	431
04	461	492	523	555	586	617	648	678	707	737	766	796
05	826	857	888	920	952	983	*013*	*043*	*072*	*102*	*131*	*161*
06	2 191	222	254	285	317	348	378	408	438	467	497	526
07	557	588	619	651	682	713	744	773	803	832	862	892
08	922	953	984	*016*	*047*	*078*	*109*	*139*	*168*	*198*	*227*	*257*
09	3 287	318	350	381	413	444	474	504	533	563	592	622
10	652	683	715	746	778	809	839	869	899	928	958	987
11	4 018	049	080	112	143	174	205	235	264	293	323	353
12	383	414	445	477	508	539	570	600	629	659	688	718
13	748	779	811	842	874	905	935	965	995	*024*	*053*	*083*
14	5 113	144	176	207	239	270	300	330	360	389	419	448
15	479	510	541	573	604	635	666	696	725	754	784	814
16	844	875	906	938	969	*000*	*031*	*061*	*090*	*120*	*149*	*179*
17	6 209	240	272	303	335	366	396	426	456	485	514	544
18	575	605	637	668	700	731	761	791	821	850	880	909
19	940	971	*002*	*034*	*065*	*096*	*127*	*157*	*186*	*215*	*245*	*275*
20	7 305	336	367	399	430	461	492	522	551	581	610	640
21	670	701	733	764	796	827	857	887	917	946	975	*005*
22	8 036	066	098	129	161	192	222	252	282	311	341	370
23	401	432	463	495	526	557	588	618	647	676	706	736
24	766	797	828	860	891	922	953	983	*012*	*042*	*017*	*101*

Table 6.—(*cont.*)

Year.	♈ Vaiś.	♉ Jyai.	♊ Āshā.	♋ Śrāv.	♌ Bhād.	♍ Āśvi.	♎ Kārtt.	♏ Mārg.	♐ Paush.	♑ Māgh.	♒ Phālg.	♓ Chai.
25	9 131	162	194	225	257	288	318	348	378	407	436	466
26	497	528	559	591	622	653	683	713	743	772	802	832
27	862	893	924	956	987	*018*	*049*	*079*	*108*	*137*	*167*	*197*
28	10 227	258	289	321	352	384	414	444	473	503	532	562
29	592	623	655	686	718	749	779	809	839	868	897	927
30	958	989	*020*	*052*	*083*	*114*	*145*	*174*	*204*	*233*	*263*	*293*
31	11 323	354	385	417	448	479	510	540	569	599	628	658
32	688	719	750	782	814	845	875	905	934	964	993	*023*
33	12 053	084	116	147	179	210	240	270	300	329	358	388
34	419	450	481	513	544	575	606	635	665	694	724	754
35	784	815	846	878	909	940	971	*001*	*030*	*060*	*089*	*119*
36	13 149	180	211	243	275	306	336	366	395	425	454	484
37	514	545	577	608	640	671	701	731	761	790	820	849
38	880	911	942	974	*005*	*036*	*067*	*096*	*126*	*155*	*185*	*215*
39	14 245	276	307	339	370	401	432	462	491	521	550	580
40	610	641	673	704	736	767	797	827	857	886	915	945
41	975	*006*	*038*	*069*	*101*	*132*	*162*	*192*	*221*	*251*	*281*	*310*
42	15 341	372	403	435	466	497	528	558	587	616	646	676
43	706	737	768	800	831	862	893	923	952	982	*011*	*041*
44	16 071	102	134	165	197	228	258	288	318	347	376	406
45	436	467	499	530	562	593	623	653	682	712	742	771
46	802	833	864	896	927	958	989	*019*	*048*	*077*	*107*	*137*
47	17 167	198	229	261	292	323	354	384	413	443	472	502
48	532	563	595	626	658	689	719	749	779	808	837	867
49	898	928	960	991	*023*	*054*	*084*	*114*	*144*	*173*	*203*	*232*
50	18 263	294	325	357	388	419	450	480	509	538	568	598
51	628	659	690	722	753	784	815	845	874	904	933	963
52	993	*024*	*056*	*087*	*119*	*150*	*180*	*210*	*240*	*269*	*298*	*328*
53	19 359	389	421	453	484	515	545	575	605	634	664	693
54	724	755	786	818	849	880	911	941	970	999	*029*	*059*
55	20 089	120	151	183	214	246	276	306	335	365	394	424
56	454	485	517	548	580	611	641	671	701	730	759	789
57	820	851	882	914	945	976	*007*	*036*	*066*	*095*	*125*	*155*
58	21 185	216	247	279	310	341	372	402	431	461	490	520
59	550	581	612	644	676	707	737	767	796	826	855	885
60	915	946	978	*009*	*041*	*072*	*102*	*132*	*162*	*191*	*220*	*250*
61	22 281	312	343	375	406	437	468	497	527	556	586	616
62	646	677	708	740	771	802	833	863	892	922	951	981
63	23 011	042	073	105	137	168	198	228	257	287	316	346
64	376	407	439	470	502	533	563	593	623	652	682	711
65	742	773	804	836	867	898	929	958	988	*017*	*047*	*077*
66	24 107	138	169	201	232	263	294	324	353	383	412	442
67	472	503	535	566	598	629	659	689	719	748	777	807
68	837	868	900	931	963	994	*024*	*054*	*084*	*113*	*143*	*172*
69	25 203	234	265	297	328	359	390	419	449	478	508	538
70	568	599	630	662	693	724	755	785	814	844	873	903
71	933	964	996	*027*	*059*	*090*	*120*	*150*	*180*	*209*	*238*	*268*
72	26 298	329	361	392	424	455	485	515	545	574	604	633
73	664	695	726	758	789	820	851	881	910	939	969	999
74	27 029	060	091	123	154	185	216	246	275	305	334	364
75	394	425	457	488	520	551	581	611	641	670	699	729
76	760	790	822	853	885	916	946	976	*006*	*035*	*065*	*094*
77	28 125	156	187	219	250	281	312	342	371	400	430	460
78	490	521	552	584	615	646	677	707	736	766	795	825
79	855	886	918	949	981	*012*	*042*	*072*	*102*	*131*	*160*	*190*
80	29 221	251	283	314	346	377	407	437	467	496	526	555
81	586	617	648	680	711	742	773	803	832	861	891	921
82	951	982	*013*	*045*	*076*	*108*	*138*	*168*	*197*	*227*	*256*	*286*
83	30 316	347	379	410	442	473	503	533	563	592	621	651
84	682	713	744	776	807	838	868	898	928	957	987	*016*

2. Was there a Saṁkrânti on the 13th of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha of Vikrama 1187, current (above, p. 57) ?

	Vikrama 1187, current,		
— next lower year in Table 3, 1108	....	2104	625
Table 4,	79, Mârga + 13,	29	129
	Sum	2133	754
— next lower number in Table 5	....	2121	454
	Remainder	12	300; by Table 6 corresponds to the 0th of Pausha or the Dhanuḥ-saṁkrânti.

And accordingly there *was* a Saṁkrânti on Mârgaśîrsha sudi 13 of Vikrama 1187, current.

In conclusion, it may be added that the Tables may be used for finding **the weekday** in a very simple manner. For, dividing the day of the Julian period by 7, the remainder 0 always indicates a Monday; 1, a Tuesday; 2, a Wednesday; 3, a Thursday; 4, a Friday; 5, a Saturday; and 6, a Sunday. *E.g.*, as 2133 754 divided by 7 leaves remainder 0, the Saṁkrânti spoken of in the last example took place on, and Mârgaśîrsha sudi 13 of the example was, a Monday.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY É. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from p.* 108.)

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH EDICTS.

(Formerly a seventh and an eighth edict were distinguished, the latter being engraved circularly round the base of the column. Really, as Dr. Bühler has pointed out, these two form only one, and it is convenient to reunite them in a continuous text. A separate enumeration, 1, 2, &c., is however retained for the lines which go round the pillar.)

Prinsep, pp. 597 ff.; pp. 602 ff. — Lassen (p. 270, n. 1; p. 275, n. 3) and Burnouf (p. 749 ff.) have only commented upon or given new translations of short fragments.

TEXT.

11 Dêvânaṁpiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvaṁ âhâ [.] yê atikaṁtaṁ
12 aṁtalaṁ lâjânê husu[1] hêvaṁ ichhisu kathaṁ janê
13 dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhêyâ nô chu janê anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ
14 vaḍhithâ [.] êtaṁ[2] dêvânaṁpiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvaṁ âhâ [.] êsa mê
15 huthâ atikaṁtaṁ cha[3] aṁtalaṁ hêvaṁ ichhisu lâjânê kathaṁ janê
16 anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhêyâti nô cha janê anulupâyâ
17 dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhithâ [.] sê kina su[4] janê anupaṭipajêyâ
18 kina su janê anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhêyâti kina su kâni
19 abhyuṁnâmayêhaṁ[5] dhaṁmavaḍhiyâti [.] êtaṁ dêvânaṁpiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvaṁ
20 âhâ [.] êsa mê huthâ dhaṁmasâvanâni[6] sâvâpayâmi dhaṁmânusathini
21 anusisâmi êtaṁ janê sutu anupaṭipajîsati abhyuṁnamisati

1 (a) dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ cha bâḍhaṁ vaḍhisati [.] êtâyê mê aṭhâyê dhaṁmasâvanâni sâvâpitâni dhaṁmânusathini vividhâni ânapitâni [.] yathatiyipâ[7] pi bahunê janasi âyatâ êtê paliyôvadisaṁti pi pavithalisaṁti pi [.] lajûkâ pi bahukêsu pânasatasahasêsu âyatâ tê pi mê ânapitâ hêvaṁ cha hêvaṁ cha paliyôvadâtha

---

(a) Here commences the so-called viiith Edict.

2 janaṁ dhaṁmayutaṁ[8] [.] dêvânaṁpiyê Piyadasi hêvaṁ âhâ [.] êtamêva mê anuvêkhamânê[9] dhaṁmathaṁbhâni kaṭâni dhaṁmamahâmâtâ kaṭâ dhaṁma . . . kaṭê [ ] dêvânaṁpiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvaṁ âhâ [.] magêsu pi mê nigôhâni lôpâpitâni chhâyôpagâni[10] hôsaṁti pasumunisânaṁ aṁbâvaḍikâ lopâpitâ aḍhakôsikâni pi mê udupânâni
3 khânâpâpitâni niṁsi — ḍhayâ[11] cha kâlâpitâ âpânâni mê bahukâni tata tata kâlâpitâni paṭîbhôgâyê pasumunisânaṁ [.] sa — êsa paṭîbhôgê nâma[12] [.] vividhâyâ hi sukhâyanâyâ pulimêhi pi lâjihi mamayâ cha sukhayitê lôkê imaṁ chu dhaṁmânupaṭîpatî anupaṭîpajaṁtu tâ êtadathâ mê
4 êsa kaṭê [.] dêvânaṁpiyê Piyadasi hêvaṁ âhâ [.] dhaṁmamahâmâtâ pi mê ta[13] bahuvidhêsu aṭhêsu ânugahikêsu viyâpaṭâ sê pavajîtânaṁ chêva gihithânaṁ cha sava . . . ḍêsu pi cha viyâpaṭâ sê[14] [.] saṁghaṭhasi pi mê[b] kaṭê[15] imê viyâpaṭâ hôhaṁti ti [.] hêmêva bâbhanêsu âjîvikêsu pi mê kaṭê
5 imê viyâpaṭâ hôhaṁti ti [.] nighaṁṭhêsu pi mê kaṭê imê viyâpaṭâ hôhaṁti [.] nânâpâsaṁḍêsu pi mê kaṭê imê viyâpaṭâ hôhaṁti ti [.] nânâpâsaṁḍêsu pi mê kaṭê imê viyâpaṭâ hôhaṁti ti [.] paṭivisiṭhaṁ paṭîvisiṭhaṁ têsu têsu tê tê mahâmâtâ[16] dhaṁmamahâmâtâ chu mê êtêsu chêva viyâpaṭâ savêsu cha aṁnêsu pâsaṁḍêsu [.] dêvânaṁpiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvaṁ âhâ [.]
6 êtê cha aṁnê cha bahukâ mukhâ[17] dânavisagasi viyâpaṭâ sê mama chêva dêvinaṁ cha [.] savasi cha mê ôlôdhanasi tê bahuvidhêna â . lêna[18] tâni tâni tuṭhâyatanâni paṭî . . . [.] hida chêva disâsu cha dâlakânaṁ[19] pi cha mê kaṭê aṁnânaṁ cha dêvikumâlânaṁ imê dânavisagêsu viyâpaṭâ hôhaṁti ti
7 dhaṁmâpadânaṭhâyê dhaṁmânupaṭipatiyê [.] êsa hi dhaṁmâpadânê dhaṁmapaṭîpati cha yâ iyaṁ[20] dayâ dânê sachê sôchavê madavê sâdhavê cha lôkasa hêvaṁ vaḍhisati ti [.] dêvânaṁpiyê . . . . lâjâ hêvaṁ âhâ [.] yâni hi kâni chi mamiyâ sâdhavâni kaṭâni taṁ lôkê anûpaṭîpaṁnê taṁ cha anuvidhiyaṁti têna vaḍhitâ cha
8 vaḍhisaṁti cha mâtâpitisu sususâyâ gulusu susu̇sâyâ vayômahalakânaṁ anupaṭîpatiyâ bâbhanasamanêsu kapanavalâkêsu âvaḍâsabhaṭakêsu saṁpaṭîpatiyâ[21] [.] dêvânaṁpiy . . . dasi lâjâ hêvaṁ âhâ [.] munisânaṁ chu[22] yâ iyaṁ dhaṁmavaḍhi vaḍhitâ duvêhi yêva âkâlêhi dhaṁmaniyamêna cha nijhatiyâ cha [.]
9 tata chu lahu sê dhaṁmaniyamê nijhatiyâ va bhuyê [.] dhaṁmaniyamê chu khô êsa yê mê iyaṁ kaṭê imâni cha imâni jâtâni avadhiyâni aṁnâni pi chu bahu . . dhaṁmaniyamâni[23] yâni mê kaṭâni [.] nijhatiyâ va chu bhuyê munisânaṁ dhaṁmavaḍhi vaḍhitâ avihiṁsâyê bhutânaṁ
10 anâlaṁbhâyê pânânaṁ [.] sê êtâyê athâyê iyaṁ kaṭê putâpapôtikê chaṁdamasuliyikê hôtu ti tathâ cha anupaṭîpajaṁtu ti [.] hêvaṁ hi anupaṭîpajaṁtaṁ hidatapalatê âladhi[24] hôti [.] satavisativasâbhisitêna[25] mê iyaṁ dhaṁmalibi likhâpâpitâ ti [.] êtaṁ dêvânaṁpiyê âhâ [.] iyaṁ
11 dhaṁmalibi ata[26] athi silâthaṁbhâni vâ silâphalakâni vâ tata kaṭaviyâ êna êsa chilaṭhitikê siyâ [.]

NOTES.

1. The correct form would be *huṁsu*. We have already met the two spellings *huṁsaṁ* (Kh. viii. l. 22) and *ahuṁsu* (G. viii. l. 2), and we shall subsequently come across *husaṁ* (S. l. 2.) and *husu* (R. l. 2). This word is the form which corresponds to the *abhûṁsu* or *abhuṁsu* of

(b) The *m* here has both the signs for the vowel *e* and for the vowel *u*.

Buddhist Sanskṛit. With regard to third persons in *thâ*, like *vaḍhithâ*, and in the next sentence *huthâ*, cf. *Mahâvastu*, I. p. 378. It is plain that we must supply an *iti* after *vaḍhêyâ*, as we see is done when the sentence is repeated lower down, the phrase expressing the intention of these ancient kings. *Anulûpa*, 'conformable,' appears to refer to the wishes of the kings.

2. I strongly doubt if *êtaṁ* should be taken as a pronoun, either here or when the sentence is repeated in line 19. A stereotyped formula, such as we have here, would scarcely be modified, and least of all by an addition of so little meaning. In dealing with Girnâr (viii. l. 3) and Khâlsi (viii. l. 23), I have mentioned examples of *êta* representing *atra* (Pâli *ettha*); I believe that we have here another case of the same use (*êtaṁ*, as we have at Kh. *êtâ*, and as we have had *savataṁ*, &c.), and that in both the sentences the word would be exactly represented by our 'now.'

3. The repetition here gives a singularly embarrassed and clumsy turn to the whole idea of the passage. The two formulas *dêvânaṁpiyê . . . . âha* are, so to say, on different levels. The first simply introduces the observations made by the king; the second, the practical solutions and the decisions to which he comes regarding them; for this is the drift of *êsa mê huthâ*, 'I have taken this resolution,' as its repetition in line 20 shows. The *cha* which appears in this connection, corresponds to the one which follows in *nô cha janê*.

4. It is *kinassu* which we should understand here; for the exact form of this instrumental is *kinâ*, see *Hêmachandra*, III. 69. It is the Pâli *kênassu*, in Sanskṛit *kêna svit*. The phrase is shortly afterwards completed by the addition of *kâni*, which particle I have already explained in dealing with a former edict.

5. The active form *abhyunnamati* is, as we see from line 21, used here in the sense of 'to rise up,' which in Pâli (*Lotus*, p. 456) is applied to *unnamati*, and which we should only expect to find in the passive. *Abhyunnâmayati* therefore signifies 'to cause to go forward.' We have several times had occasion to refer to the potential in *êhaṁ*, for *êyaṁ*.

6. With regard to *sâvana*, *cf.* l. 1 of the circular part. We shall again come across it at Rûpnâth (l. 5), and at Sahasrâm, where it is erroneously written *savanê*. The *â* must be long, for the word refers to causing to hear, to the promulgation, the preaching of the religion. It is hardly necessary to point out that *anusisâmi*, is a false reading for *anusâsâmi*.

7. This word must be very much defaced on the original stone. The first *facsimile*, read *yajayapâpi*, marking the first three letters as not clearly apparent. General Cunningham gives , *yathatiyipâpi*, but in the transcription he places the first four characters in brackets, thus signifying that he has not read them with certainty. Anyhow, both the divergence of the two readings and the fact that neither of them gives a satisfactory interpretation, prove that the text is here very doubtful. We are thus compelled to have recourse to conjecture. From the detached edicts of Dhauli and of Jaugada we see, and this is also implied elsewhere by the very nature of the circumstances, that the king had, with the view to the moral and religious surveillance which so much occupied his attention, distributed over the country his various orders of functionaries by towns or by provinces. I would therefore prefer to read *yathâvisayâ pi*,—'several officers have been commissioned, *district by district*.' *A priori* this restoration would not appear violent, but it is clear that only an attentive revision of the original stone would enable us to judge of the degree of probability which it may possess. Regarding *âyatâ*, see above, Edict IV. note 1. *Pavithalati* indicates that the officers should orally 'develop' the advice, which the king, in his inscriptions, can only give in abstract.

8. Regarding this phrase see above, Edict IV. note 4. As for the form of the Imperative in *âtha*, it is known in Pâli, *cf.* also *Mahâvastu* I. 499.

9. Regarding the orthography of *anuvêkhamâna*, see above, Edict III. note 3. Between *dhaṁma* and *kaṭê* there is a lacuna of about three *aksharas*, happily without any serious influence on the general sense. We might suggest that the stone, in its integrity, originally bore the words *dhaṁmasâvanê kaṭê*. I must, however, state that General Cunningham, in his transcription, writes a *kha* in brackets after *dhaṁma*. I conclude that this reading is far

from clear. If it is really the true one, I confess that I can think of no expedient for completing the word.

10. For the commencement of this sentence, compare Girnar, II., l. 5, and following. I have elsewhere given my reasons for considering the sign ⼗ in the words *aṁbávaḍikà* and *aḍhakôsikáni* to be a simple variant in form of +. We actually meet the former word again in the Queen's Edict, under the usual form *aṁbávaḍiká*. This word, indeed, puzzles me more as regards its derivation,—at least, as regards the derivation of its second term. The first, *amba* = *ámra*, gives no room for doubt. Burnouf, following the example of Prinsep, translates the whole compound by 'plantations de manguiers,' without stopping for a detailed explanation. It is, I presume, by a simple inadvertence that he applies the epithet *aḍhakôsikáni* to it. The paṇḍits of Prinsep translate the compound by 'mango-trees,' transcribing it on one occasion as *ámravṛiksha* which is inadmissible, and another time as *ámravalikáḥ*, from which I can draw no meaning. An analysis into *áṁra* + *ávali*, would give 'lines' or 'rows of mango-trees,' but this is excluded by the spelling *vaḍiká* common to the two passages. The word might be taken as a popular spelling for *vaṭiká*, *vaṭí*, (as we have *libi* = *lipi*) being equivalent to *vaṭa*, the whole meaning 'mangos and fig trees.' But then we fall into a new difficulty; for in the Queen's Edict this translation does not fit properly into the sentence; there the word being co-ordinated with *álámê*, *árámaḥ*, could scarcely be anything but a singular with a collective meaning. On the other hand, an inscription at Junnar (Burgess and Indraji, *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, p. 47, No. 15) has *ábikábhati*, which must be compared with, in the neighbouring inscriptions, *jábubhati* (p. 46, No. 14) and *karajabhati* (p. 48, No. 17). The last two expressions are rendered by Burgess and Bühler as 'plantation of *jambus*,' and 'plantation of *karaṁjas*,' respectively (*Archæological Survey West. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 97); and for the first Burgess and Indraji suggest 'mango-field.' I suppose that, in either case, it is the transcription *bhṛiti* which is thought of. Although, at least so far as I am aware, the word is not commonly used in such a meaning, still this translation is possible from its etymology. But, however tempting the apparent connection between *ábikábhati* and *ambávaḍiká* may be, it seems to me to be difficult to admit their complete identity. Such an orthography as *vaḍi* for *bhṛiti*, beside the usual one of *bhati*, could hardly occur on our monuments; and hence this analogy, if it has appeared to me to be sufficiently curious to demand attention, does not bring our perplexity to a close. On the whole, it appears to me to be almost certain that we must explain *ambávaḍiká* as a feminine substantive meaning some such thing 'as a mango plantation' or 'mango grove;' and that most probably we must seek in *vaḍiká* for *váḍiká* a popular spelling of *váṭá*, *váṭí*, in its sense of 'enclosure' and hence 'park' or 'orchard.'

11. Although General Cunningham marks no lacuna between *si* and *ḍha* in his transcription, and although the line immediately above shows a fault in the rock which existed previously to the engraving, it appears to me to be indubitable that several characters are missing here. The reading as given *niṁsiḍhayá* gives no meaning; but it is the more difficult to complete the imperfect word or words with likelihood, as, owing to the fault in the stone, we are unable to calculate the exact number of missing letters. One single point appears to me to be extremely probable, that the characters *ḍhayá* ought to be read *ḍhayê*, or *ḍhiyê*, and should form the concluding syllables of the word [*pô*]*ḍhiyê* or [*pô*]*ḍhayê*. This form *pôḍhi*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *prahi*, continually reappears in the cave inscriptions; it is sufficient to refer the reader in general terms to the work cited in the preceding note. These 'springs' are exactly what *à priori* we should expect here. As for the former portion of the word I have nothing positively convincing to propose. Before going further, we must know with more precision the exact condition of the stone. I do not know whether the characters read as *niṁsi* are subject to doubt or not. If it is allowable to correct them, the expression *sinánapôḍhi*, equivalent to *snánaprahi*, which an inscription (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 16, No. 21) appears to use, is suggested to us. In that case we might restore it here as *nahá*[*napô*]*ḍhiyê*, and tanks would be here referred to. A future revision of the monument will decide as to the lot which this provisional hypothesis deserves.

12. As far as *pasumunisânaṁ* the phrase develops with entire clearness. Thereafter the lacuna which follows *sa* throws us into uncertainty. About one thing there can be no doubt,—that hitherto the following words have been wrongly divided into phrases. Following Prinsep and Lassen, Burnouf connects *ēsa paṭibhōgê nâma* with the succeeding proposition; but the *hi* which accompanies *vividhâyâ* proves that a new sentence begins with this word. This sentence stands by itself, the particles *pi* and *cha* being correlatives, and means, 'in fact, former kings, as much as I myself, have favoured the happiness of their subjects in various ways.' The rest, *imaṁ chu, &c.*, is marked by the particle *chu* as forming a kind of antithesis with the former portion of the sentence, such as would ensue from the following translation, 'but the great wish, which has inspired me, has been the desire of developing the practice of the Religion.' It hence follows, on the one hand, that one sentence is completed by *pasumunisânaṁ*, and, on the other, that another, equally complete, commences with *vividhâyâ*. The words *sa...ēsa paṭibhōgê nâma* must therefore, for their part, form a complete proposition. One of the turns of style most commonly employed by the king consists, as we have seen from several examples, in taking up a term, which has just been used in an ordinary and familiar sense, in order to transfer it by some addition or allusion into the domain of morals and religion, *e. g.* 'traditional practices are a very good thing, but the great object is the practice of the Religion' (G. 9); the giving of 'alms is very praiseworthy, but his true alms are the alms of religious exhortation' (*ibid.*); 'there is only one conquest which is worthy of the name, the conquest of souls to the Religion, only one real pleasure, the pleasure found in practising and favouring the Religion' (13th Edict), &c. Here we have a similar rhetorical figure. The king has just been speaking of 'enjoyment' (*paṭibhōga*) in a material and physical sense, as in the 2nd Edict; and immediately he goes on,—'but this is the true enjoyment' (*paṭibhōga nâma*), to do that which I do, in regard to the Religion and its progress among the people. At the same time, as this enjoyment does not fall to the lot of everyone, I presume that here the king opposes his peculiar form of enjoyment to the vulgar enjoyments of beings in general (*pasumunisânaṁ*), and I would be willing to admit that the lacuna ought to be filled up as *sa* [*tu mama*] *ēsa* or some such phrase. Whatever be the value of this suggestion, the way in which the sentences should be divided, and the meaning of the whole, appear to me to be sufficiently certain. We should, of course, read *sukhîyanâya*. On a former occasion (Vol. I., 135, 136) I have referred to the instrumental *mamayâ*, which we meet again lower down in line 7 as *mamiyâ*. We must certainly take *ētadathâ* as equivalent to *ētadathaṁ*, and *anupaṭipati* as equivalent to *anupaṭipatiṁ*. If the reading of the facsimiles were less plain, we might be tempted to return to the analogy of most of the passages where this phrase occurs, and read *ētadathâyê ēsa°*, but I do not consider the change indispensable.

13. As we have the text delivered to us, we can only consider the words *dhaṁmamahâmâtâ pi mê* as forming a complete sentence, and correct the *ta* following into *tê*. But it is curious that the king does not return here to his usual phraseology which would be *°mê kaṭâ*, and all the more so because the pronoun *tê* is repeated in its equivalent *sê* which follows *vyâpaṭâ*. We have previously met this phrase *vyâpaṭasê*, and I have already (Vol. I. 131), given reasons which scarcely allow us to take *sê* as anything but a parallel form of *tê*. These reasons are strengthened by a fact which we can remark here, where we see *imê vyâpaṭâ* and *vyâpaṭâ sê* used as interchangeable, and supplementing each other. Under such circumstances, the concurrence of *tê* and *sê* in the same sentence would be hardly probable.

14. For the second member of the sentence, see G. V. l. 4, which allows us to fill it up with certainty as *sava*[*pâsaṁ*]*ḍêsu*.

15. We could easily construe the locative *saṁghaṭhasi* with *kaṭa*, and in the sense 'with regard to, looking to, the interests of the *saṁgha*.' But this construction becomes less probable in the phrase which follows, for *nigaṁthêsu, &c.*, and is altogether inadmissible in line 6 for *dâlakânaṁ*. Besides, everywhere here, *vyâpaṭa* necessarily requires an object. I therefore conclude that, in this series of propositions the words *mê kaṭê* represent a kind of parenthesis, and the *kṛita* is hence to be taken, as we have seen *kichcha* at Girnâr (IX. 9), in the sense

of 'thinking,' 'desiring,' — 'they will occupy themselves, such is my thought, such is my aim, in the interests of the *saṁgha*, &c.' With regard to this duty of surveillance over the clergy entrusted by the king to his officers, compare Girnâr VI., l. 7-8.

16. The letter which follows *tê* appears to have been still legible at the time when the first fac-simile was taken. At any rate we cannot hesitate to read, with it, *tê tê*, a distributive repetition corresponding to *têsu têsu*, each *mahâmâtra* finding himself thus charged with some special sect (*paṭivisiṭhaṁ*). Moreover, a distinction is made between the *mahâmâtras* charged each with one of the particular sects who have just been mentioned, and the *dhaṁmamahâmâtras* to whom a general surveillance, both over these corporations and over all others, is entrusted.

17. I do not think that there can be any doubt as to the division of the words *bahukâ mukhâ*. The figurative sense of *mukha*, 'means,' seems sufficient to warrant the only interpretation which is possible, that of 'agent,' 'intermediary.' We may, in a manner, compare the use of *dvâra* (*duvâla*) in the detached edicts of Dhauli, i. 3; ii. 2. 'These, with many others, are my agents. Their duties will be to distribute the alms which come from me and also those which come from the queens.' As to what comes from the latter we have an express allusion to their intervention in the fragment of the Allahâbâd Edict.

18. It is certain that we must complete to *â[kâ]lêna*. *Tuṭhâyatanâni* gives no admissible sense, and the word is certainly incorrect. I think that it is easy to suggest the remedy, and to read *yathâyatanâni* : 𑀬 for 𑀢𑀼 is a very easy correction. The verb is unfortunately incomplete, but whatever it was in its integrity, whether *paṭivêkhaṁti*, or *paṭijaggaṁti*, or what not, there is no doubt about its general meaning. The officers put in charge by the king of the interior of his palace (cf. the fifth of the Fourteen Edicts) 'are each to supervise the rooms to which he is detailed.' *Âyatana* designates a portion of the *ôrôdhana*, the inner apartments taken as a whole.

19. I confess that I have some difficulty in ascertaining the exact shade of meaning which separates *dâlaka* from *dêvikumâra*. The first designates, in general terms, 'the children' of the king. As for *dêvikumâra*, as we have just above been dealing with the subject of the alms of the queens (*dêvînaṁ cha*), it is extremely probable that we should take the compound, not as a *dvandva*, but as a *tatpurusha*. On the other hand, if we translate literally, 'our children and the other princes, sons of the queens,' it will become necessary to admit that the *dârakas* form a special category among the *dêvikumâras*; but this is just the opposite of what we should expect; the sons of the recognised queens should form a particular and privileged class amid the offspring of the king. I only see one way out of the difficulty,—to admit here for *anya* the same appositional use which we find in Greek (οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι, the others, that is to say, the allies) ; *dâlaka* would mean specially those sons of the king who were not assured an official title by the rank of their mothers, while *dêvikumâra* would be those who had the rank of princes. I have remarked above that the genitive *dâlakânaṁ*, substituted here for the locative which appears in the earlier phrases can only be construed with *dânavisagêsu*. In *dhaṁmâpadâna*, I take *apadâna*, in its Pâli sense of 'action,' 'noble deed,' and as equivalent to the Sanskṛit *avadâna*. Even in Sanskṛit *apadâna* is sometimes met in this sense (*St. Petersb. Dict. s. v.*). The meaning would therefore 'be in the interests of religious practices.'

20. For *yâ iyaṁ*, equivalent to *yad idaṁ*, see above, Edict I., note 6. As for the enumeration which follows, it strongly recalls that in the 2nd Edict, l. 12. We must read *sôchêvê*, for *sôchêyê*, instead of *sôchavê*. We have already (Kh. xiii. 2) met *mâdava*, *i.e.* *mârdavaṁ*, in an analogous meaning. We should of course read *sâdhavê* not *sâdhaṁmê*; especially as the first facsimile indicated the letter read as 𑀯 by dots only, thus showing that the reading was already then indistinct and hypothetical.

21. The whole of this sentence has been perfectly explained by Burnouf ; he has made a mistake about one word only. He translates *kapanavalâkêsu*, 'the poor and children,' as if he had before him *bâlakêsu*, but this transcription is inadmissible. We must here substitute the Sanskṛit *kṛipaṇavarâkêshu*, the exact form supposed by our text, *i.e.* 'the poor and the miserable.'

22. The particle *chu* can very well commence the sentence: we have seen (I. note 3) that it implies slight opposition, 'but,' 'now,' a statement which is immediately verified once more in the following sentence. The only difficulty which exists, is in the words *dhaṁmaniyama* and *nijhati*. The first is sufficiently defined by the sequel. It means the 'rules, the prohibitions inspired by the Religion,' such as the forbidding the slaughter of such and such animals. *Nijhati* is less clear. However, after what has been said above (IV. note 10) about the verb *nijhapayati*, I think that we need not hesitate to derive from it the substantive *nijhatti* as we do *vijñapti* from *vijñâpayati*. It would, in that case, mean 'the action of calling the attention, reflexion.' If this is correct, the two conditions of progress which the king distinguishes would be, on the one hand, positive prohibitions, duly enumerated, and on the other, the personal feelings awakened by the prohibitions, and, in general, by religious instruction. It seems to me that what follows confirms this interpretation. Twice does Piyadasi warn us that it is the *nijhati* which alone gives all its importance and all its development to the *niyama*, which by itself is but a small thing. Regarding the meaning thus given to *lahu*, *laghu*, we may compare not only *lahukâ* in the sense of 'contempt' in the 12th edict of Girnâr, but especially the adjective *lahukâ* in the 13th edict of Khâlsi, l. 12, note *w*. The meaning appears to me to be very clear: it is natural that the king should attach less importance to the material observance of a few necessarily limited rules, than to the spirit which he would propagate among his people and which would inspire them, for example, with a still wider and more absolute respect for life (*avihiṁsâyê bhûtânaṁ anâlaṁbhâyê pânânaṁ*).

23. It is doubtful how many characters are here missing. At first sight one would be inclined to read *bahu[vidhâni]*; but the facsimile of the *Corpus* appears to have traces of a horizontal mark which hardly belong to anything but a +, so that an almost certain restitution would be *bahu[kâni]*, which has, however, the same meaning.

24. The construction here is extremely awkward; it exactly corresponds to a difficulty which has already been considered in the 11th (Rock) Edict; I refer to what I have said there (Vol. I. 245-47). If we had not this precedent, we should be tempted to take the accusative *paṭîpajantaṁ* as governed by the verbal idea contained in the substantive *âladha*. But in the other passage, neither the form *karu* at G., nor the pronoun *sô* at Kh. and at K., allow us to have recourse to this. We must therefore take it here either as an accusative absolute (cf. Trenckner, *Pâli Miscellany*, I. 67 note) equivalent to the nominative absolute, as I have concluded above, or take the spelling *paṭîpajaṁtaṁ*, as equivalent to *paṭîpajaṁtê* (cf. Edict IV. note 7; *saṁtaṁ* = *saṁtê*, *santaḥ*) and as consequently representing a nominative. I incline rather to the second solution.

25. At the time of the first *facsimile*, the correct reading °*vasâbhisitêna* was still distinct.

26. It is unnecessary to remark that *ata* represents *yatra* and not *atra*, and that it has its correlative in the *tata* following. *Silâthaṁbhâni vâ silâphalakâni vâ* is in apposition to, and explains, *dhaṁmalibi*, and comes to this 'these edicts, whether they are carved on pillars, or inscribed on rocks.' We see, I may remark, here, in *iyaṁ dhaṁmalibi, êsa chilathitikê*, what confusion reigns in the use and application of the genders.

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas:—Kings who ruled in the past did have this wish,—How can we secure that men shall make progress in the Religion? But men did not make progress in the Religion according [to their desires]. Now, thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas:—Thus have been my thoughts,—because kings who ruled in the past did have this wish,—how can we secure that men shall make progress in the Religion? and because men did not make progress in the Religion according [to their desires], by what means can I bring men to walk in the Good Way? By what means can I secure that men shall make progress in the Religion according [to my desires]? By what means can I cause them to advance in the Religion? Now, thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas:—Thus have I resolved; I will spread abroad religious exhortations, and I will publish religious

teachings. So, when they hear [these words], will men walk in the Good Way, will advance [in welfare], (*Circular edict commences*) and will make rapid progress in the Religion. It is for this reason that I have promulgated religious exhortations, and that I have given various directions in regard to the Religion. I have appointed numerous [officers] over the people, each having his own jurisdiction, that they may spread abroad my instructions, and develop [my wishes]. I have also appointed *rajjûkas* over hundreds of thousands of living beings, and they have been ordered by me to instruct the faithful.

Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas: — It is with this object alone that I have erected columns, [covered with] religious [inscriptions], instituted overseers of the Religion, and spread abroad religious exhortations (?).

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas: — Along the roads have I planted *nyagrôdhas*, that they may give shade to men and animals; I have planted mango-orchards; at every half *krôśa* have I sunk wells; I have had tanks (?) dug; I have had many inns built for the enjoyment of men and animals. But to me the true enjoyment is this, that, while former kings and I myself have contributed to the welfare of men by various benefits, they should also be led to walk in the path of the Religion. It is to this end, therefore, that I direct my actions.

Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas: — I have also appointed overseers of the Religion whose duty it is to busy themselves with all matters of charity, and their duties will also extend to all the sectaries, whether those of monks or of householders. I have also borne in mind the interests of those in holy orders, with whom the duties of these officers will lie; the interests of the *brâhmaṇas* and religious ascetics, with whom their duties will lie; the interests of the *nirgranthas*, with whom their duties will lie; and the interests of all the sectaries, with whom their duties will also lie. The *mahâmâtras* will deal with only one or other of these, each to each body, but the overseers of the Religion will occupy themselves in a general manner both with these sectaries, and with all others.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas: — These and many other officials are my agents, and it will be their duty to distribute my alms and those of the queens. In my entire palace they [will employ themselves] in various ways, each according to the apartments confided to him. I purpose that, both here and in the provinces, they should employ themselves in the distribution of the alms of my children, and especially of those of the royal princes, so as to encourage the Religion, and devotion to the practice of the Religion. For devotion to the Religion means practice of the Religion, mercy, charity, truth, purity of life, gentleness, and goodness.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas: — Now, whatever acts of goodness have been performed by me, so in these the people follow after me, these they take as their examples. Therefore have they grown up, and will they grow up, in obedience to their parents, in obedience to their teachers, in reverence to those advanced in age, in consideration towards *brâhmaṇas*, *śramaṇas*, the poor, the miserable, and even to slaves and servants.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas: — But this progress of the Religion among men is promoted in two ways; by positive rules, and by the sentiments under which they are practised. Of these the positive rules have only a moderate importance, and it is the sentiments under which they are practised which give them a high value. The positive rules are such as when I forbid the slaughter of such and such kinds of animals, and the other religious prescripts which I have issued in great numbers. But it is only by the change of personal sentiments that the progress of the Religion really takes place, in the [general] respect for life, and in the exercise of care not to kill any living being. It is with this object that I have set up this inscription. for my sons and for my grandsons, to endure as long as the sun and moon, that they may follow my instructions; for by so doing they will obtain happiness both here below and in the world to come. I have had this edict engraved in the twenty-eighth year of my coronation.

Thus saith the [King], dear unto the Dêvas: — Where this edict exists, whether on columns of stone or on walls of rock, there care must be taken that it may long endure.

THE QUEEN'S EDICT AT ALLAHABAD.

Prinsep, p. 966 and ff.

TEXT.

1 Dêvânaṁpiyasa vachanêna savata mahâmatâ
2 vataviyâ [.] ê hêta dutîyâyê dêviyê dâ[?]nê
3 aṁbâvaḍikâ vâ âlamê va dâna ê hêvâ êtasi aṁnê
4 kichhi ganîyati tâyê dêviyê sê nâni sava
5 dutiyâyê dêviyê ti tîvalamâta kâluvâniyê

NOTES.

Although General Cunningham does not express himself on this point with all the clearness which one would desire, it appears to me to be certain, as Prinsep practically admitted, that these five lines preserve for us the commencement only of an inscription which the detrition of the stone interrupts from the sixth line. Has this detrition made itself felt in the fifth line? We shall at least see that, according to my opinion, and so far as one can judge from a single portion of a sentence, the reading of the last few words require much more correction than the rest of the fragment. On the other hand, I see no necessity for assuming that the lines which have come down to us are themselves incomplete, as Prinsep supposed with regard to the fourth. In any case, there can be no hope here of a really certain translation, but there are at least some details which can be rectified with confidence, and the Queen Kichhiganî, for example, re-enters into that non-existence, from which she should never have emerged.

The first phrase is clear enough: it closely follows the commencement of the detached Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada. Of what follows, we have only the beginning. The verb is missing, so that we cannot construe the sentence. However, as far as *tîvalamâta*, &c., the functions of the different sub-phrases appear to be pretty clear. We have two relative propositions: *ê hêta*, &c., and *ê hêvâ*, &c., but is the *sê* of *sê nâni*, &c., their antecedent, so that the *iti* refers back to the whole of this first portion of the sentence? I think not. The meaning hardly lends itself to this construction; for then the thought attributed to the ideal interlocutor, rendered indeterminate by the mutilation of the stone, would come to something like this: 'All the alms given by the second queen belong to the second queen' or 'come from the second queen,' an observation the purport of which it is not easy to discover. I have therefore no hesitation in considering that the two relative propositions, contain the subject of the principal proposition, the verb of which has been lost, and that the *iti* refers only to the proposition *sê nâni*, &c. This admitted, the division of the words presents no exceptional difficulties. *Hêta* is for *êttha*, *atra*. In the last word of the second line, read *ḍânê* by Prinsep, the first character is curiously wanting in clearness. It looks something like a ⊢, and the reading *dânê* suits the meaning well. We have discussed *aṁbâvaḍikâ* (Ed. VIII. l. 2) above; and this word gives a useful basis for the correction of *âlamê* to *âlâmê*, 'garden, grove.' There can be no doubt about the words which follow: *ê aṁnê kichhi*, which must certainly be transcribed *yadanyat kiñchit*, and *gaṇîyati*, which is the passive of the verb *gaṇayati*, in the meaning of 'to prize,' 'to esteem.' *Êtasi* is doubtless to be taken adverbially, and gives a meaning equivalent to the *êtarahi* of Pâli, and the *êtarhi*, *etarahiṁ* of Buddhist Sanskṛit. Instead of seeking for an imaginary general in *sênâni*, we can remind ourselves that we have already had twice to correct *nâni* into *kâni*, so as to restore a particle hitherto always misunderstood, and we shall thus write *sê kâni*, that is to say, in Sanskṛit, *tat khalu*. The last words, — those which follow *ti*, —are unfortunately obscure. Although Prinsep's attempted interpretation requires no formal refutation, it is by no means easy to substitute anything which would be accepted as probable. I can only offer a conjecture. The first word appears to be *tîvạ*, which we have already met (G. XIII. 1; Kh. XIII. 35) as marking the activity of the religious zeal. This comparison leads me to suggest the correction of *lamâ* to *dhamâ*, ᒧ to ᗡ. In the following

characters there is a variant between the two facsimiles; that of Prinsep has clearly *kiyé*, while that of the *Corpus* has *niyé*. It seems most probable that we have here the feminine termination of some adjective agreeing, for instance, with *déviyê*, and I therefore read *kâlunikâyê*, from *kâruṇikâ*, 'full of compassion.' The correction of ꠸ to ꠹ is sufficiently easy. When we have once adopted this division of words, the correction of the character *ta* necessarily follows. The first word must be, like the second, an epithet of the queen, and I complete it by reading *-dhamâya*, or, more accurately, *-dhamâyê*. I cannot bring together these observations into a kind of translation, without conjecturally supplying a word on which *tâyê dêviyê—kâlunikâyê* can depend. I need hardly say that this restitution is entirely hypothetical, and is only an outline taken at hazard, to bring together the disjointed fragments.

TRANSLATION.

Here followeth the order directed by command of the [king] dear unto the Dêvas to the Mahâmâtras of all localities:— For every gift made by the second queen, a gift of a mango-orchard, of a garden, as well as of every article of value found therein, [it is right to do honour] to the queen, whose religious zeal and charitable spirit will be recognised, while one says,— 'all this comes from the second queen * * *.'

KAUSAMBI EDICT.

This fragment is so designated by General Cunningham, because it is addressed to the Mahâmâtras of Kauśâmbî. This is the only positive fact which we are entitled to draw from it. I can make nothing of the remainder of the transcription, which is too incomplete, and too imperfect to serve as a basis for useful conjectures. I only reproduce it here, as given in the *Corpus*, for the sake of completeness.

TEXT.

1 Dêvânaṁpiyê ânapayati Kôsaṁbiya mahâmata
2 ———ramari (?) . . saṁghasi nilahiyô
3 i . . . . . . ṭhatibhiti . bhaṁti nita . . chi
4 ba . . . . pinaṁ dhapayita ata saṭha aṁvasayi.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 183. — KALBHAVI JAIN INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, was discovered in 1882 by Mr. Kalyan Sitaram Chitray, who then held the post of Mâmlatdâr of the Sampgaum Tâlukâ. I edit it from the ink-impression made by my own copyist.

Kalbhâvi is a village about nine miles to the south by east from Sampgaum, the chief town of the Sampgaum Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Belgaum District, Bombay Presidency; in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41, it is entered as 'Kulbavee,' in Lat. 15° 41′ N., Long. 74° 58′ E. It seems to be mentioned in lines 8, 15, and 21, under the older name of **Kummudavâḍa**. The inscription is on a **stone-tablet**, outside a temple of Râmaliṅga in the village.

The **emblems** at the top of the stone are:— In the centre, inside a small shrine, an officiating priest, standing by a *liṅga* on an *abhishêka*-stand; on the proper right side, inside another shrine, a Jain figure, squatting cross-legged, with two attendants standing beside him, and, above the shrine, the sun; and on the proper left side, a cow and a calf, with the moon above them. — The **writing** covers a space of about 2′ 9½″ broad by 3′ 8″ high. It is in a state of very good preservation, and is legible, without any doubt, almost throughout. — The **characters** are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of about the eleventh century A.D. and of the locality to which the record belongs. They include, in

line 14, the **decimal figures** 1, 2, and 6. The **virâma** is represented in both ways, as noted at page 35 above in respect of the Guḍigere Jain inscription. The average **size of the letters** is about ⅜". The engraving is bold and excellent. — The **language** is Old-Kanarese, with five Sanskṛit verses in lines 1 f., and 29 to 33; and the inscription is mostly in prose. — In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the *anusvâra* instead of the proper nasal, *e.g.* in *gaṁbhîra* and *lâṁchhana*, line 1; *baṁdha*, line 4; and *koṁguṇi*, line 3; but not in the case of the lingual nasal in *maṇḍalêśvaraṁ*, lines 3, 4, and 24; and (2) the repetition of *bh*, instead of its doubling by *b*, in *ôr-bhbhâgadiṁ*, twice, in line 20.

The **inscription** recites that, a **king named Amôghavarsha** having washed the feet of a Jain teacher named Dêvakîrti who belonged to the Mailâpa lineage and the Kâreya *gaṇa* or sect, his feudatory, **the Gaṅga Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Saigoṭṭa-Permânadi or Saigoṭṭa-Gaṅga-Permânadi, otherwise named Sivamâra,** built a temple of Jinêndra at **the village of Kummudavâḍa,** and granted the village to it; making also other grants to the *dâna-sâle* or almshouse. The date of this grant is given as Śaka-Saṁvat 261, the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*. But this, of course, is **a spurious date.** And **the real record** is contained in lines 24 to 26; where we learn that the grant, which in the meantime evidently either had been confiscated or had lapsed from neglect, was restored by another **Gaṅga Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara named Kañcharasa.** Of course it may be argued that the whole inscription is a spurious one. But I am inclined to think that the fact recorded in the latter part of it is genuine; and that the introduction of a spurious date for the grant itself, is to be attributed to a loss of the original charter, so that it was not known which of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings named Amôghavarsha was reigning at the time, coupled with the desire to claim as great an antiquity as possible. The composition of the record may be referred to about the eleventh century A. D. Probably its exact period can be determined hereafter through the mention of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kañcharasa. And in the same way, the period of the original grant may perhaps be established through the mention of the teachers Guṇakîrti, Nâgachandra, Jinachandra, Śubhakîrti, and Dêvakîrti, of **the Mailâpa lineage and the Kâreya sect.** Another record mentioning this sect and family, is the Saundatti inscription. which, referring to a grant made in Śaka-Saṁvat 797 by the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa II., gives us the names of Muḷḷabhaṭṭâraka, a teacher in "**the Kâreya sect of the holy Maiḷâpatîrtha**;" his disciple, Guṇakîrti; his disciple, Indrakîrti; and his pupil, the Raṭṭa *Mahâsâmanta* Pṛithvîrâma (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 199.)

Of the local **places** mentioned in this record, **Kummudavâḍa** would seem to be an older name of **the modern Kalbhâvi itself;** though the record of the boundaries does not contain any details that actually prove this. At least, I can find no other name in the neighbourhood resembling it. **Kâdalavaḷḷi,** the chief town of a circle of thirty villages which included Kummudavâḍa, is **the modern Kâdarôḷḷi,** — the 'Kadurwullee' of the map, — about seven miles to the south by west from Sampgaum; the name appears elsewhere as Kâdaravaḷḷi (*e.g.*, *ante*, Vol. I. p. 142). In this name, *l* has changed into *r*; we have had an instance of the opposite change, from *r* to *l*, in the names of Pêrûr and Bêlûr, at page 271 above.

The real record of the restoration of the grant is not dated. The **date** that is given, in decimal figures, for the original making of the grant, is not only **spurious,** but also incorrect in its details, which are Śaka-Saṁvat 261, **the Vibhava saṁvatsara,** Pausha kṛishṇa 14, Sômavâra or **Monday,** and **the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti** or winter solstice. But the Vibhava *saṁvatsara* coincided, by the southern luni-solar system, with Śaka-Saṁvat 231 current; and by the mean-sign system, which is the one that would apply for this period, it commenced on the 8th March, A.D. 314, in Śaka-Saṁvat 237 current, and ended on the 4th March, A.D. 315, in Śaka-Saṁvat 238 current. In Śaka-Saṁvat 231 current, the *pûrṇimânta* Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, on Sunday, 28th November, A.D. 308, at about 52 *ghaṭîs*, 10 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bombay;[1] the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Saṁkrânti, occurred at about 19 *gh.* 41 *p.* on Friday, 17th December; and the *amânta* Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended on Tuesday, 28th December, at about 37 *gh.* 48 *p.* And, in the

[1] The times here are for Bombay, all through.

duration of the *saṁvatsara* by the mean-sign system, in Saka-Saṁvat 237 current, the *pûrṇimânta* Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended on Tuesday, 23rd November, A.D. 314, at about 12 *gh.* 56 *p.*; the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred at about 52 *gh.* 50 *p.* on Friday, 17th December; and the *amânta* Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended on Wednesday, 22nd December, at about 40 *gh.* 36 *p.* Thus, a correct result cannot be obtained for the given *saṁvatsara*. Nor can a correct result be obtained for the given 'Saka year, irrespective of the *saṁvatsara*. For, in 'Saka-Saṁvat 261 current, though the *pûrṇimânta* Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended on Monday, 27th November, A.D. 338, at about 10 *ghaṭis*, 6 *palas*, yet this was twenty-one days before the *saṁkrânti*, which occurred at about 5 *gh.* 27 *p.* on Monday, 18th December; while the *amânta* Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended on Tuesday, 26th December, at about 44 *gh.* 41 *p.* And in Śaka-Saṁvat 262 current (261 expired) the *pûrṇimânta* Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended on Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 339, at about 13 *gh.* 35 *p.*; the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred at about 20 *gh.* 58 *p.* on Tuesday, 18th December; and, though the *amânta* Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended on Monday, 14th January, A.D. 340, at about 43 *gh.* 47 *p.*, yet this was twenty-seven days after the *saṁkrânti*.

TEXT.[2]

1 Ôm[3] ।(॥) Śrîmat[4]-parama-gaṁbhîra-syâdvâd-âmôgha-lâṁchhanaṁ jîyât=[t*]railôkya-nâthasya śâsanaṁ Ji-

2 na-śâsanaṁ ॥ Svasty=**Amôghava[r*]shadêva**-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-vijaya-râjyav(m)=uttarôttar-âbhivṛi-

3 ddhi-pravarddhamânam=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-târaṁ baraṁ saluttam-ire [।*] tat-pâdapadm-ôpajîvi samadhigatapaṁchamahâśabda-mahâmaṇḍa-

4 ḷêśvaraṁ **Kuvalâla**-puravar-êśvaraṁ Padmâvatî-labdha-vara-prasâditaṁ **Koṁguṇi**-paṭṭabaṁdha-virâjitaṁ śâsanadêvî-vijaya-bhêrî-nirgghôsha-

5 ṇaṁ bhagavad-Arhan-mumukshu-piṁchhadhvaja-vibhûshaṇaṁ sakaḷa-bhûpâḷa-mauḷi-mâṇikya-chûḍâratna-raṁjita-charaṇaṁ vidvishṭa-manôram-âḷaṁ-

6 kâra-haraṇaṁ sârasvata-janita-bhâshâtraya-kavitâ-lalita-vâglalanâ-lîlâ-lalâmaṁ gaja-vidyâ-dhâmaṁ śrîmat-**Sivamâr**[5]-âbhi-

7 dhâna-**Saigoṭṭa-Gaṁga-Permmânadigaḷ** maradalumetey-âge **Gaṁgavâḍi**-toṁbhattâṟu-sâsiramaṁ sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadiṁ pratipâḷisutt-i-

8 ḷdu **Kâdalavaḷḷi**-mûvattaṟ-oḷagaṇa **Kummudavâḍadoḷ** Jinêṁdra-maṁdiramaṁ mâḍisidan=adè dorey=ad=eṁdoḍe ॥ Vṛi[6] ॥ Idu[7] **Gaṁg-â-**

9 **dhîśvara**-śrî-gṛiham=idu viḷasad-**Gaṁga-bhûpâḷar**=âmnâyada kîrttiśrî-vihâr-âspada-karam=idu **Gaṁg-âvanînâthar**=aṇḍâ-

10 ryyada janma-sthânam=eṁb-ant-ire vibudha-jan-ânaṁdamaṁ bhavya-saṁpat-padamaṁ **Saigoṭṭa-Permmânadi** Jina-gṛihamaṁ mâḍidaṁ bhaktiyiṁdaṁ ॥

11 Â Jina-maṁdirakke । Vṛi । Vimaḷa[8]-śrî-Guṇakîrtti-dêvar=avar=aṁtêvâsigaḷ=Nâga-chaṁdra-munîṁdrar=tad-apatyar=udgha-Jinachaṁdr-âkhyar=tta-

12 dîy-âtmajar=ddamit-âghar=Śubhakîrttidêvar=esedar=ttach-chhishyar=udyad-vachô-ramaṇîyar=ssale Dêvakîrtti-guruga!=vâd-îbha-kaṇṭhîrava[r ॥]

13 Â paramêśvarar=ppara-vâdi-vidhvaṁsigaḷuṁ vidit-âśêsha-śâstraruṁ **Mailâp-ânvayam**=enisida **[K]âreya-gaṇa**-gagana-chû-

14 ḍâmaṇigaḷum=appa Dêvakîrtti-paṁḍita-dêvara kâlaṁ karchchi ॥ Ôm **Saka-varsha 261neya Vibhava-saṁvatsarada Paushya(sha)-bahuḷa-**

15 **chaturddaśi-Sômavâram=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântiy-aṁdu Saigoṭṭa-Gaṁga[ṁ*] Kummudavâḍam**=eṁb=ûraṁ biṭtan=Alliye mattaṁ

16 dâna-sâlege polanumaṁ Kummudabbeya dêguladiṁ baḍaga pôgi mûḍa mukhaṁ kêrivumaṁ basadiyiṁ mûḍal*u* dâ-

---

[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] Represented by a symbol throughout. Here, and at the end of the record, there is used an elaborately decorative symbol, of which the basis or essential part is the plain symbol itself as it occurs in lines 14, 23, 24, and 29.

[4] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[5] Read *śrîmach-chhivamâr*.

[6] i. e. *vṛitta*, 'metre.'

[7] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[8] Metre, Mattêbhavikrîḍita.

17 na-sâlege panni[r*]-kkayi-nivêsaṇamumaṁ I ûriṁ mûḍa Sapasi(?)ṁge-ga[r*]ddeyuṁ bayalumaṁ bitta- II -n=Â[9] grâ-

18 mada sîmey=eṁt-e[ṁ*]doḍe I âligoṁḍadiṁ I Siḍilanerilim I Sameyadâtana-kereyiṁ I malappa-bûdaniṁ I tolapa-

19 baḷapa-biḷiyaḷariyiṁ I Gaṁgarolâduva-saṁkiya-kereyiṁ I Hichchalagereya kôḍiyiṁ I niṁdabeliṁ I Siṁdagiri-vo-

20 r-bhbhâ(bbhâ)gadiṁ I Sâṁdigereya nîra taṭav-ôr-bhbhâ(bbhâ)gadiṁ I Siṁgasa-gereyiṁ I Kadikoṭṭa-Baḷivaḷi-garddeyiṁ- I -d-oḷag[10]=uḷḷa bhûmi

21 **Kummudavâḍakke** II Maṭṭam=ûriṁ teṁka dâna-sâleya polakke Erapa-kereya mûḍaṇa kôḍiya baḍagaṇa

22 guttiya teṁka mukhade mûḍal=mêre I teṁka[lu*] Baḷivaḷi-garddeyuṁ I âligoṁḍamuṁ mêre I baḍagal=Imvina-kereya

23 madhyaṁ mêre I paḍuvalu Bikkiya-beṭṭada teṁkaṇa bâg-oḷag-âgi mêre II(I) illiṁd-oḷag=uḷḷa bhûmi dâna-sâlege II Ôm [II*]

24 Ôm Svasti Samadhigatapaṁchamahâśabda-mahâmaṇḍalêśvaraṁ **Kuvalâla-puravar-**êśvaraṁ Padmâvatî-labdha-va-

25 ra-prasâditaṁ Koṁguṇi-paṭṭabandha-virâjitaṁ sâ(śâ)sanadêvî-vijaya-bhêrî-nirgghôsha-ṇaṁ bhagavad-Arhan-mumukshu-piṁ-

26 chhadhvaja-vibhûshaṇanum=appa śrîmat-**Kaṁch-arasar=Ssaigoṭṭa-Gaṁganiṁ** baṁda dharmmamaṁ samuddharisidan=Idan=tappa-

27 de pratipâlisid-âtaṁ Vâraṇâsiyoḷ[11] sâsirvvaru brâhmaṇargge sâsira kavileya[ṁ*] koṭṭa pha-

28 laṁ I idan=aḷid-âtaṁ Vâṇarâsiyoḷ[12] sâsira kavileyumaṁ sâsirvvar=ttapôdhanarumaṁ sâsirvvar=brâhma-

29 ṇaruman=aḷida pâtakam=akku [II*] Ôm [II*] Sâmânyô[13]=yaṁ dharmma-sêtuṁ nṛipâṇâṁ[14] kaḷê-kâḷê pâḷanîyô bhavadbhis=sa-

30 rvvân=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pârtthivêṁdrân bhûyô-bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ I(II) Sva[15]-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô

31 harêta vasuṁdharâṁ shashtir-basha[16]-sahaśrâ(srâ)ṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ I(II) Na vishaṁ visham=ity=âhuḥ dêva-

32 svaṁ visham=uchyatê visham=êkâkinaṁ hanti dêva-svaṁ putra-pautrikaṁ II Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ

33 râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadâ phaḷam II Ôm [II*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After a verse in praise of the doctrine of Jina, the lord of the three worlds, the inscription proceeds to record that, in the reign of the *Paramêśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* **Amôgha-varshadêva** (line 2), his feudatory (*pâdapadm-ôpajîvin*), the illustrious **Saigoṭṭa-Gaṅga-Permânadi** (l. 7), who also had the name of **Sivamâra** (l. 6), — who was a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, invested with the *pañchamahâśabda* (l. 3); who was the lord of **Kuvalâla, the best of cities** (l. 4);[17] who was favoured with a boon acquired from (the goddess) Padmâvatî; who was decorated with the binding on of **the Koṅguṇi fillet of sovereignty** (*paṭṭa-bandha*); who was entitled to (*be heralded in public by*) the sounds of the victorious drum of a *Sâsanadêvî*;

[9] Read *biṭṭan* II *Â*. [10] Read *garddeyiṁd-oḷag*.

[11], [12] The use of the two forms Vâraṇâsi and Vâṇarâsi in one and the same inscription, is rather exceptional.

[13] Metre, Śâlinî. [14] Read *sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ*.

[15] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

[16] Read *shashṭi-varsha*, or *shashṭiṁ varsha*.

[17] This is a hereditary Gaṅga title; and does not necessarily imply that Saigoṭṭa-Gaṅga-Permânadi's seat of government was actually at the city in question.

Kalbhavi Jain Inscription.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE ·20

who had for an ornament the banner of a bunch of feathers,[18] which was the banner of the divine *Arhat*, desirous of emancipation (l. 5); who was the principal place for the sportive play of the charming goddess of speech, in the form of poetry, in three languages,[19] composed by eloquent people (l. 6); and who was the dwelling-place of the science of (*training and managing*) elephants, — was governing **the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand** (l. 7) . . . .[20] with the delight of pleasing conversations (*sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôda*).

At **the village of Kummudavâḍa, in the Kâdalavaḷḷi Thirty** (l. 5), he, **Saigoṭṭa-Permânadi** (l. 10), caused to be built a temple of Jinêndra, which was the delight of learned people, through being the very abode of the fortunes of **the Gaṅga rulers** (l. 8); the very pleasure-ground of the goddess of the fame of the succession of **the Gaṅga kings** (l. 9); and the very birth-place of the greatness of **the Gaṅga lords of the earth.**

There was (*a saint named*) Guṇakîrtidêva (l. 11). His disciple was Nâgachandramunîndra. His son was Jinachandra. His son was Śubhakîrtidêva (l. 12). And his disciple was Dêvakîrtiguru. The *Paramêśvara* (*i.e.* **Amôghavarshadêva**) (l. 13) washed the feet of Dêvakîrtipaṇḍitadêva (l. 14), who was the ornament of the sky that is **the Kâreya gaṇa**, which is also known as **the Mailâpa lineage** (l. 13); and then, — **at the time of the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti, (on) Monday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Pausha of the Vibhava saṁvatsara, which was the 261st Saka year,** — to that temple of Jina (l. 11), **Saigoṭṭa-Gaṅga** granted the village named **Kummudavâḍa** (l. 15). Also, to the **almshouse** (*dâna-sâle*) at that place (l. 16), he granted a field; and a street, facing to the east as one goes to the north from the temple (*dêgula*) known as the temple of Kummudabbe; and a courtyard (*nivêsana*), measuring twelve cubits, on the east of the Jain temple (*basadi*); and the rice-land called Sapasiṅgegarde, and the waste land, on the east of the village.

Lines 18 to 23 specify **the boundaries of Kummudavâḍa,** and of the field that was given to the almshouse. But no village-names now to be found in the map, occur here. Nor are all the terms intelligible. The words which are recognisable as appellatives, are those which give the names of Siḍilaneṟil ('the refuge of, or from, the thunder-bolt'); the tanks called Sameyadâtana-keṟe, Gaṅgarolâduvasaṅkiya-keṟe, Hichchalageṟe, Sundigeṟe, Siṅgasageṟe, Erapa-keṟe, and Iṁvina-keṟe, ('the sweet tank'); the hills called Sindagiri and Bikkiyabeṭṭa; and the rice-lands called Kadikoṭṭa-garde and Baḷivaḷi-garde.

Lines 24 to 26 record that the illustrious **Kañcharasa** (l. 26), — who was a *Mahâmaṇḍa-lêśvara* invested with the *pañchamahâśabda* (l. 24); who was the supreme lord of **Kuvalâla the best of cities**; who was favoured with a boon acquired from (the goddess) Padmâvatî; who was decorated with the binding on of **the Koṅguṇi fillet of sovereignty;** who was entitled to the sounds of the victorious drum of a *Śâsanadêvî*; and who had for an ornament the banner of a bunch of feathers, which was the banner of the divine *Arhat*, desirous of emancipation, — raised up, *i.e.* restored, this religious grant that had come down from (*the time of*) **Saigoṭṭa-Gaṅga** (l. 26).

And lines 27 to 33 contain the customary benedictive and imprecatory sentences; followed by four of the usual Sanskrit verses of the same purport.

THE NAMES OF THE COINS OF TIPU SULTAN.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

In the fifth year of his reign, A. H. 1201 or A.D. 1786-87, **Ṭîpû Sulṭân of Maisûr** replaced on his coins the era of the Hijra by a new one of **solar years, called the Maulûdî**

---

[18] Here, in line 5, and again in line 25-26, the original has *puṁchha*, i.e. *piñchha*, which is given by Monier-Williams, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, as meaning 'a wing;' and by Sanderson, in his Kanarese Dictionary, as meaning 'a peacock's tail.' But Mr. K. B. Pathak, in shewing how this word was arrived at, by a particular method among the Karṇâṭaka Jains of writing the word *pichchha*, in such a way that the *ch* was represented by a sign which resembles and eventually came to be mistaken for the *anusvâra*, has explained that it means 'a bundle of feathers carried about by a Jain ascetic' (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 273, note 1.)

[19] *i.e.* Sanskrit, Old-Kanarese, and probably Mahârâshṭrî-Prâkrit.

[20] *maradalumetey-âge*, line 7, requires explanation.

era, which commenced from the birth of the Prophet in A.D. 571, and which, at that particular point, was 14 years in advance of the lunar era of the **Hijra**.[1] One year later he invented a series of **new names for his gold and silver coins.** These names are well-known; but so far as I can ascertain, they have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Most of the explanations which are given below were suggested to me by a Muhammadan gentleman, **Mr. Habîbu'd-dîn**, of the Haidarâbâd Civil Service, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make on a short holiday-trip to Maisûr and Srîrangapattanam.

The names of Tîpû's series of **copper coins**, which, with one exception, appear first on part of the issue of his eleventh year, the Maulûdî year 1221 or A.D. 1792-93, present no difficulty. They are nothing but the Persian or Arabic designations of certain stars.

Tîpû's gold *muhr* (vulgo, *môhar*) is called احمدي **Ahmadî**, his half gold *muhr* صديقي **Siddîqî**, and his pagoda فاروقي **Fârûqî**. His silver coins are: — The double rupee or حيدري **Haidarî**, the rupee or امامي **Imâmî**, the half rupee or عابدي **'Âbidî**, the quarter rupee or باقري **Bâqirî**, the two-anna piece or جعفري **Ja'farî**, the one-anna piece or كاظمي **Kâzimî**, and the half-anna piece or خضري **Khizrî.**

Among the silver coins, the rupee or Imâmî is undoubtedly called after **the twelve Imâms**. This fact gives us a clue to the derivation of the names of the remaining silver coins. Each of them, except the smallest, refers to the name of a single Imâm. The largest coin, the double rupee or Haidarî, is derived from حيدر **Haidar**, a surname of the first Imâm علي 'Alî. The fractions of the rupee are successively named after the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Imâms, *viz.*, the 'Âbidî after زين العابدين **Zainu'l-'âbidîn** or عابد بيمار **'Âbid Bîmâr**; the Bâqirî after محمد باقر **Muhammad Bâqir**; the Ja'farî after جعفر صادق **Ja'far Sâdiq**; and the Kâzimî after موسى كاظم **Mûsâ Kâzim.** The name of the half-anna piece or Khizrî[2] is derived from خواجه خضر **Khwâja Khizr**, a prophet who is said to have drunk of the fountain of life and is considered as the saint of the waters.

The names of Tîpû's gold coins likewise refer to Muhammadan saints. The gold *muhr* or Ahmadî is derived from احمد **Ahmad**, one of the designations of the Prophet himself; the Siddîqî from ابوبكر صديق **Abû Bakr Siddîq**, the first Khalîfa; and the Fârûqî from عمر فاروق **'Umar Fârûq**, the second Khalîfa.

The largest of Tîpû's copper coins is the double *paisâ*.[3] It bears two names, عثماني **'Usmânî** and مشتري **Mushtarî**. The first of these names is met with on coins of the Maulûdî years 1218 and 1219. It is derived from عثمان بن عفان **'Usmân ibn 'Affân**, the third Khalîfa, and is thus connected with the above-mentioned series of the names of gold coins. But when, in the Maulûdî year 1221, Tîpû had started a series of names for his smaller copper coins, which consisted of the names of different stars, the designation 'Usmânî did not agree with the rest. Accordingly, the double *paisâs* of the Maulûdî year 1222 and of the following years bear a new denomination, *viz.*, **Mushtarî**, the Arabic name of the planet Jupiter. The name of the *paisâ* is زهره or زهرا[4], and that of the half *paisâ* بهرام. **Zuhra** and **Bahrâm** are the Persian designations of the planets Venus and Mars respectively. The quarter *paisâ* is the اختر **Akhtar**, which means "a star" in Persian.

Marsden[5] notices "a minute coin intended for a half Akhtar, or eighth part of a *paisâ*, on one side of which is the elephant, with the letter ت, and on the other, the denomination of the money, being a word that may be read قطيب *Qatîb*, but is by no means distinct." **My**

[1] Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*, Part II. p. 700 f.

[2] A copy of this rare coin is in the Bangalore Museum. It is mentioned in Dr. Buchanan's *Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 128, note.

[3] Moor's *Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment*, p. 475.

[4] The Persian spelling زهره is found on the coins struck at Pattan (Seringapatam), the Hindûstânî spelling زهرا on those struck at Nagar.

[5] *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*, Part II. p. 725.

collection contains two different varieties of this coin.[6] Both have on the obverse an elephant facing the right, and on the reverse the legend ضرب پٹن, "struck at-Paṭṭan," and over it the designation which is clearly not قطيب, but قطب **Quṭb**, the Arabic name of the Pole-star, which fits the whole system followed by Ṭîpû in naming his other copper coins. The first of the two coins has the letter ا over the elephant on the obverse, and the date 1224 over the legend on the reverse; the second coin bears the letter ب and the date 1225 in the corresponding places. As on Ṭîpû's larger copper coins the letters ا, ب, ت and ث are combined with the dates 1224, 1225, 1226 and 1227 respectively,[7] Marsden's coin, which had the letter ت, must have been struck in the Maulûdî year 1226 or A.D. 1797-98.

When introducing his new era, Ṭîpû made another innovation by **reversing the order of the Arabic numerals on the dates of his coins.** On the coins of the Maulûdî year 1215, we find both the old order ١٢١٥ and the new one ٥١٢١. In 1216 the only exceptions from the new rule are the *paisá*, half *paisâ* and quarter *paisá* struck at Beṅgaḷûr. From the year 1217 to the year of Ṭîpû's death, the Maulûdî year 1227 or A.D. 1798-99, the dates on all the coins run from right to left.[8] There are a few specimens, on which the engraver of the die did not only reverse the order of the numbers, but turned the numbers themselves. Thus a quarter *paisá* struck at Faiẓ-ḥiṣâr (Gutti)[9] and one struck at Khâliqâbâd (Chandagâl) bear the date ٥٦٦١, which is meant for ١٢٢٥; and two quarter *paisâs* struck at Faiẓ-ḥiṣâr have the dates ٣٦٦١ and ɰ٦٦١. These are both meant for ١٢٢٣; in each case the two middle figures are reversed, and in the second the unit has undergone the same process.

THE FATE OF ST. MARK ACCORDING TO AN ARAB HISTORIAN OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, Bo.S.C.

The following is a translation from Chap. xxviii. of **Al Mas'ûdî's historical encyclopædia,** entitled "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems";[1] a remarkable work, in which he describes the state of the nations and countries of the East and West as they were in his age, that is to say, in A. H. 330 (A. D. 941). The chapter in which occurs the passage here selected is devoted to **the history of Rûm.**

"**The disciples of Jesus of Nazareth** dispersed themselves over all the surface of the earth. **Mârî** betook himself to the neighbouring part of 'Irâḳ, and died in the town of Dair Kunnâ[2] and As-Ṣâfîa, on the bank of the Tigris, between Baghdâd and Wâsiṭ, which is the country of 'Alî bin Dâ'ûd bin Al Jarraḥ, of Muḥammad bin Dâ'ûd bin Al Jarraḥ, and other learned men. The tomb of Mârî is there, in a church, where it remains up to the present year 332 (A. D. 943); the Christians hold it in great veneration.[3] **Thomas,** who was one of the twelve disciples, went to India, where he called the people to the law of the Messiah, and where he died. **Another disciple** penetrated to the most remote parts of Khurâsân, and died there.

---

[6] In his valuable *Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Madras Museum*, Mr. Thurston figures a $\frac{1}{8}$-*paisâ* struck at Beṅgaḷûr in 1218 and one struck at Salâmâbâd (Satyamaṅgalam) in the same year. I possess three other $\frac{1}{4}$ *paisâs*, of which one was struck at Paṭṭan in 1218 and the second at Beṅgaḷûr in 1219. The third bears the date 1222, and on the reverse the two words قطب ضرب; the name of the mint-town seems to be omitted by the engraver.

[7] The only exception is a quarter *paisâ* struck at Faiẓ-ḥiṣâr, which bears the letter ب but the date 1224.

[8] A solitary instance of a relapse is a half *paisâ* struck at Paṭṭan with the date ١٢٢٠ (1220). The engraver of a *paisâ* struck at Faiẓ-ḥiṣâr in the same year has not completely succeeded in reversing the figures from ١٢٢٠ to ٠٢٢١, but has written them as ٢٠٢١.

[9] Instead of اختر, this coin bears the denomination بہرام, which the engraver seems to have copied by mistake from a half *paisâ*.

[1] كتاب مروج الذهب و معادن الجوهر

[2] دير قنّيّ والصافية

[3] No such person as Mârî is mentioned in the Bible; but I think we may take this passage as sufficient authority for determining that *Mârî* was the name of one of the "other seventy" (or seventy-two) mentioned in Luke X. 1. According to Johnson (*Arabic-Eng. Dictionary*) "Mâr Y'akûb" was the name of a heretical teacher of Christianity.

The site of his tomb is known and venerated by the Christians ; but others say that he died in the country of Daḳûḳa, K͟hânîjâr and Kark͟h Ḥudân, on the confines of 'Irâḳ. The place of his sepulture is known.

" **Mark** died at Alexandria, in Egypt, where is his tomb. He is one of the four disciples who have composed the Gospel. Strange particulars are related of that which passed between him and the Egyptians at the moment when he was put to death. We have already stated on what occasion that took place, in our Middle History,[4] to which work the present is a sequel. There we have related in detail how Mark, when on the point of starting for the land of the West,[5] charged them, saying :—' Whosoever shall present himself to you in my likeness, kill him ; for you will see, coming after me, men who will resemble me ; but hasten to put them to death, and do not accept their teaching.' Then he left them. After having been absent a long time, being unable to reach the place where he wished to go, he returned to the Egyptians. When he saw that they were about to kill him, he said to them :—' Woe unto you ! I am Mark.'—' No,' replied they ; ' verily our father, Mark, told us to kill whoever should come to us in his likeness.'—' But it is I myself who am Mark.'—' We cannot let you go, and it is absolutely necessary that we put you to death.' So they killed him.

" Formerly they had demanded of him some proofs in support of his statements, and had begged of him to work some miracles. Some among them had said to him :—' If that which you affirm to us is true, ascend to heaven before our eyes.' Then they stripped him of his pontifical robe (زربانقتہ),[6] and clothed him in a dress of camel's hair, so that he might ascend to heaven. But many of his disciples attached themselves to him, saying :—' If thou departest, what will remain to us after thee, for thou art our father ?' Then happened to him that which we have related above.

" **The disciples of the Messiah** are seventy-two in number, besides whom twelve more have to be counted. Those who have transmitted the Gospel are :—Luke, Mark, John, and Matthew. Luke and Matthew are ranked among the seventy-two ; the latter is also classed among the twelve, but I know not the reason of it.[7] The two who make part of the twelve are :—John, son of Zebedee, and Mark, patriarch of Alexandria. The third, who arrived at Antioch, where he had been preceded by Peter and Thomas, is Paul. He is the person alluded to in the *Ḳur'ân* under the title of the ' third,' when God says :—' Wherefore we strengthened *them* with a third.'[8]

" Of all **the Christian Monks**, those of Egypt are the only ones who eat meat ; because Mark permitted them to do so."

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 30.

In the stone inscription of the Mahâsâmanta Bappuvarasa, on a pillar inside a temple at **Mahâkûṭa,** Mâkûṭa, or Makuṭa, near Bâdâmi, in the **Kalâdgi District,** Bombay Presidency, published by me, with a lithograph, in this journal, Vol. X. p. 104 f., No. 96, the date (line 6 ff) is —Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatamgaḷ entu-nûṛa ayivatta âṛaneya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Kârttika-śuddha-pañchamiyuṁ Budhavârad-anduṁ, —" the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of (the

[4] The work here referred to is probably Mas'ûdî's "*History of Time,*" (في اخبار الزمان), mentioned in the opening of the first chapter.

[5] ارض المغرب

[6] The word زربانقتہ of the text has no apparent meaning; it is probably a misprint either for the Persian زر بافتہ '*gold-embroidered,*' or the Arabic زيّ نقابتہ '*a robe of office.*'

[7] There has always been a tradition that St. Luke was one of the seventy ; and this is mentioned as early as the 3rd and 4th centuries by Origen and Epiphanius : so Mas'ûdî may be right in his case, but from what he says regarding Matthew (متا) it seems likely that he confounded him with Matthias. Eusebius, as well as Epiphanius, says that the latter was one of the seventy ; and we know that he became one of the twelve after the Ascension. The "Gospel of Matthias" is one of the thirty-four Gospels rejected by the Christian Church as being uncanonical.

[8] *Vide Kur'ân*, Sale, Chap. xxxvi. page 361-62, notes. It is necessary to read this in order to understand the allusion.

month) Kârttika of the Jaya saṁvatsara, which is the eight hundred and fifty-sixth (*year in*) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, and on Wednesday." And the inscription records that on this day Bappuvarasa came to the place, and made a grant of (an image of) Nandikêśvara, *i. e.* Nandi, and of some rice-land.[1]

Here the mention of the Jaya saṁvatsara would permit us to take the given year either as current or as expired. For, by the mean-sign system, with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, Jaya commenced on the 10th December, A.D. 932, and ended on the 6th December, A.D. 933. And in this period Kârttika śukla 5, of Śaka-Saṁvat 856 current, ended on the 26th October, A.D. 933, at about 18 *ghaṭis*, 26 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bâdâmi.[2] This day, however, was a Saturday. And the details of the date cannot be explained in this way.

On the other hand, by the southern luni-solar system the Jaya saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 857 current, *i. e.* with the given year 856 as an expired year. And in this year, with Prof. K. L. Chattre's Tables, Kârttika śukla 5 began at about 5 *gh.* 15 *p.* and ended at about 59 *gh.* 55 *p.* on Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 934. With these results, it would be an expunged *tithi*. But the ending-time is so very close to the following sunrise, that most probably a calculation by any of the Siddhântas would make it end after sunrise on the Thursday; as is the case with Prof. Jacobi's Tables, according to which it began at about 2 h. 33 m., = 6 *gh.* 22·5 *p.*, on the Wednesday, and ended at about 34 m., = 1 *gh.* 25 *p.*, on the Thursday. And I think it may safely be taken for granted that the *tithi* did end on the Thursday, according to the almanac consulted by the person who drafted the record. Consequently, the date of Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 933, can be accepted only if the *tithi* was used as a current tithi.

Now, as regards the application of the given tithi, the *Nirṇayasindhu*, pari. i., p. 7 b, line 13 f., gives the general rule that the fifth *tithi* is to be used or celebrated when it is joined by the sixth *tithi*, *i. e.* on the day on which it ends. Whereas the *Dharmasindhusâra*, pari. i., p. 5 a, line 5 f., states that the fourth and fifth *tithis* form a couple; as a consequence of which the fifth *tithi* may be used when it is joined by the fourth, *i.e.* on the day on which it begins. But, in the more detailed rules, the *Dharmasindhusâra*, i., p. 8 a, line 11 ff., states explicitly that, except in the case of the *Skandôpavâsa* and the *Nâgavrata*, "in any ceremony whatsoever the fifth *tithi*, both in the bright and in the dark fortnight, is to be taken when it is cleft by the fourth *tithi*;" and the *Nirṇayasindhu*, i., p. 13 b, line 12 ff., though seeming on the whole to maintain the correctness of its own rule, quotes several precepts to the same effect. Also, Prof. Kielhorn has given me the following quotation from the *Kâlamâdhava*, — Skandôpavâsê pañchamî para-viddhâ, anyatra pûrva-viddh=êti sthitam, — "it is established that at the *Skandôpavâsa* the fifth *tithi* (*is to be used*) when it is cleft by the following; on other occasions, when it is cleft by the preceding." In the present instance the details of the date distinctly refer, not to the writing of the record, but to the occasion on which the ceremony of making the grant was performed. Consequently, it appears that the *tithi* would be properly connected with the Wednesday, on which day it began; and that the correct English date is Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 933, as found above.

In addition to this illustration of the use of a current tithi, this date is of interest in giving an instance of the use of the southern luni-solar system of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, for a time not very long after the period that I have indicated for its introduction (see *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 142, 143.)

J. F. FLEET.

[1] I think that in line 10 f., instead of *nandikêsaramu(mû)-nellu-geyuvaṁ*, "three rice-fields at (the village of) Nandikêśvara," as published, we should read *nandikêsaraṁmu[ṁ] nellu-geyuvaṁ*.

[2] The times here are for Bâdâmi, all through.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

VENKATACHALAPATI; A MADRAS LEGEND.

Every now and then, throughout Madras, a man dressed up as a buffoon is to be seen leading about a bull as fantastically got up as himself with cowries and rags of many colours from door to door, for the purpose of procuring religious alms. The operation is accompanied by such music as the man can command.

The bull is called in Tamil *Perumâl erudu* and in Telegu *Gaṅga eddu*, the former meaning Vishṇu's bull and the latter Gaṅgâ's bull. The origin of the first is given in a legend, but that of the last is not clear.

The conductors of these bulls are neatherds of high caste called Pûidaiyan, *i.e.* Flower Neatherds, and come from villages in the North and South Arcot (Arkât) districts. They are a simple and ignorant set, who firmly believe that their occupation arises out of a command from the great god Veṅkaṭâchalapati — the Lord of the Veṅkaṭâ-

chala Hills near Tiruppadi in the North Arcot District.

Their legend is as follows: — Among the habitual gifts to the Veṅkaṭâchala temple at Tiruppadi were all the freaks of nature of the neighbourhood as exhibited in cattle such as two-tailed cows, five-legged bulls, four-horned calves, and so on. The Pûidaiyans, whose original duty was to string flowers for the temple, were set to graze these abortions. Now to graze cows is an honour, but to tend such creatures as these the Pûidaiyans regarded as a sin. So they prayed to Veṅkatâchalapati to show them how they could purge it away. On this the god gave them a bull called after himself the Perumâl bull, and said — "My sons, if you take as much care of this bull as you would of your own children and lead it from house to house, begging its food, your sin will be washed away." Ever since then they have been purging themselves of their original sin!

The process is this. The bull-leader takes it from house to house and puts it questions, and the animal shakes its head in reply! He then abuses it and it butts at him in anger! This is proof positive that it can reason!

The fact is the animal is bought when young for a small sum and brought up to its profession. Long practice has made its purchasers experts in selecting the animals that will suit them. After purchase the training commences, which consists in pinching its ears whenever it is given bran, and it soon learns to shake its head at the sight of bran. I need hardly say that a handful of bran is ready in its conductor's hands when the questions are put to it. It is also taught to butt at any person that speaks angrily to it.

As regards the offerings made to these people, one-sixth goes to feeding the bulls and the remaining five-sixths to the conductors. They look upon it as a "good work," but the village boys and girls think it the greatest fun in the world to watch its performances, and the advent of a Vishṇu's bull is hailed by the youngsters with the greatest delight.

The demeanour of the bulls has led to a well known South Indian proverb: — "As mild as Vishṇu's (or Gaṅga's) bull." In Tamil it is *avan Perumâl mâdu appa:* in Telugu *vâdu Gaṅgi eddu vale sâdhu.*

Madras. S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

KALI NAG; A KASMIR LEGEND.

Just outside (on the river side of) the Shâl Hamadân mosque in the heart of Srînagar city, is a little stream constantly running, The stream is sacred to **Kâli** and is called **Kâli Nâg.** A Brâhmaṇ is generally to be seen sitting near to offer the prayers and receive the presents of worshippers. The water emerges from the ground inside the mosque. On this account several Hindû rulers have tried to get the place and offered large sums of money for it, but without avail. Colonel (?) Miyâṇ Singh determined to raze the mosque to the ground, but being afraid of a rebellion on the part of the Musalmâns, he changed his mind.

It is said that nobody can look upon the spring itself without losing his sight. Some curious folk essayed to do so, and came away blind. Afterwards, in order that others might not come into the like misfortune, a great stone was placed over the *nâg,* which remains there to this day The spring is said to have appeared here when Râvaṇa's house was destroyed by Râma, and is therefore supposed to have come from Ceylon.

J. HINTON KNOWLES.

Srînagar.

BOOK NOTICES.

ALBERUNI'S INDIA. An account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India, about A.D. 1030. Edited in the Arabic Original by Dr. EDOUARD SACHAU. Published by the Secretary of State for India. London: Trübner and Co. 1887. 4to; pp. xli., 365.

Upwards of three years ago, *ante,* Vol. XV. p. 31f, we had the pleasure of publishing a preliminary notice by Dr. Bühler of this mighty work, and we have now to notice its actual production.

We have at last before us the **Arabic text** of the great original. But the book as it stands is consequently available only to Arabic scholars. For this reason the publishers have extensively advertised it in vernacular papers in India, but whether this will repay them is doubtful; as Natives of India usually either can not or will not buy expensive works, such as this necessarily is. If we may be allowed to express an opinion on such a matter as this, we should say that the outlay would be more likely to be profitable if made in freely advertising it in English papers and journals, and in sending copies of it liberally for notice in the same.

As all the world knows, the peculiar value of Albêrûnî's work is that it is practically almost the only authority we possess for Indian history and mode of thought at a period which is otherwise as a sealed book to us. To have, therefore, made available a text, which is as accurate as we can reasonably expect, is a matter of no small

importance, and the thanks that we owe to Dr. Sachau should be proportionately great.

Albêrûnî flourished in the time of Maḥmûd of Ghaznî, when the Brâhmanical civilization, which had superseded the Buddhistic, was in its turn about to be overshadowed, first by that of the Musalmân and eventually by that of the Christian. And it is, indeed, fortunate for the world, that, at the very commencement of the epoch of destruction inaugurated by Maḥmûd, there should have been living and writing a scholar gifted with sufficient breadth of view to enable him to study sympathetically the system that was passing away; sufficiently endowed with the critical faculty to appreciate modes of thought so opposed to those with which he had been himself imbued from his birth; and possessed of sufficient energy and skill to record what he had learnt for the benefit of his contemporaries and successors. He wrote in A.D. 1030, and among his predecessors in the description of India were the Greek diplomatist Megasthenês about B. C. 295, and the Chinese monks in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries A.D. But Albêrûnî is incomparably, as far as we are concerned, the most important writer of them all. Of Megasthenês we have but fragments, and the Buddhist monks from China are as babes compared with the highly cultivated and well-informed scholar whose work we are now considering.

There are three MSS. of the great book in Europe:—(1) in the library of M. Schefer, Membre de l'Institut: (2) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: (3) in the library of the Mehemet Köprülü Medrese at Constantinople. The last two are copies of the first, which purports to be a copy of the author's autograph, "with which it has been collated as carefully as possible" by some unknown hand long ago. With the exception of some *lacunæ* and blunders, probably resulting from partial illegibility or from worm-holes in the autograph, and of the misplacement of the leaves at the end, Dr. Sachau considers M. Schefer's MS. to be "of very rare merit, one of the most accurate I have ever known." This is the MS. Dr. Sachau has followed, and on which, with the advantage of emendation where necessary by the light of modern Arabic and Sanskṛit learning, his text is based. The nature of Albêrûnî's work has prevented its being copied and treasured up in the libraries of the East, and so far it has not been found there. This fact, however, while it renders us all the more grateful to the European scholars who have saved Albêrûnî from the fate which has overtaken Megasthenês, does not, Dr. Sachau thinks, lead us to suppose that, should more MSS. be found hereafter, the text, as he has given it, will have to be materially altered.

Dr. Sachau enters at some length into the probable date of the book, and arrives at the conclusion that it was written between 30th April and 30th September A.D. 1030, meaning by "writing" the final composition of a work, the various parts of which had long previously been completed. It appears to have been composed at Ghaznî during the troubled period which succeeded the death of Maḥmûd, and Albêrûnî probably got most of his information from Hindu residents of that place, who were then, no doubt, very numerous. His actual travels in India do not seem to have extended beyond the Pañjâb; the districts about Pêshâwar, Jhêlam, Siâlkôṭ, Lâhôr, and Multân, being familiar to him.

But it is not so much from his record of what he saw, as from his record of what he read, that Albêrûnî has become of world-wide fame. His learning in Sanskṛit literature was for his time wonderful, because it was against his religious teaching to study systems foreign to Islâm, and in the few cases where this prejudice has been overcome no other instance exists of a Muhammadan trying to procure his foreign learning at first hand. As a translator, he rendered from Sanskṛit into Arabic, Kapila's *Sâṁkhya*, the book of Patañjali, the *Pauliśa-Siddhânta*, the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, and the *Laghu-Jâtaka*; while from Arabic into Sanskṛit he rendered Euclid's *Elements*, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and a book of his own on the construction of the Astrolabe.

This list of works raises the questions as to how much he acquired of Sanskṛit, and as to how far he was a real translator, or merely the mouthpiece or supervisor of those who explained or translated for him. Dr. Sachau gives reasons at some length for considering that he really knew enough of Sanskṛit to enable him to go alone in the language to a small extent without blundering, but that he read his Indian books with the aid of Paṇḍits and made his translations into Arabic from their dictation; while his translations from Arabic into Sanskṛit meant that he explained to Paṇḍits, who converted his explanations into *ślôkas* of approved form. All this involves the assumption that Albêrûnî and his Paṇḍits spoke or understood well some common vernacular, and there seems to be abundant internal evidence in the *Indica* that Albêrûnî was well acquainted with the vernacular of the period, whatever it was, then current in the extreme north-west of India.

In explaining the extent of Albêrûnî's Sanskṛit scholarship, Dr. Sachau has to tread along

the dangerous and delicate path of testing it by his transliteration of Sanskṛit words. And in doing so he shows where Sanskṛit compounds have been wrongly divided and so mistranslated, *e.g.* साम्बनिपोज्जिहान into سالي and بوجهان; and where parts of compounds have been misunderstood, *e g.*, समासान्वितिचर्षय:, in which Albêrûnî thought that चर्षय: was the name of the 7th Rishi, جرشي as he calls him. In this connection Dr. Sachau prints in this volume an "index of words of Indian origin" in 42 pp. double column,[1] and he promises a comparison of Albêrûni's Indian names with those in his Sanskṛit sources. It need hardly be said that this comparison will be looked for with much interest.

Like all scholars from his time downwards Albêrûnî was oppressed with the difficulty of transliterating Indian words into his own character, and like all scholars of all countries he adopted a system of special diacritical marks combined with a deferential acquiescence in existing custom in the case of well-known words. So his بيد (वेद) and his بهارث. (भारत) have formed a puzzle on their own account, as no doubt will our English "cooly" (قلي) and "boy" (भुई) in the dim future. Dr. Sachau has treated this part of his subject with conspicuous skill, and he well explains the difficulty of getting at Albêrûni's meaning in his transliterations. Thus, he evidently endeavoured to write in Arabic the sounds of the Indian words as he heard them, and since he took them down sometimes orally and sometimes from books, he at one time would transliterate from bad and variant pronunciations and at others from the written words. We then get two or more forms of the same word; *e g.* متس and مچ for मत्स्य Then again, while purporting to transliterate he would be really rendering some vernacular form; *e. g.* بهادربت for भाद्रपद. Sometimes he mixed up the vernacular with Sanskṛit; *e.g.* when he says شدبد = 60 years. Like many another scholar, too, Albêrûni, after devising a system of diacritical marks, based in his case on those in Persian, did not stick to them; *e.g.* while adopting پ for *p* he would write پ for *b* and ب for *p*, and so on The diacritical markings in the MS. of M. Schefer are also rendered all the more uncertain from the fact that at the time it was written the modern system of marking Arabic was hardly yet in vogue The old and the then new system of marking were both at times followed by the scribe in some cases, as in س and ش, resulting in much ambiguity. Lastly, Albêrûnî, in quoting or adapting from old works as from Al-Erânshahrî on Buddhism, follows the old corrupt spelling, whereby we get جهرم for धर्म! However, it is gratifying to find that Dr Sachau can nevertheless confidently assert that "the consonantal skeletons of the words are very trustworthy and offer a sufficient basis for their reconstruction."

The value of Albêrûni's work to the student of things Indian, can be seen by a mere reference to its contents. He opens with an account of Hindu religion and philosophy, including a disquisition on caste. He then proceeds to describe the literature of the Hindus, their science, metrology, and mathematics. The chapter on "Hindu sciences which prey upon the ignorance of the people" should attract attention. Then we have a description of Hindu geography and cosmogony; and much astronomy and computation of time, — the most valuable part of the work, — which will be much appreciated by students of this Journal. And finally Hindu manners, customs, customary law, and astrology have a fair share of attention. There are chapters here in which the folklorist and anthropologist should alike revel.

THE MSS. IN THE LIBRARY AT COLOMBO. Ceylon Administration Reports, 1887. Pt. IV., Miscellaneous, Colombo Museum, by Mr. F. H. M. CORBET, Librarian.

It is a comfort to find from the date of this *Report* that other people besides Indian officials are apt to be behind time in recording the practical work performed by them. However, there is much to interest us in the short report on Siṁhalese MSS. now before us, as the collection of these in the Colombo Museum Library, — an institution which does not otherwise seem to be of any note, — is no doubt in a fair way of becoming very valuable.

The old manuscripts, consisting of original texts of the Buddhist Canon, commentaries, histories, philological, poetical, scientific and medical works, are worth serious attention.

The Canonical Books, however, are themselves incomplete, but the commentaries are in a much better condition. Of histories there are fifty, and of philology and poetry there are 76. In science and medicine there is only a beginning of what no doubt will become a valuable collection later on

It is satisfactory to note that the arrangement of the MSS is systematic and practical

[1] It is a pity that this Index loses much if not all of its value for Sanskrit students, to whom chiefly it is of interest, through being arranged according to the order of the Arabic alphabet. All such Indexes ought to follow the order of the Roman alphabet. It is only Dictionaries that require to be arranged according to the alphabet of the language to which they belong.

THE COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.

BY CAPTAIN R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., M.R.A.S.

I. — GENERAL REMARKS.

THE coins which form the subject of this monograph, were collected mostly by myself in the Pañjâb about eight years ago, with the kindly personal assistance of the Chiefs of the Pañjâb Native States, one of whom has since died. These coins I had the pleasure of presenting to the British Museum. The remainder are taken from former presentations to the Museum, and I am indebted to the courtesy of the Keeper of the Coins for being enabled to represent them in the plates attached hereto. I am also specially indebted to Mr. Grueber, of the Numismatic Department, for the trouble he has taken in having both the coins I collected and those previously presented to the Museum properly reproduced for me. In the detailed description attached to this paper the coins given by myself to the British Museum and those of other donors are carefully distinguished. There is, as far as I am aware, no other collection of these coins in existence.

Properly speaking, the Coins of the Modern Native Chiefs of the Pañjâb should include those of the Mahârâjâs of Lâhôr and of the Mahârâjas of Jammûṅ and Kaśmîr. But the Sikh coinage is a study in itself, and so is the ancient coinage of Kaśmîr. This paper is therefore confined to the productions of the mints of the Chiefs of the Pañjâb, that have now, or have had in recent times, the right to issue coins of their own. These are the Mahârâjâs of Paṭiâlâ, the Râjâs of Nâbhâ and Jînd, the Sardârs of Kaiṭhal, and the Nawâbs of Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr (more commonly called Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ). Of these the Mahârâjâs of Pâtiâlâ, the Râjâs of Nâbhâ and Jînd and the Sardârs of Kaiṭhal,[1] belonged to one great family of Chiefs known in the Pañjâb as the Phûlkîâṅ.

To the student of numismatics the coins of these chiefs have a special interest, as affording valuable examples of the principles governing the evolution of the coinage of partially civilized peoples. The theory of the evolution of coins, first made known by Mr. Evans[2] in his well-known work, has been applied with great acuteness and ability by Mr. Keary in his *Morphology of Coins* (1886) to Oriental coins. It is in support or criticism of its application to the coins of semi-barbarous peoples that the following pages will be found to be chiefly valuable.

Mr. Keary makes two remarks in his little book which the reader will do well to bear in mind throughout his perusal of this article. At page 9 he says : — "There is a peculiar sort of morphology (of coins) shown when a barbarous or semi-barbarous people, incapable of inaugurating or much modifying a coinage of its own, takes as a model the money of some other State and makes either imitations or reproductions of it in a descending order of degradation. Examples of this class take generally one of two forms : *a.* — If the nation is not very barbarous, it sometimes invents for itself a new type founded on the parent type, and adheres to that for a long succession of years. Such people are not artistic enough or original enough to produce variations of importance on this fixed type. *b.* — A much more barbarous people, who are incapable of either inventing any type for themselves or of copying correctly that which is before them, produce a series of successive degradations which are very curious and interesting to trace." At page 13 he further remarks : — "The local issues of different (Greek) cities may be regarded as a kind of token money, not acceptable except by weight outside a narrow area." How far the semi-barbarous coinage of the modern Native Chiefs of the Pañjâb bears out these observations the reader will be able to judge for himself.

In the year A.H. 1164, or A.D. 1751, being the fourth year of his reign, the famous Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî (or Abdâlî) made a raid into the Pañjâb and overran the greater part of it; and it is a common historical statement[3] in the Pañjâb, that in that year he granted to the

---

[1] As distant connections only. [2] *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864. [3] But see below, p. 326.

chiefs of Paṭiâlâ, Nâbhâ, Jînd, and Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr the right to coin within their respective States. The now extinct State of the Sardârs of Kaiṭhal also seems to have acquired the right to use the same coinage within its territories, but how or when I have been unable to ascertain. Besides these the Sikh State of **Kapurthalâ** and the extraordinary adventurer, **George Thomas, Râjâ of Hâṅsî,** are said to have each had an independent coinage, of which more anon.

Now the coins of Aḥmad Shâh bear a distinctive legend, as is well known. It runs thus :—

obverse حکم شد از قادر بیچون باحمد بادشاه
سکه زن برسیم و زر از اوج ماهي تا بماه

reverse سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب

The words and figures following the words جلوس and ضرب naturally vary with the year and place. In plate I., figure *a*, I, give a fine specimen of the full legend, bearing the date ۱۱۷۳, *i.e.*, A.H. 1173, (A.D. 1761), and the year of the reign 14, and showing the mint as دارالخلافه شاه جهان آباد that is, Dehlî.[4]

In the fourth year of his reign Aḥmad Shâh coined at Sarhand, better known as Sirhind, now a town in the Paṭiâlâ State. The exact form of his coin I do not know, but, for reasons given further on, it can be guessed from the impressions of the die given below, which is that now in use at Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr, and which I am able to introduce here through the kindness of the Khâṅ Sâḥib, 'Inâyat 'Alî Khâṅ, brother of the Nawâb of Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr.



Now the point for the present argument is this : — **from that day, nearly 140 years ago, to this, the coins of all these States — Paṭiâlâ, Nâbhâ, Jînd, Kaiṭhal and Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr,** with the exception of *some* of the issues of the Nâbhâ mint, **have never changed either the legend, the date, or the mint.** The dies have been cut and re-cut over and over again, but no material change has ever taken place beyond adding, in some cases only, the mark or sign of the particular chief issuing the coin. To all outward appearance they are all — even those of a year ago — the coins of Aḥmad Shâh minted in the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 1751)! Nâbhâ alone has had the originality to vary the type to a limited extent, using for that purpose, of later years, the ordinary legend of the Sikh coins of the late Mahârâjâs of Lâhôr. The issues of the Sardârs of Kaiṭhal show a falling off in the artistic capacity of the moneyers of this distinctly " Minor State" in comparison with the others above noticed, that will be found to be specially valuable and interesting in the present connection.

The History of the modern Native States of the Pañjâb, being of so recent a character, is to a certain extent well known[5] and is therefore of much value as evidence for

[4] This is a large thin gold coin which belongs to the British Museum, to the authorities of which I am indebted for the reproduction. It may not be a real coin at all, but one of those medals that used to be struck in India to be thrown amongst the populace on special occasions, or it may have been struck in commemoration of the capture of Dehlî in that year, for 1173 A.H. was the year of the notorious massacre he caused to be committed there.

[5] I say to a " certain extent" advisedly, for it is much more obscure than one would suppose possible.

or against the theories of Messrs. Evans and Keary, — for **we now have the advantage of studying a semi-barbarous coinage** of precisely the same nature as that which has flourished throughout the East any time these thousand years, **side by side with otherwise verifiable historical facts regarding the coiners.**

II. HISTORY.

The Phûlkîân family of chiefs are Siddhu Jaṭṭs and claim, as is usual in the Pañjâb, among persons of importance, a Râjpût origin: — in this case from Jaisal, the founder of Jaisalmêr in the twelfth century A.D. The descent from Jaiṣal through Siddhu, the eponymous founder of this now great clan of the Pañjâbî Jaṭṭs, is legendary in the extreme.[6] However, whatever may have been their origin, the ancestors of the Phûlkîân house must have been people of much consideration, for in A.D. 1526 the emperor Bâbar created the son of Saṅghaṛ, the head of the family, a Chaudharî[7] for services rendered in that year by his father at the battle of Pânîpaṭ, where he was killed. The headship or *chaudhariyat* thus won was confirmed by the emperor Humâyûn on Saṅghaṛ's grandson in A.D. 1554, and a hundred years later we find Saṅghaṛ's descendant Phûl, the direct founder of the Phûlkîân, succeeding his father in the *chaudhariyat* about A.D. 1618, and dying as the great **Chaudharî Phûl** in 1652.[8] Phûl left six sons — the two eldest of whom we may call the major and the rest the minor sons. From the two major sons, **Tilôkhâ** and **Râmâ,** spring the present great chiefs of the Siddhu Jaṭṭs, and from the rest the Jîûndâṅ Sardârs and what are called the Laudghariâ, or "Minor Branch," Sardârs. All are personages of high standing in the Pañjâb. **From Tilôkhâ,** who succeeded to the *chaudhariyat,* come **the Râjâs of Nâbhâ and Jînd, and from Râmâ the Mahârâjâs of Paṭiâlâ,** the Sardârs of Bhadauṛ (absorbed by Paṭiâlâ) and the Malaudh families. At the present day they rank as follows, Paṭiâla, Jînd, Nâbhâ, Bhâdauṛ, Malaudh; — but by descent their seniority is Nâbhâ, Jînd, Bhadauṛ, Paṭiâlâ, Malaudh, while their originally absolute equality is proved by the fact that the village of Bhâî Rûpâ, founded by Tilôkhâ and Râmâ jointly, is still owned in equal shares by all the above chiefs. There are seventeen great Sikh families in all sprung from Chaudharî Phûl, and of these three have become "royal" and have still the right to issue their own coinage. It is with these three, **Paṭiâlâ, Jînd and Nâbhâ,** that we have now to do.

At the present day **by far the most powerful** of these families is that of **Paṭiâlâ,** and we will take it first into consideration. **Râmâ,** the second son of Phûl as above described, carved out for himself by the sword, after the manner of the time, a small semi-independent territory, and after a turbulent career, was murdered in extreme old age in A.D. 1714. Some 15 years later (A.D. 1729) on the death of his second son, Sabhâ, his third son, **Âlhâ Siṅgh,** came into possession of Râmâ's residence and **petty principality of Hôdiânâ**; the eldest son, Dûnâ, having obtained another estate, now held by his descendant, the Sardâr 'Atar Siṅgh of Bhadauṛ From this small beginning, to which he added certain other little territories won by the sword, Âlhâ Siṅgh, in the course of a warlike career, before his death in A.D. 1765, had **founded Paṭiâlâ** Town and State, had been a prisoner of Aḥmad Shâh (in 1762), had then been petted by that monarch, receiving from the Afghân the title of Râjâ (1762), had next destroyed and annexed the great Muhammadan provincial capital of Sarhand or Sirhind,[9] and had finally been created chief of the whole of his district (*chalka*) by Aḥmad Shâh. **The right to coin given by Aḥmad Shâh to the Phûlkîân States was therefore clearly given in his time** and the coins depicted

[6] Sir Lepel Griffin, *Râjâs of the Pañjâb*, p. 9, gives 21 generations between Saṅghaṛ (*ob.* 1526) and Jaisal (*ob.* 1168), which is an apparent impossibility, and at p. 3 there is a legend to account for the birth of Siddhu in "as Râjpût's house."

[7] Chief local revenue authority: always chosen from among the local magnates.

[8] It is to be observed that in the genealogy above alluded to we again get 6 generations in 100 years between Saṅghaṛ and Phûl, when dates are admitted by the tribe to be vague, and only 8 generations in over 200 years between Chaudharî Phûl and the present Mahârâjâ of Paṭiâlâ, when dates have been accurately recorded.

[9] Sarhand سرهند is the proper spelling of this word on the coins and in MSS., not سهرند "Sahrind" as Mr. Rodgers states, *J. A. S. B.*, Part I., Vol. LIV., p. 73.

in figs. 1 and 2 are universally attributed by the local bankers (*mahâjan*, *Srâf*) to him, his mark being the *kalghî*, or aigrette plume.[10]

Âlhâ Siṅgh was succeeded by his grandson, **Amar Siṅgh,** after a struggle for the chiefship with his elder half-brother Himmat Siṅgh, the offspring of an irregular marriage, known in the Pañjâb as the *karêwâ*, and which is in fact the levirate. This chief reigned till 1781 and was in his turn petted by Aḥmad Shâh, during the latter's last irruption into India in 1767, being given the title of Râjâ-i-Râjgân Bahâdur in addition to that of Râjâ already conferred on his grandfather. Like Âlhâ Siṅgh he was a great soldier, and made Paṭiâlâ the most powerful of the Cis-Satluj states. He is represented in the coins by fig. 3; his mark being like that of Âlhâ Siṅgh, the *kalghî*.[11]

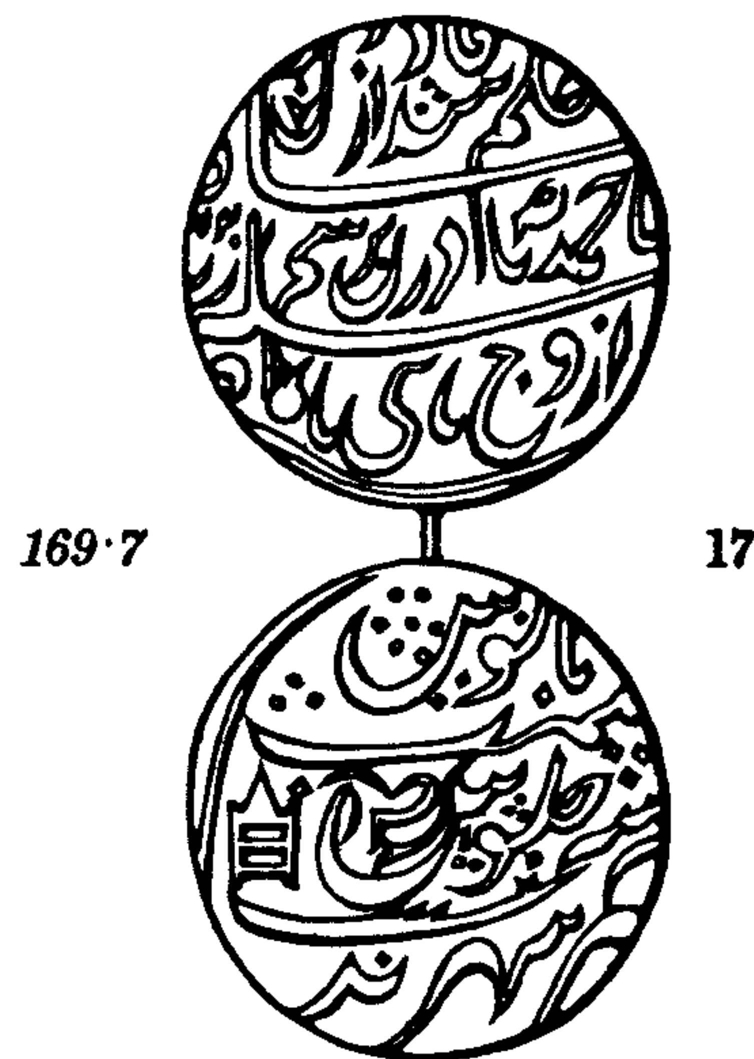
He was succeeded by **Sâḥib Siṅgh,** his son, then but six years old, who reigned till 1813. This chief, who was more or less a madman, injured his State almost as much as his predecessors had improved it, and although he secured the title of Mahârâjâ from the Dehlî Emperor, Akbar II., in 1810, he left Paṭiâla in such a condition that no one respected its authority. His days saw the rise of Rañjît Siṅgh of Lâhôr, and his court was much concerned in the diplomatic struggles between that great ruler and the British Government, in the course of which it became entirely subservient to the latter. Sâḥib Siṅgh's coinage is represented in fig. 4; his mark being the same as his predecessor's.[12]

Sâḥib Siṅgh's successor was his son **Karm Siṅgh,** who reigned on till 1845, his last act in joining the British against the Lâhôr Government on the outbreak of hostilities doing much towards wiping out the injury done to his State by his wild and imbecile predecessor. He did not, however, live to reap the reward of his loyalty, for he died on 23rd Dec. 1845, the day after the battle of Phêrûshahr (Ferozeshah). His coin is shown in figs. 5 and 6, the special mark being a *saif* or two-handed sword.[13]

The next chief was **Narindar Siṅgh,** the son of Karm Siṅgh, who died in 1862, after doing as much for his State as the ablest of his predecessors had done, and whose comparatively loyal action in the Sikh War and whole-hearted loyalty in the Mutiny enlarged its borders to their present extent. His coin is shown in fig. 7 with a spear-head as his special mark.[14]

Narindar Siṅgh was succeeded by his son, **Mahindar Siṅgh,** who did nothing remarkable during his 14 years of rule up to his death in 1876. His coin is depicted in fig. 9 with a halberd head for the distinguishing sign.[15]

Râjindar Siṅgh, the son of Mahindar Siṅgh, is the present Mahârâjâ of Paṭiâlâ, to whose kindness, through his Minister — for he was a small boy when I procured the collection — the bulk of the Paṭiâlâ coins reproduced in the plate attached to this paper are due. His peculiar sign is the well-known *kaṭâr* or dagger of India. His coin is represented in figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. No 14, a gold coin, was specially struck for me on the occasion of my visit to the Paṭiâlâ mint in 1884. In this connection I should draw attention to a curious coin represented by Mr. Rodgers as fig. 17, Plate II., of his *Coins of Aḥmad Shâh Abdâlî*, in Vol. LIV., Part I., (1885), of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* It is reproduced here for reference.



Rodgers's Coin of Râjindar Siṅgh of Paṭiâlâ.

[10] But see *post*, pp. 325, 335, 336.

[11] Griffin, *op. cit.* p. 286, seems to argue that Amar Siṅgh was the first Paṭiâlâ Râjâ to use Aḥmad Shâh's coins but I hardly think this is likely under the circumstances and it is against the testimony of the local bankers.

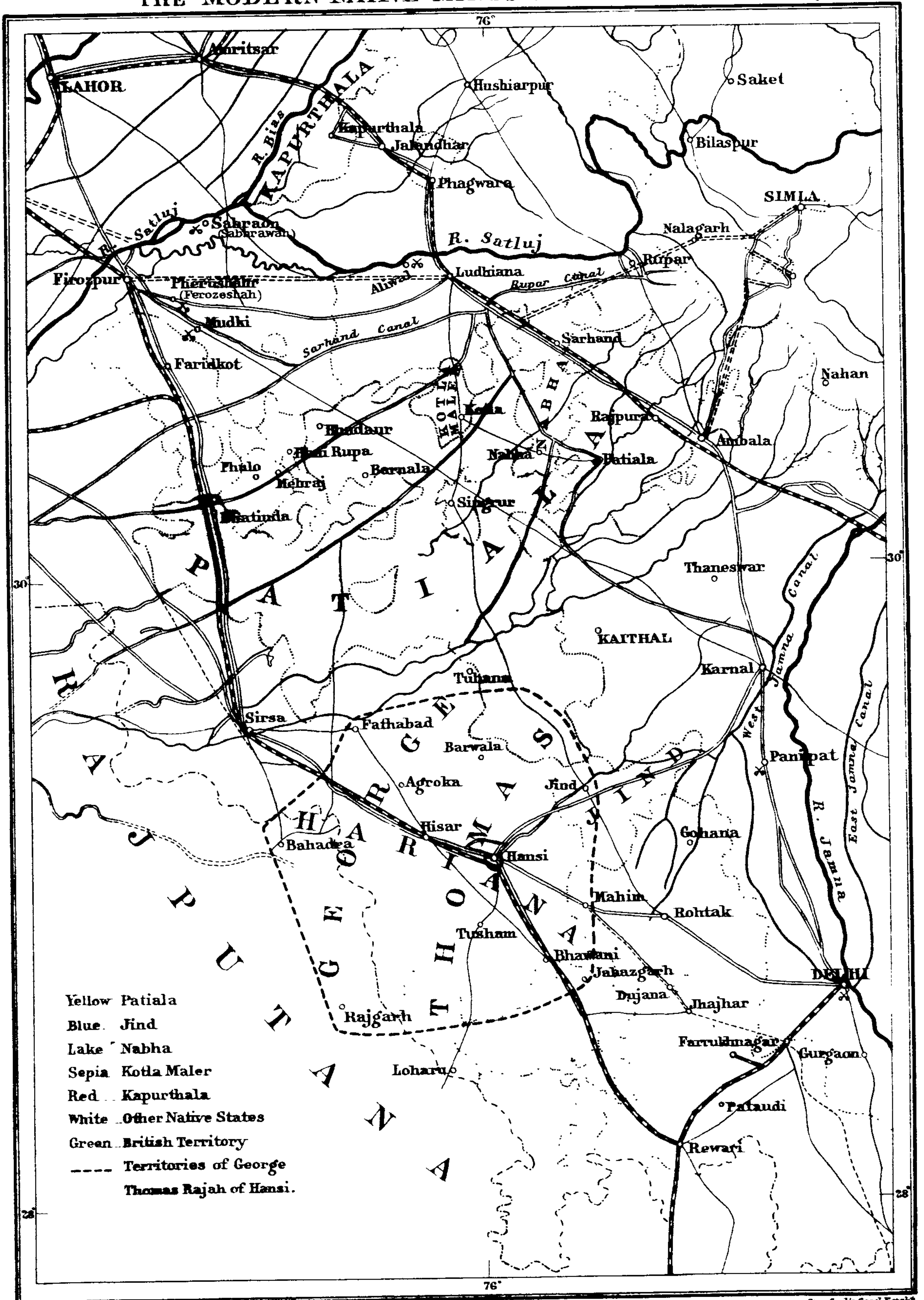
[12] But see *post*, pp. 325, 336.

[13] But see *post*, pp. 325, 336.

[14] But see *post*, pp. 335, 336.

[15] But see *post*, pp. 325, 336.

MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE MODERN NATIVE MINTS OF THE PANJAB.



R. C. Temple, del.

Stanford's Geogl. Estabt.

At p. 75, in describing it he calls it "**a modern Paṭiâlâ rupee** presented to me by the Foreign Minister of the State." It is, however, doubtful whether any such coin was ever current, as it is much larger and must be very much thinner than the regular Paṭiâlâ rupee. Most likely the Minister had a medal struck for him exhibiting the whole die or nearly all of it. Its chief value is that it gives the whole legend for all practical purposes.[16]

We have therefore before us, as regards the Paṭiâlâ State, **a specimen of the coinage of each ruler** that has had the right to coin in his own name, or rather on his own account, and so can trace the coins from generation to generation. These rulers reigned as follows:—

Râjâ Âlhâ Siṅgh A.D. 1729-1765	36 years.
Râjâ Amar Siṅgh 1765-1781	16 years.
Mahârâjâ Sâhib Siṅgh 1781-1813	32 years.
Mahârâjâ Karm Siṅgh 1813-1845	32 years.
Mahârâjâ Narindar Siṅgh 1845-1862	17 years.
Mahârâjâ Mahindar Siṅgh 1862-1876	14 years.
Mahârâjâ Râjindar Siṅgh 1876 to date	——

I think the fair inference to be drawn from these coins is that **in the 140 years** during which they have been issued **no material change has taken place** in the artistic merit of the die-cutters.

Another interesting result from the study of this set of coins is that, although all of them are modern and many of them quite recent, there is a **conflict of competent opinion as to which ruler the various types are to be assigned.** This shows how very uncertain and difficult is accurate enquiry into the historical facts connected with semi-barbarous oriental peoples.

Griffin, *op. cit.* (p. 286, footnote), quoting official documents, says that Amar Siṅgh established the Paṭiâlâ mint and was the first to coin rupees: — "in fact in another place in the Pâṭiâlâ Reports *Saṁvat* 1820 (A.D. 1763) is mentioned as the year." But Amar Siṅgh did not succeed till 1765. And though it is quite possible that in minting the first coin, an old coin (*i.e.* of the year 4) and not a current coin (*i.e.* of the year 14 or 16) of Aḥmad Shah was taken as the sample, yet the Paṭiâlâ and indeed all the Pañjâb Rupees bear the date جلوس ۴ or the year 4, *i.e.*, A.D. 1751. Either date, 1751 or 1763, falls within Âlhâ Siṅgh's reign. So I agree with the native bankers in saying that Âlhâ Siṅgh initiated the currency.

Again says Griffin: — "Mahârâjâ Amar Siṅgh's rupee is distinguished by the representation of a *kalghî* (small aigrette plume); Mahârâjâ Sâhib Siṅgh by that of a *saif* (or two-edged sword); Mahârâjâ Karm Siṅgh had a *shamshêr* (bent sabre) on his coin; Mahârâjâ Narindar Siṅgh's coin had a *kaṭṭá* (or straight sword) as his distinguishing mark. The present Mahârâjâ's rupee is distinguished by a dagger." At Paṭiâlâ I found that the officials knew very little, but that the bankers knew a great deal, and traditionally knew to whom to assign the various rupees at once. Their statements were that Âlhâ Siṅgh, Amar Siṅgh, Sâḥib Siṅgh all used the *kalghî*, Karm Siṅgh the *saif*, Narindar Siṅgh a spear-head, Mahindar Siṅgh, (the "present Mahârâjâ" of Griffin,) a halberd-head, and Râjindar Siṅgh, subsequent to the date of Griffin's book, a dagger. It seems to me to be hardly possible that the bankers could err on so recent a coinage as that of Mahindar Siṅgh and Narindar Siṅgh when confronted with it, and I have preferred their statements, as given to me direct, to those of the books.

The next set of coins on the plate belongs to the **Râjas of Jînd**, whose history we will now examine. **Tilôkhâ**, the eldest son of Phûl, had two sons, Gurdittâ and **Sukchain**, from the former of whom sprang the Râjâs of Nâbhâ and from the latter the **Râjâs of Jînd.**

[16] Mr. Rodgers gives a hand-drawn illustration, which may not be quite correct. After the word سکہ and above the word زر on the obverse is an inexplicable date ٧٢. This might mean A. H. 1272 which = A.D. 1855-6, or St. 1872 which = A.D. 1815, or Ṡaka St. 1772 (very unlikely) which = A.D. 1850. All are impossible dates for Râjindar Siṅgh, who came to the throne in 1876. Perhaps we should read ٣٢ for ٧٢, taking ٧ to be a misreading for the latter portion of ٣, which would make the date St. 1932 = A. H. 1292 = A.D. 1875-6.

Sukchain died in 1751 without doing anything remarkable, leaving three sons — Alam Siṅgh who died in 1764, **Gajpat Siṅgh,** the founder of the Jînd State, and Bulâkî Siṅgh, the founder of the Diâlpuriâ family. Alam Siṅgh was a good soldier and took part in the capture of Sarhand already mentioned, getting a large accession of territory in consequence. But he died childless a year or so afterwards, Gajpat Siṅgh succeeding to his estates. Gajpat Siṅgh was a remarkable man and a prominent figure in those troublous times. Like all the Sikh chiefs of the day he underwent many ups and downs, alternately fighting and serving the feeble Court of Dehlî, being sometimes its prisoner, sometimes its petted official, and sometimes its open foe. In 1772 he received the title of Râjâ from the Emperor Shâh 'Âlam and **according to Jînd History began to coin as an independent prince** in that year. If this be correct — and it would seem to be so — his coinage and that of his State is exceedingly interesting, as showing that **he actually borrowed the die in use in the Paṭiâlâ State in its entirety,** although it showed Aḥmad Shâh to be suzerain, whereas his own suzerain was Shâh 'Âlam. Ordinarily, of course, if he borrowed a coinage at all it would have been that of Shâh 'Âlam.[17] Gajpat Siṅgh died in 1786 and was succeeded by his son, Bhâg Siṅgh. His coin is shown in fig. 15.

Bhâg Siṅgh was also a prominent ruler and had a long reign, dying in 1819. He was distinguished as being the first Sikh Chief to seek an alliance with the British Government. This was in 1803. He was also the uncle, but hardly the friend, of the great Rañjît Siṅgh of Lâhôr, whose mother, the ill-starred Bîbî Râj Kaṅwar, was his sister. He did much for his State, though his later years were clouded by illness and family troubles. He is represented by figs. 17 and 18, his coins being peculiar in having the reverse quite blank.

Bhâg Siṅgh was succeeded by his son **Fatḥ Siṅgh,** who had a short and uneventful reign, dying in 1822. I have no specimen of his coin.

He was succeeded by his son, **Saṅgat Siṅgh,** an extravagant debauchee, who thoroughly misgoverned his State and died childless in 1834. His coin is that shown in fig. 16.

On the death of Saṅgat Siṅgh, under Sikh law the state lapsed to its suzerain, the British Government; but after some consideration the collateral heir, **Sarûp Siṅgh,** was allowed to succeed to the major portion of it. A fine and gallant soldier, a just and honest man, a truly loyal feudatory of the British Crown, — doing signal service in the Mutiny, — he greatly increased the importance and prestige of his State during his long and prosperous reign. He died in 1864. His coin is represented in fig. 21.

His successor, **Raghbîr Siṅgh,** who died as lately as 1885, was worthy of his illustrious father. It is to him that I owe the two specimens of his coinage given in figs. 19 and 20.

17 As a commentary on the above and on the fact of *all* the Pañjâb coins even to the present day purporting to acknowledge the suzerainty of Aḥmad Shâh, I may here quote the following remarks regarding the Jâypûr State coinage, made by me in *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. II., note No. 695.

"A quantity of gold *mohars* of the Jâypûr Râjâs that lately (1883) passed through my hands, exhibited that numismatic falsification of history which appears to be the rule in the modern coins of the petty States of India.

All the Jâypûr specimens bore the name of Muḥammad Bahâdur Shâh, the last Mughal Emperor of Dehlî, dethroned by the English in 1857 A.D., and they exhibited every year of his reign from 1 to 19, and some had in addition the *Saṁvat* year clearly legible, it being added in intention to every coin. The die, as usual, had been larger than the coin, but from the whole collection the legend was legible in full, being the same in each case, except that the coin of the year 1 had احد in full, instead of merely the date in figures. It ran thus :—

obverse, سکہ مبارک ۱۲۶۳ بادشاہ غازی محمد بہادر شاہ

reverse, ضرب سوائی جائی پور ۱۰ سنہ جلوس میمنت مانوس

These dates correspond exactly to facts, for Bahâdur Shâh succeeded in 1837, so that his year 10 is 1847, which is also A.H. 1263. The coin of the year 19 is interesting as being one of the very last coins struck under the Mughal Dynasty. [It afterwards passed into the collection of the late Mr. Gibbs].

These coins then clearly show Bahâdur Shâh as suzerain of the Jâypûr Râjâs, but such was never the fact. The British Government took over Jâypûr as suzerain in 1818, vigorously asserted its rights in 1835, when the Râjâ, Maṅgal Sen, in whose time all these coins were struck, came to the throne, and especially interfered in the management of the State until 1857."

Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, 1834, Part I., pp. 2 to 4, may be usefully read in connection with the above remarks.

The coins therefore of the Jînd State show those of rulers who reigned as follows: —

Râjâ Gajpat Singh,	A.D. 1764-1786	....	22 years.
Râjâ Bhâg Singh	„ 1786-1819	....	33 years.
[Râjâ Fath Singh	„ 1819-1822	....	3 years.][18]
Râjâ Sangat Singh	„ 1822-1834	....	12 years.
Râjâ Sarûp Singh	„ 1834-1864	....	30 years.
Râjâ Raghbîr Singh	„ 1864-1885	....	21 years.
Râjâ Ranbîr Singh	„ 1885 to date.		

I think the same inference may be drawn from this set as from that given of the Mahârâjâs of Paṭiâlâ — that **the type has not materially changed throughout 120 years.**

We must pass on to the history of the owners of the next set of coins shown in figs. 22 to 26, *viz.*, the **Sardârs**, or more popularly, the **Bhâîs of Kaiṭhal.** The State is now extinct, and I have not found it possible to refer the individual coins to particular rulers, though distinctions were apparently made between their issues.

The Kaiṭhal family traces its descent direct from the eldest son of Siddhu, whereas the Phûlkîâṅ descent springs from the second son. Its connection with the Phûlkîâṅ Râjâs is therefore a very distant one, but it has always been recognized, and a short time before the State lapsed to the British Crown under the Sikh law of inheritance, **the Bhâîs of Kaiṭhal were most important chiefs;** — the last, Bhâî Udai Singh, being received at a Governor General's Darbâr in 1828, as of equal rank with, and senior to, the Râjâs of Jînd and Nâbhâ.[19] The loss of their State to the family under the operation of the law was directly due to the action of its own representatives; for on the death of Sangat Singh of Jînd in 1834, as above described, without heirs, a plain opportunity was given by the British Government to the principal Sikh Chiefs to choose between the payment of a fixed tribute, or the existing freedom from payment coupled with the chance of lapses to Government on the failure of direct heirs. The chiefs finally "preferred the easy terms which they enjoyed in the present to a more secure future which involved some present sacrifice." The result was the almost immediate lapse of a part of Jînd and the total lapse of Kaiṭhal within nine years.[20] The folly of the decision of the chiefs becomes the more apparent when it is considered that failure of direct heirs has always been a common occurrence in great Sikh families, owing to the intemperance and private vices so frequent, at any rate at that time, among them.

The founder of the Kaiṭhal Chiefship was **Bhâî Gurbakhsh Singh,** friend and contemporary of Râjâ Âlhâ Singh of Paṭiâlâ (1729-1765). He was succeeded by his fourth son, **Bhâî Dêsû Singh,** who actually conquered Kaiṭhal town from some Afghân Chiefs in 1767, and afterwards much enlarged his borders. He died in 1781, and was practically succeeded by his second son, **Bhâî Lâl Singh,** after the latter had murdered the heir, his elder brother, **Bhâî Bahâl Singh.** An able, utterly untrustworthy, violent and unscrupulous man, he greatly enlarged his estate in those troubled times, and became the most powerful Cis-Satluj Chief after Paṭiâlâ. He died an old man in 1819, and was succeeded by his eldest son, **Bhâî Partâb Singh,** and then in 1824 by his younger son, **Bhâî Udai Singh,** a prominent figure in his day, who died childless in 1843. Upon this all but an insignificant part of the State became British territory.[21]

The Bhâîs of Kaithal therefore ruled as follows[22]: —

Bhâî Dêsû Singh, A.D. 1767-1781	14 years.
Bhâî Bahâl Singh, 1781-1781	——
Bhâî Lâl Singh, 1781-1819	38 years.
Bhâî Partâb Singh, 1819-1824	5 years.
Bhâî Udai Singh, 1824-1843	19 years.

[18] No coin of this Râjâ has been found. [19] Griffin, *op. cit.* p. 370 n. [20] Griffin, *op. cit.* p. 330.

[21] Bhâî is the title of a Sikh saint or holy man, and is used as a prefix by his descendants. The Kaithal Chiefs got their title of Bhâî from Bhâî Râmdiâl, the father of Gurbakhsh Singh, a personage of great sanctity in his time.

[22] As an instance of the great difficulty of dates when writing of such histories as this, I may say that Ibbetson's *Gazetteer of the Karnal District*, pp. 38-40, differs somewhat from Griffin's *Râjâs of the Pañjâb*, pp. 48-49, and that both authors worked on the best original sources of information procurable on the spot.

The coins of these chiefs are very rough but interesting, **as showing a falling off in artistic merit** from those of the surrounding Râjâs. They are all of one type, but the "minor marks" differ considerably.[23]

We must now turn to the history of **the Afghâns of Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr,** because their coins follow the general type of those of the chiefs already discussed, although, properly speaking, the history of the Phûlkîâṅ State of Nâbhâ should come next.

The history of Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr has been written in a useful little book — *A Description of the Principal Kôṭlâ Afghâns*, by Khâṅsâḥib 'Inâyat 'Alî Khâṅ of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ, (Lahore, "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1882.) The Khâṅsâḥib is the brother of the present Nawâb Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khâṅ, and the book was kindly sent to me by him. It is somewhat confused, but we may take it to be the best public information on the subject in existence.

The founder of the Kôṭlâ family at Mâlêr was **Shêkh Sadr Jahân, a Sarwânî Afghân,** who was a Sûfî saint of much celebrity in his time, and who came into prominence from his connection with **Sultân Bahlôl Lôdî.** This ruler, in fulfilment, it is said, of a vow, gave him a daughter in marriage in 1454 A.D. with, of course, a suitable dowry in the shape of land. After this the Shêkh contracted a second wealthy marriage into the family of a local magnate. **He left three sons** — Ḥasan, 'Îsâ and Mûsâ. Ḥasan by the Lôdî Princess, and 'Îsâ and Mûsâ by the local lady. **The present Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr family is descended from 'Îsâ,** the descendants of Ḥasan being nowadays merely the *mujawwirs*, or attendants at the shrine of Sadr Jahân.

Originally the property acquired by Sadr Jahân was equally divided amongst his sons, and this gave rise to a pernicious custom which was, that **every scion of the house got his own share of the State, with full rights, fiscal, judicial and administrative** over it, the eldest living member being the Ra'îs or Chief. The Chief was thus really only *primus inter pares*, and the State never had much power in consequence. **The rule of primogeniture as regards the chiefship was introduced** in course of time **through the action of the British Government,** but the rights of sovereignty were not vested in the Chief alone until quite recently. Much of the revenue of the State is still split up amongst the collaterals of the Chief.

The fifth in descent from Sadr Jahân, **Bazîd Khâṅ,** was the first to considerably enlarge the family estates, and **founded Kôṭlâ, near Mâlêr,** in 1657. His grandson, **Shêr Muḥammad Khâṅ,** was a prominent general of his time, and in his days began that incessant fight with the Sikhs, under Gurûs Têgh Bahâdur and Gobind Siṅgh, which lasted up to quite modern times and almost wiped out the State of Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr. He did not, however, suffer much himself, and died in 1712, after converting the State into one of some importance. The next Ra'îs was his son, **Ghulâm Ḥussain Khâṅ,** a timid man, and on his death his sons were excluded from the chiefship for what was considered to be pusillanimity. His successor was his brother, **Jamâl Khâṅ,** a great chief in his day and the **ancestor of all the present Kôṭlâ Afghâns of any importance.**

On the death of Jamâl Khâṅ, the principality was split up into five sections among his five sons, of whom the eldest, **Bhîkan Khâṅ,** became Ra'îs under the law above explained. He seems to have been a temporizer and to have been a friend of the Sikhs and **Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî** alternately. From the latter he **received the right to coin in his own name,** and was killed by the former in 1763. I have no specimen of his coin unfortunately.

Bhîkan Khâṅ left two sons, Wazîr Khâṅ, and Fatḥ Khâṅ, but his brother, **Bahâdur Khâṅ,** succeeded under the local law of seniority. I have no specimens of his coin.

Bahâdur Khâṅ also left two sons, Himmat Khâṅ and Dalîl Khâṅ, but again the chiefship went to the next eldest brother, **'Umr Khâṅ.** His coin is shown in figs. 27 and 28, being the best from an artistic point of view of the whole series.

---

[23] See *post*, pp. 337, 338.

Asadu'llah Khâṅ, the fourth brother, next became Râ'is and lived amicably with his neighbours until his death in 1782. His coin is represented in fig. 29.

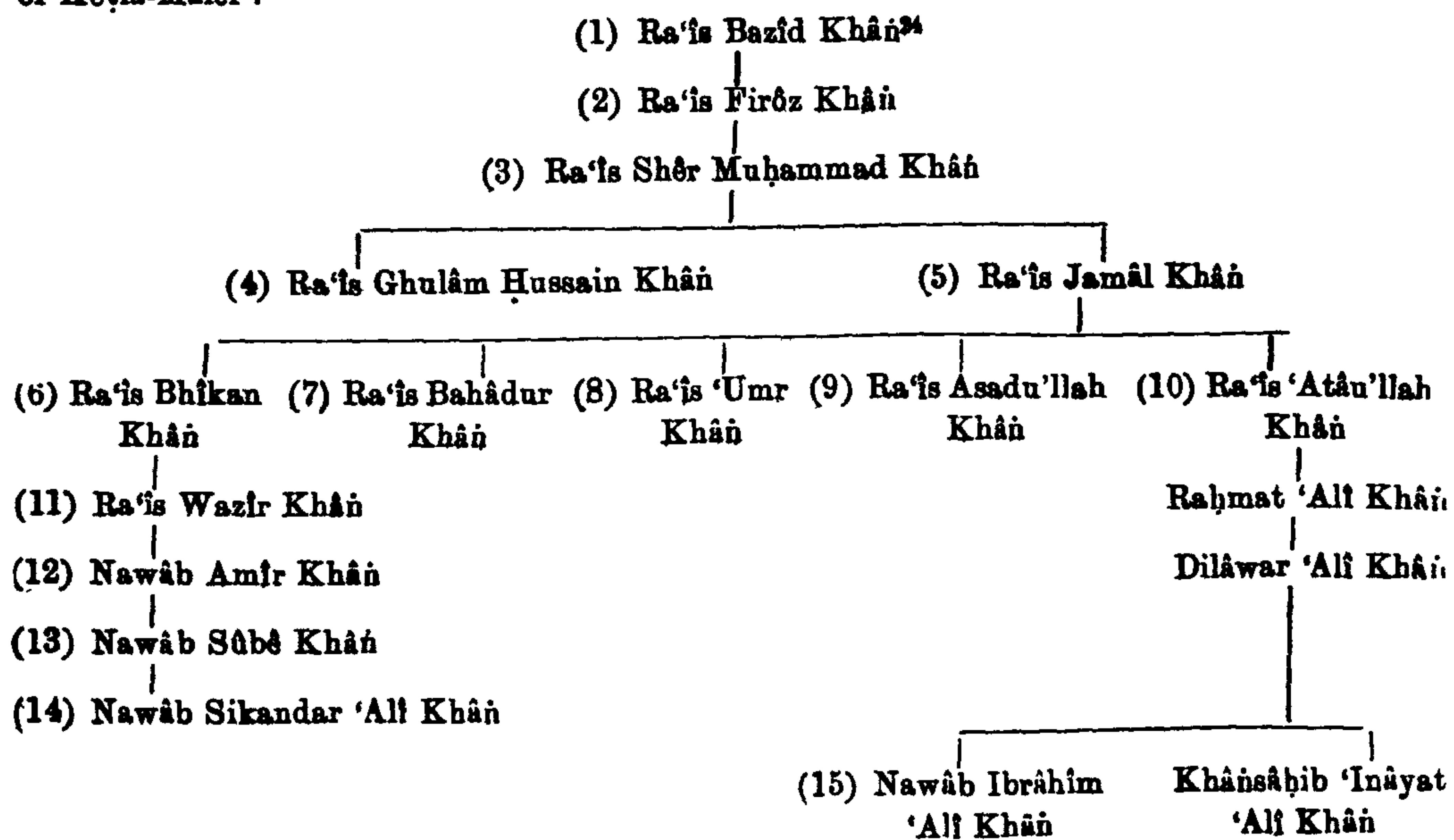
'Atâu'llah Khâṅ, the last of the five sons of Jamâl Khâṅ, succeeded him. He lived in troublous times and practically lost his State to that arch-devourer, Rañjît Siṅgh of Lâhôr, but it was restored him in part under British protection by Sir David Ochterlony. He died in 1809, leaving three sons, Raḥmat 'Alî Khâṅ, Fazal 'Alî Khâṅ and Imâm 'Alî Khâṅ, but the family law of seniority made the title of Ra'îs revert to **Wazîr Khâṅ**, the eldest son of Bhîkan Khâṅ. This was the last time it was applied, for **the British Government** now stepped in, and no doubt taking advantage of the fact that Wazîr Khâṅ happened to be the eldest son of the eldest son **directed that the law of primogeniture should apply in future.** I have no coin of 'Atâu'llah Khâṅ. Wazîr Khâṅ led an uneventful life, dying in 1821. I have no specimen of his coin.

He was succeeded by his son, **Amîr Khâṅ**, and was the last to bear the title of Ra'îs, for the British Government conferred on him the title of Nawâb. He died in 1845 (?). Three specimens of his coins are figured in the plate, Nos. 30, 31, 32.

His son was **Maḥbûb 'Alî Khâṅ, better known as Sûbê Khâṅ.** Like his Sikh neighbours, he was on our side in the Mutiny and died in 1859. His coin is shown in fig. 34.

His son was **Sikandar 'Alî Khâṅ**, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite and seems to have spent all his time in quarrelling with his relatives. He was credited with two sons, Ghaus Muḥammâd Khâṅ and Roshan 'Alî Khâṅ, who both died early and so saved the dispute as to legitimacy, which was contemplated, had they outlived their reputed father. He died in 1871, and on his death there was a dispute as to the succession, which was decided in favour of the present ruler, **Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khâṅ**, the eldest surviving descendant of 'Atâu'llah Khâṅ. Advantage was taken of this decision to make the holder of the title of Nawâb, already made hereditary by strict primogeniture, the head of the State in every way, instead of allowing his collaterals to exercise independent powers within their own shares of the family possessions. Fig. 33 represents the coin of Sikandar 'Alî Khâṅ, and figs. 35 and 36 that of Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khâṅ.

The following table may help to explain the complicated succession of **Ra'îses and Nawâbs** of Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr :—



[34] The figures in brackets show the order of succession to the chiefships.

As regards the coins of these chiefs they extend over the following reigns:—

[Ra'îs Bhîkan Khâṇ	A.D. 1761-1763	reigned	2 years.][25]
[Ra'îs Bahâdur Khâñ	1763-1768	„	5 years.]
Ra'îs 'Umr Khâñ	1768-1778	„	10 years.
Ra'îs Asadu'llah Khâñ	1778-1782	„	4 years.
[Ra'îs 'Atâu'llah Khâñ	1782-1809	„	27 years.]
[Ra'îs Wazîr Khâñ	1809-1821	„	12 years.]
Nawâb Amîr Khâñ	1821-1845	„	24 years.
Nawâb Sûbê Khâñ	1845-1859	„	14 years.
Nawâb Sikandar 'Alî Khâñ	1859-1871	„	12 years.
Nawâb Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khâñ	1871	to present time.	

We have no coins of the chiefs before 'Umr Khâñ; but from his time to the present, about 100 years, we find **no great difference in type**, except that his coin, *i.e.* the oldest coin, is the best cut of all.

We must now turn to the last set of coins on the plate, those of the **Râjâs of Nâbhâ**. As above explained these chiefs are sprung from **Gurdittâ**, the eldest son of Tilôkhâ, the eldest son of Phûl. He founded Sangrûr, long the head-quarters of the Nâbhâ State, but now included in Jînd. He died in 1754, his estates passing to his grandson, **Hamîr Siṅgh**, who was a brave and energetic chief, and practically the **founder of the Nâbhâ State.**

Hamîr Siṅgh established a mint, how is not exactly known, and became independent. He died in 1783, and was succeeded by his son, Jaswant Siṅgh, then a boy. I have unfortunately no specimens of his coin.

Jaswant Siṅgh ruled all through the troubled days of Rañjît Siṅgh of Lâhôr, during which he managed to uphold the honour of his State. He obtained the title of Râjâ by patent from the Court of Dehlî. Grasping and unscrupulous as regards rival potentates, he was a good administrator and ruled his State well. He died in 1840, and throughout his career was a firm friend of the English Government. Figures 37, 38, 39, and 40 represent his coinage.

He was succeeded by his son, **Dêvindar Siṅgh**, a vain, foolish, and arrogant prince, whose unfriendly conduct during the Sikh war of 1845-6 ended in his deposition by the British Government in the latter year, and the confiscation of one-fourth of his territory. He was succeeded in that year by his son, Bharpûr Siṅgh, then seven years old, but lived on at Mathurâ and Lâhôr as a state prisoner till 1865. I have no specimen of his coin.

Bharpûr Siṅgh attained his majority in the year of the Mutiny, when he greatly assisted the English with men and money in every way, and reaped his reward in an accession of territory and the right of adoption. He was an intelligent and earnest prince, and was moreover a good vernacular and English scholar, a rare accomplishment for a Sikh prince in his days. He died in 1863 without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Bhagwân Siṅgh. His coinage is represented by figs. 41, 42, 43, and 44 Plate II.

Bhagwân Siṅgh commenced his reign under circumstances of great domestic trouble, which led to a commission of enquiry being ordered by the Government of India; but he came out of the ordeal without loss of dignity or character, and ended his days in peace in 1871. I have no specimen of his coins. He was succeeded by his son, **Hîrâ Siṅgh**, whose coins are represented in figs. 45 and 46. It is to his personal kindness and interest in such matters that I was enabled to obtain the specimen of the Nâbhâ coinage now published.

The coins of the Nâbhâ State therefore extend over the reigns of all the chiefs of that State, thus:—

[Sardâr Hamîr Siṅgh	1754-1783	reigned	29 years.][26]
Râja Jaswant Siṅgh	1783-1840	„	57 years.
[Râjâ Dêvindar Siṅgh	1840-1846	„	6 years.][26]
Râjâ Bharpûr Siṅgh	1846-1863	„	19 years.
[Râjâ Bhagwân Siṅgh	1863-1871	„	8 years.][26]
Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh	1871 to date		

[25] I have no coins of the chiefs whose names are in brackets. [26] I have no specimens of the coins of these rulers.

The Nâbhâ coins are remarkable for an **attempt to vary the stereotyped form** of the coinage of these Pañjâb chiefs, but it will be observed that originality has not gone beyond **imitating the legend of the overshadowing State of Lâhôr.** In one instance (No. 40) the year of the reign has dropped out to make way for the date of the era in use. The Nâbhâ legend runs thus:—

Obverse دیغ تیغ فتح نصرت بے درنگ یافت از نانک گوروگوبند سنگ [27]
Reverse جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب نا بہا

Griffin, who had never seen the coins, and writing from information, says, p. 288, footnote, that the words ضرب نا بہا should be سرکار نابہا, but the coins themselves have obviously on them what is above given. The above is the ordinary Sikh or Nânakshâhî legend, and the change in legend seems to take place with the reign of Bharpûr Siṅgh; but as there are no specimens of Dêvindar Siṅgh it is not possible to say whether the change should be ascribed to the Sikh fanaticism of Dêvindar Siṅgh or to the scholastic tendencies of Bharpûr Siṅgh. There is **no appreciable change otherwise** in type to be observed in these coins between the earlier and the later specimens.

Some reference should here be made to the coinage, real or mythical, of the **Kapurthalâ State.** This state was founded by **Jassâ Siṅgh Âhlûwâliâ** (1718-1783 A.D.) one of the most prominent Sikh chieftains of his day. **He is said to have struck a coin,** a story widely spread all over the Pañjâb, with the following extraordinary legend :—

سکہ زد درجہان بفضل اکال
مُلک احمد گرفت جسا کلال

Griffin, in his *Rájâs of the Pañjáb*, p. 460, note 2, remarks that the coin could not have been struck before 1762, (whereas Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, makes out they were struck in 1757-8,) that he had never seen one himself, and that the Râjâ of Kapurthalâ did not possess one. He then goes on to say :— "The *Tawârîkh-i-Pañjâb* of Ganêś Dâs states that the Sikhs did not strike the coin, but that the Qâzîs and Mullas in 1764, after the famous Nânakshâhî [Lâhôr] rupee had been struck, desiring to anger Aḥmad Shâh against the Sikhs, coined twenty rupees with this inscription themselves and sent them to the Shâh at Kabûl, who was as indignant as they anticipated at the insolence of the Distiller, (*kalâl,*) who claimed to have seized his country, *mulk-i-Aḥmad* ! The title or term **Jassâ Kalâl** is an allusion to the humble origin of the Âhlûwâliâ family. Cunningham, p. 97, 2nd ed. quotes Browne, *Tracts*, ii. 19; Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 93 [wrongly, should be p. 95]; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, ii. 289; and Murray, *Runjeet Singh*, p. 15 ; and he no doubt took his information direct from Malcolm. Mr. Rodgers, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, part I., 1881, pp. 77-8, gives the couplet and makes the remark that he has never been able to find the coin. I may add that I have frequently made similar attempts myself without success. It seems that the **Kapurthalâ Râjâs never had a coinage otherwise.**

Among the more notorious Indian adventurers towards the end of the last century was the whilom able seaman, **George Thomas, Râjâ of Hâṅsî.** The authority on the subject of his exploits is the *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas*, by William Francklin, and they have been dealt with in more or less detail by several writers.[28] Thomas originally came to India in

[27] دیغ is a mock Arabicism for دیگ a pot, cauldron, and refers to the *laṅgar* or public kitchen then kept up by every Sikh Chief.

[28] Military Memoirs | of | Mr. George Thomas, | who by extraordinary talent and enterprise, rose | from an obscure situation to the rank of a general | In the service of the Native powers in the North-West of India— Through the work are interspersed | geographical and statistical accounts of several of the states composing the interior of the Peninsula, especially the countries of Jypoor, Joudpoor, and Oudipoor, by Geographers denominated Rajputaneh, the Seiks of Punjab, the territory of Beykaneer and the country adjoining the great desert to the westward of Hurrianeh. | Compiled and arranged from Mr. Thomas' original documents. | By William Francklin | Captain of Infantry. | Member of the Asiatic Society | Author of a tour to Persia | And the History of Shah Aulum | *Mores, populos et prælia dicam* | Calcutta | Printed for the author at the Hurkaru Press | A.D. 1803 | entered at Stationer's Hall.

a man-of-war in 1781-2, and entered the service of various chiefs in Southern India, and by 1787 had found his way into the far North-West to the Court of the **Bogam Samrû at Sardhanâ,** whose service he entered. This he quitted in 1792, for that of **Âpâ Khaṇḍâ Râv,** with which **Marâṭhâ** chief he quarrelled in 1795. He was now a personage of importance in possession of a *jâgîr* granted by his late chief and was able to help Bêgam Samrû when in distress. Upon Âpâ Khaṇḍâ Râv's suicide in 1797, Thomas seems to have been on uniformly bad terms with his successors, and spent most of his time in defending his *jâgîr* from their attacks. In 1798, taking advantage of the troubles of the times, he appears to have given up the lands he held from the Marâṭhâs, and to have **seized the district round Hisâr and Hâñsî, known as Hariânâ.** The latter town he made his capital and established himself as Râjâ thereof. His territory, according to Francklin, comprised 253 villages and paid a revenue of about Rs. 3,00,000. Again, according to Francklin, p. 93, to quote the remarkable words he has put into Thomas's mouth, "'**here, says Mr. Thomas** (with that energy and spirited animation which distinguished him throughout the scenes of his extraordinary life), '**here I established a mint and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country, etc.**'" After establishing himself at Hâñsî, the rest of Thomas's life, like that of the neighbouring chiefs, was one of perpetual war: in his case, against the Marâṭhâs and the Sikhs, as represented chiefly by the chiefs of Paṭiâlâ, Nâbhâ and Jînd. In his case also, it ended in a general combination against him, his flight into British Territory and his death at Berhampore (Bahrâmpûr) in 1802.

The *Târîkh Makhzan Pañjâb* of Mufti Ghulâm Sarwar Qurêshî of Lâhôr, published by Nawal Kishôr at Lucknow in 1877, repeats the assertion about the coinage of George Thomas, in its account of him, pp. ٢٣-٢٥. ذکرجارج طامس صاحب عرف جہاز صاحب انگریزکا. The actual words at the bottom of p. ٢٤ are بعد انتظام قرارواقعی کے طامس صاحب نے سکہ اپنے نام کا جاری کیا "after completing his administrative arrangements **Mr. Thomas issued coins in his own name.**" Thomas, it is true, ruled only for a very short time, and all trace of his coins may have been lost; but, if issued in any quantity, this seems hardly possible. He built a fort, due east of, and not far from, Dehlî, which he named after himself George-gaṛh, but which is now known as Jahâzgaṛh, just as he is known as Jahâz Sâhib, apparently in conscious recollection of his origin, for says the *Târîkh Makhzan Pañjâb* :

جارج طامس صاحب انگریز بھي بعہد عملداري مرتھون کے ایک رئیس خود مختار ضلع ہریانہ
وغیرہ میں ہو گذرا ہی پہلے یہہ شخص انگریزي جہازون مین ذلیل عہدہ پر نوکر تھا.

In his territory also were the towns of Hâñsî, Hisâr, Bhawânî, Fatḥâbâd, Jînd and Tuhânâ. In some of these places therefore there may be coins belonging to him lurking in money-changers boxes. It is worth while searching. I have never myself been able to make a personal search for Thomas's coin, **nor have I ever heard of any one who has possessed or seen one,** though I have frequently enquired in likely directions.

III. MINOR MARKS.[29]

It will have been observed already that the only method of distinguishing the coin of one chief from another's is by the **special mark** each ruler puts upon those issued in his time. Thus, Âlhâ Siṅgh of Paṭiâlâ had a *kâlghî*, Karm Siṅgh a two-handed sword, Narindar Siṅgh a spear head, and so on. Again, the Malêr-Kôṭlâ Nawâbs used the initials of their names as their distinguishing marks. But there is another possible method of separating out the coins of the rulers in cases like the coinage under consideration. Each would start a new die as he succeeded, which die would have to differ in some respects from that of his predecessors, and hence it might be possible to detect each ruler's coins by the **minor marks** and ornaments on it. These would then become important as the chief, and in many cases the only, **method of**

[29] The importance of noting these on Indian coins was pointed out by Prinsep more than 50 years ago, but seems to be have been lost sight of by numismatists. See his remarks, *Useful Tables*, Part I, pp. 35, 36 and 53 to 56; and Plate III.

identifying the coins. In the following detailed description I have therefore very carefully considered the minor marks on the 46 coins of the plates. The result shows that **the minor marks are a good, though not complete, indication of the ownership of a particular coin, because some rulers used more than one die** and the moneyers were not always careful to preserve the ornaments intact in duplicating the die. *E.g.*, the two coins of Âlhâ Siṅgh of Paṭiâlâ (figs. 1 and 2) are from different dies, and exhibit different marks. The same remark holds good of the two specimens (figs. 19 and 20) of coins of Raghbîr Siṅgh of Jînd, of 'Umr Khâṅ of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ (figs. 27 and 28) and of Ibrâhim 'Alî Khâṅ of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ (figs. 35 and 36). Again, as to the coins of Nâbhâ, which are dated and thus distinguished, of the four specimens of Jaswant Siṅgh of Nâbhâ (figs. 37, 38, 39, 40), all are of different dies and have different minor marks; while the four specimens of Bharpûr Siṅgh of Nâbhâ (figs 41, 42, 43, 44) are from three dies,[30] each die differing in its marks. On the other hand, Râjindar Siṅgh of Paṭiâlâ has apparently only used one die (figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14), Bhâg Siṅgh of Jînd two dies without alteration of marks (figs. 17 and 18), as have also Karm Siṅgh of Paṭiâlâ (figs. 5 and 6), Amîr Khâṅ of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ (figs. 30, 31, and 32),[31] and Hîrâ Siṅgh of Nâbhâ (figs. 45 and 46). And in all the cases of single specimens, the dies and marks are both peculiar to each ruler; *e.g.*, Narindar Siṅgh and Mahindar Siṅgh of Paṭiâlâ; Gajpat Siṅgh, Saṅghat Siṅgh, and Sarûp Siṅgh of Jînd; Sikandar 'Âlî Khâṅ and Sûbe Khâṅ of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ.

A complication in using the minor marks for the purposes of identification is caused by the facts that **successive rulers**, such as Amar Siṅgh and Sâḥib Siṅgh of Patiâlâ, **have used apparently the same die** (figs. 3 and 4), and that the coin of Asadu'llah Khâṅ differs from that of his successor Amîr Khâṅ of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ only in the form of the distinguishing initial letter ا.

The coins of Kaiṭhal are too crude to help us much here: but figs. 22 and 24 seem to be from the same die; while figs. 23, 25, and 26 have all distinctive marks, are struck from different dies, and belonged (?) to separate chiefs of that line. Indeed, one is almost tempted to apportion the coins respectively to Bhâî Dêsâ Siṅgh, Bhâî Lâl Siṅgh, Bhâî Partâb Siṅgh, and Bhâî Udai Siṅgh.

IV. METHOD OF MINTING.

Griffin, *Râjâs of the Pañjâb*, in a long footnote extending over pages 286-289, gives the detailed report of General R. G. Taylor, at one time Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Pañjâb for the Cis-Satluj States, on the mints of those States, which is of much value in connection with this paper, and, indeed with the study generally of the methods of Oriental mints. Any one who has entered into Indian or Oriental numismatics generally, must be convinced that, where the European method of minting has not been adopted, **Orientals coin now as they have done at any time these 2,000 years.** Any knowledge, then, that we can gather now of the working of a genuine Eastern mint will no doubt explain what has occurred in Eastern mints as a rule since the days that coins began to be used.

General Taylor asked the authorities at Patiâlâ, Jînd, and Nâbhâ, six questions, *viz.*:—

(1) The political condition of the coinage.

(2) The nature, title, and character of the coinage.

(3) The annual outturn of the establishment and value of the coinage as compared with that of the British Government.

(4) The process of manufacture and any particulars as to the artificers employed.

(5) The arrangements for receiving bullion and the charges (if any) levied for its conversion into coin.

(6) The extent of the currency.

[30] Figs. 43 and 44 have been struck from the same die.

[31] Figs. 31 and 32 are from the same die.

Patiâlâ, as might be expected, gave the best answers; and as regards the first question we may pass over all the replies, as recapitulating what has been already written herein, except to note that in 1857 Paṭiâlâ very nearly succeeded in ousting her old coinage for a modern English rupee on the plan that Alwar adopted later, and as Mindôn Min of Burma succeeded in doing for his country about the same time. Passing on, we find that **the Paṭiâlâ rupees are called Râjashâhî, the Jînd rupees Jîndiâ, and the Nâbhâ rupees simply Nâbhâ.**

Only silver, and occasionally gold, is coined. The Patiâlâ rupee weighs $11\frac{1}{4}$ *mâshas* of pure silver and is of the full value of a rupee. The weight of the Jînd rupee is the same, but its value is only about 12 *ânâs* ($\frac{3}{4}$ rupee). The Nâbhâ rupee is also of the same weight, and is valued at 15 *ânâs* ($\frac{15}{16}$ rupee).

The Paṭiâlâ *mohar* is a valuable coin, being $10\frac{3}{4}$ *mâshas* of pure gold. Jînd does not coin gold, but the Nâbhâ Government sometimes strikes a *mohar* of $9\frac{3}{4}$ *mâshas* of pure gold.

In none of these States is there any regular outturn of coinage. Special occasions and sometimes economical necessities oblige the mint to become active by fits and starts. In fact the moneyers only work when "necessity drives." In Jînd and Nâbhâ, royal marriages and great state functions are practically the only occasions when money is coined in any quantity.

Jînd apparently keeps up no **establishment** for its mint, but Paṭiâlâ and Nâbhâ do so. The Paṭiâlâ establishment consists of a superintendent, a clerk, two assayers, one weigher, ten smiths, ten moneyers, four refiners and one engraver. The Nâbhâ establishment is on a still smaller scale, *viz.*, one superintendent, one assayer, one smelter, one refiner, one smith. The refining is carefully performed in both cases, and the silver and gold kept up to standard.

Jînd has never received bullion for coining, but Paṭiâlâ receives both silver and gold, and Nâbhâ silver. For silver Paṭiâlâ charges the public $1\frac{1}{16}$ per cent. and for gold Rs. 24 per 100 coins, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Nâbhâ charges less, only $\frac{7}{8}$ per cent. for coining silver.

Jînd rupees are current only within the State, but the Paṭiâlâ coins find currency both in the State and in its immediate neighbourhood in some quantity; while only a few Nâbhâ coins find their way outside the State.

The Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ mint issues its coins apparently on precisely the same lines, the rupee going by the name of **the Kôṭlâ rupee.** Extensive frauds on the part of the mint masters, twice detected of late years in fraudulently alloying the silver, has depreciated the value of this rupee to 12 *ânâs* ($\frac{3}{4}$ rupee).[32]

It is also very interesting to watch the steady **depreciation in weight** of the coins of the successive chiefs of Mêlêr-Kôṭlâ in connection with the general **theory of the evolution of coins.** Thus:—

	weight of coin	
'Umr Khâṅ, 1768-78	9 *mâshas*	4 *rattîs*
Amîr Khâṅ, 1821-45	9 „	2 „
Maḥbûb 'Alî (Sâbê) Khâṅ, 1845-1859	8 „	4 „
Sikandar 'Alî Khâṅ, 1859-1871	8 „	2 „
Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khâṅ, 1871 to date	8 „	1 „

No wonder the Khâṅsâḥib 'Inâyat 'Alî Khâṅ in the passage just quoted remonstrates against the practices of the Kôṭlâ mint!

The present writer, as has been already noted, had the good fortune some five years ago to be escorted over the **Paṭiâlâ Mint**, and to have been given an opportunity of noting what occurred.

The Mint is an ordinary Pañjâbî Court-yard, about 20 feet square in the open part, entered by a gateway leading into a small apartment doing duty as an entrance hall, the remainder of the courtyard being surrounded by low open buildings opening into it. These buildings, which looked like the "rooms" of a *sarâî*, are the workshops.

[32] *Principal Kôṭlâ Afghâns*, p. 19, footnote.

The method of coining in this very primitive "Mint" is as follows:—[33]

The silver after being assayed is cast into small bars (*rênî*) by being run into grooved iron moulds. The melting is done in the courtyard in very small quantities in little furnaces improvised for each occasion. The thickness of the bars is about the diameter of the rupees (*vide* the plate attached), and when cold they are cut up by a hammer and chisel by guess work into small weights, (*gêlṛâ*), and weighed in small balances as accurately as hand-weighing will permit. These *gêlṛâs* are afterwards heated and rounded by hammering into discs (*mutallis*) and again weighed by hand and corrected by small additions of silver hammered in cold, or by scraping. After this the disc is handed over to the professional weigher (*wazankash*) who finally weighs it by hand and passes it. It is then stamped by hammering, being put between two iron dies placed in a strong wooden frame. The lower die (reverse) is called *pâîn* and the upper (obverse) *bâlâ*. **These dies are very much larger than the coins,** so that only a portion of the legend can come off, and the coiners are not at all careful as to how much appears on the coin. The only thing they look to is to try and make the particular *mark* of the reigning chief appear. If they do not succeed it does not matter much.

Sir Richard Temple mentions in his diary kept in **Kasmîr,** that in 1859[34] he visited **the mint at Srînagar,** and this is what he saw: "In the afternoon we went to see the Mahârâjâ's mint on the banks of the Nahari Mâr. The building and the whole workshop are very rude. The process of coining was as follows:—The silver and the alloy of base metal was first melted and fused. A piece of the required weight was then separated, made as nearly round as a rough hand could make it, and struck with a hammer over a die! Thus was a rupee worth about 10 *ânâs* ($\frac{5}{8}$ rupee) of the East India Company's money produced!"

V. DETAILED DESCRIPTION.

Paṭiâlâ.[35]

No. 1.— Coin of Âlhâ Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.[36]

Obverse:— Legend

[حـ]كم شد [با]حمد بادشا[ه] سـ[كه] زن برسـ[يم] اوج [مه]ا ز [ي]

Marks:— over باحمد and over سكه.

Reverse:— Legend [ضر]ب [جلـ]وس [ميمنـ]ت [مانو]س

Marks:— after س in جلوس and between the و and the س.

No. 2.— Coin of Âlhâ Singh: *ex coll.* B. M.[37]

Obverse:— Legend, badly cut [باحـ]مد بادشا[ه] سـ[كه] ازاوج

Marks:— over احمد between باحمد and بادشاه; after د in بادشاه. What read like ۲۱۳ are really not figures, but the apparent ۲ is the tail of م in حکم, as can be abundantly seen throughout the coins and the ۱ is part of the ornament.

Reverse:— Legend [ضر]ب [جلو]س [ميمنـ]ت

Marks:— after the س of جلوس, being the *kalghî* or full sign of Âlhâ Singh, and over the ; part of the border also appears in this coin.

[33] See *Pañjâb Notes and Queries,* Vol. II. note 188.

[34] *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal,* Vol. II. pp. 75-76.

[35] Only the words actually visible on the coins are given. The letters of these words which are not actually visible owing to rubbing or cutting off are shown in brackets. All the coins are silver unless otherwise specially stated.

[36] That is *ex coll.* R. C. Temple.

[37] That is *ex coll.* British Museum. These coins are added to the plates to complete the evidence available.

No. 3.— Coin of Amar Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :— Legend [قا]در[بیچ]ون [با] دشاه سکہ زن برسیم و زر

Marks : — Obscure.

Reverse : — Legend [ضر] ب [ج] لوس [میمنـ]ت [مانو] س

Marks : — Apparently the same as those of Âlhâ Siṅgh, but coin recognized without hesitation as that of Amar Siṅgh by local dealers.

No. 4.— Coin of Sâḥib Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :— Legend [حکـ]م [د] احمد بادش [اه] سکہ [زن بر] [ا] زاوج [مـ] ا [ي]

Marks : — over باحمد and after اوج. It is to be observed that the tail of the م in حکم comes clearly down between د and با in بادشاہ in this coin, as in No 1. This is the key to an otherwise inexplicable letter throughout these coins.

Reverse :— Legend : same letters visible as on the preceding coin.

Marks : — The same as on the preceding coin ; but coin recognized by dealers as Sâḥib Siṅgh's. It would seem therefore that the first three Paṭiâlâ Râjâs did not vary their coins.

No. 5.— Coin of Karm Siṅgh : *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse :— Legend [شـ]داز [بیچ]ون [باد]شاه [سـ] کہ زن برسیم و زر

Marks : — None.

Reverse :— Legend [جلو]س [میمنـ]ت

Marks : — between the و and the س of جلوس and a fine two-handed sword (*saif*) after the س, being the full sign of Karm Siṅgh.

No. 6.— Coin of Karm Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :— Legend : same letters visible as in the previous specimen.

Marks : — None.

Reverse :— Legend. Same letters visible as in the previous specimen.

Marks : — The same also, but the sword is not nearly so well cut.

No. 7.— Coin of Narindar Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse : Legend شد [با] حمد بادش [اه] سـ [کہ] زن برسیـ[م] اوج مـ [ا] ه [ي]

Marks : — over باحمد

Reverse :— Legend [جلو]س [میمنـ]ت [مانو]س

Marks : — after the and before it and between the و and the س of جلوس. It is to be observed that these particular marks do not thenceforward change. There is also after the س of جلوس a spear-head—the full sign of Narindar Siṅgh.

No. 8.—Coin of Râjindar Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

This coin has got into the wrong order in the plate and will be considered below with Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.

No. 9.—Coin of Mahindar Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :— Legend, unfortunately much rubbed but still visible :

[شـ]داز[قاد]ر [بیچ]ون [ز]ن برسیـ[م]

Marks : — None.

Reverse : — Legend [جلو]س [میمنـ]ت [مانو]س

Marks : — In addition to those in No. 7 after the س of جلوس and oo over it ; or halberd-head—the full sign of Mahindar Siṅgh.

Nos. 8. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.—All coins of Râjindar Siṅgh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

No. 14 is gold. The marks on the reverses of these coins are those on No. 7 as above noted, and the full sign of Râjindar Siṅgh comes out very clearly. It is the short dagger well known in India as the *kaṭâr*. There is also under the ب of ضرب a cross ✥. These specimens are chiefly useful in helping us to read the full legend. The mint mark سرہند Sarhand (commonly known as Sirhind) comes out on No. 10. Just as No. 9 shows where the قادر of the first line of the couplet حکم شد از قادر بیچون came on the die, so No. 10 shows شد از clearly. No. 11 shows از اوج ماہی in full, and in No. 13 we get تابماہ the remainder of this line indicated.

Jind.[38]

No. 15.—Coin of Gajpat Siṅgh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse: Legend roughly cut [حکـ]م شد از [قا]در [بیچو]ن بادشا[ہ] زن برسہ[یم]

Marks: — None.

Reverse: — Legend سنہ جلوس ۱۴ [میمنـ]ت [ما]نوس

Marks: — Not clear, but over ج in جلوس Y; over و in same word ✕; and ꝏ before و; also ✱ over the ت of میمنت.

No 16.—Coin of Saṅgat Siṅgh: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse: — Legend roughly cut [با]دشا[ہ] سکہ[م] زن برسیم

Marks. — None.

Reverse:—Legend clearer [ضر]ب [جـ]لوس ۱۴ [میـ]منت

Marks: —✥ over the و of جلوس; ✱ before و; ✱ inside س of the same word.

Nos. 17 and 18.—Coins of Bhâg Siṅgh: No. 17, *ex coll.* R. C. T., No. 18 *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:—same Legend visible on both [باحمـ]د بادشا[ہ] سکہ[م] زن بر[ر]

Marks:—The tail of the م very plain between the ب and د of بادساہ

Reverse:— Blank.

Nos. 19 and 20.—Coins of Raghbîr Siṅgh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Legends well cut and clear, though coins are rubbed, and useful for completing couplets On No. 19 حکم شد comes out quite clearly, as also does the ساہ of بادساہ, not usually visible on these coins. On both reverses ضرب سر ہند is clear, as also is the word میمنت which is not usually found in full.

No. 21.—Coin of Sarûp Siṅgh: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse.— Legend [حکـ]م شد از [با] حمد بادشا[ہ] سکہ[م] زن برسہ[یم]

Marks: — ۱۴ above باحمد

Reverse:— Legend [ضر]ب جلوس ۱۴ میمنت مانوس

Marks:— ✥ over the و of جلوس

Kaiṭhal.

No. 22. Coin of the Sardâr of Kaiṭhal: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:—Legend [باحمـ]د باد[شاہ] سکہ[م] اوج

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend [ضر] ب [جلـ]وس ۱۴ [میمنـ]ت

Marks:—None.

No. 23. Coin of the Sardâr of Kaiṭhal: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:—Legend, very rough. باد[شاہ] سـ[کہ] زن

Marks:—Obscure.

[38] The coins of these Râjâs are unfortunately not given in the order of reigns, which really occurred as follows,—Gajpat, Bhâg, Fath (no specimen), Saṅgat, Sarûp, Raghbîr.

Reverse :—Legend, very rough [ضر] ب [جلـ] وس [mark] [ميمنـ] ت

Marks : —None.

No. 24.—Coin of the Sardar of Kaiṭhal ; *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend, rough but better than the two preceding.

[با] حمد بادشـ [اه] سـ [كـر] زن

Marks : — [mark] over باحمد.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر] ب [جلو] س [mark] [ميمنـ] ت

Marks : — [mark] before the س of جلوس

No. 25.—Coin of the Sardâr of Kaiṭhal : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend, badly cut and worn بادشـ [اه] سـ [كـ] ز [ن] [سـ] يم

Marks : —None, but the mark [mark] is apparently meant for the tail of the م of حكم .

Reverse :—Legend [ضر] ب [جلـ] وس [mark]

Marks : —None.

No. 26.—Coin of the Sardâr of Kaiṭhal *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend, very rough شد [با] حمـ [د] [باد] شـ [اه]

Marks : — [mark] after باحمد.

Reverse :—Legend [جلـ] وس [mark] [ميمنـ] ت

Marks : — [mark] before the س of جلوس

Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr.

No. 27.—Coin of 'Umr Khân : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend, finely cut

[حكـ] م شد از [با] حمد بادشـ [اه] سـ [كـر] زن برسيم [ا] وج [مـ] اهي

Marks : —Numerous and peculiar to this coin : [mark] over باحمد ; [mark] under it ; [mark] under بادشاه ; [mark] inside the ن of زن ; [mark] under سيم ; [mark] after اوج .

Reverse :—Legend [ضر] ب [سرهنـ] د [جـ] لوس [ميمنـ] ت [مانـ] وس

Marks : — [mark] after the س of جلوس ; [mark] between the و and س of this word ; and over و [mark]. after سرهند [mark] and over it the same mark. In the س of جلوس instead of [mark] we have the letter ع the initial of 'Umr Khân's name as his sign. All the Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr coins have such an initial as a distinguishing mark. The omission of the [mark] in this place is very rare in these series. About ع are [mark] and [mark] as marks.

No. 28.—Coin of 'Umr Khân : *ex. coll.* B. M.

Identical with the preceding specimen, except that the rare words تابماه on these coins are indicated on the obverse, and [mark] is obviously used as an ornament in the س of مانوس on the reverse.

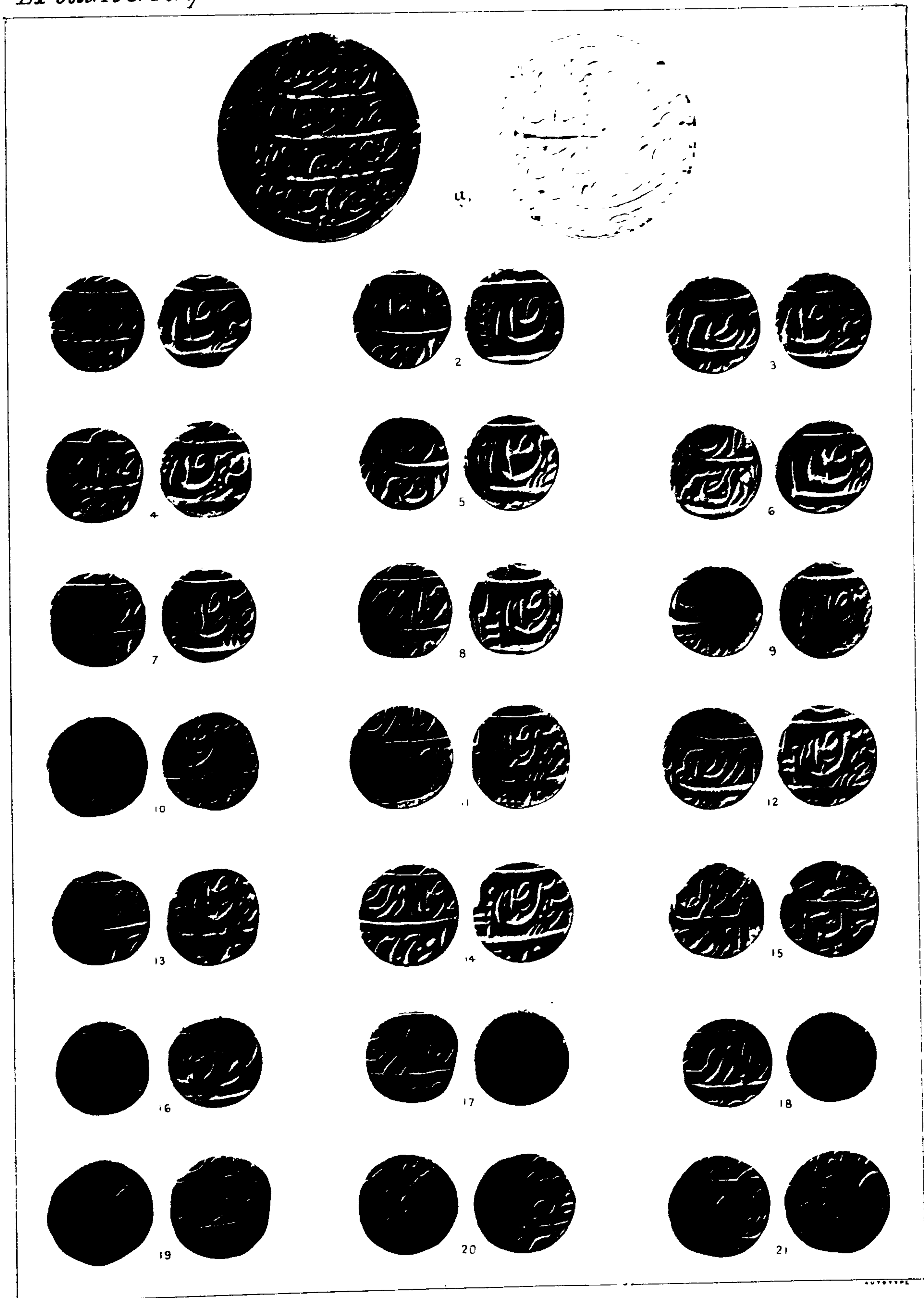
No. 29.—Coin of Asadu'llah Khân : *ex. coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend [حكـ] م شد از [بيچو] ن [باحمـ] د بادشـ [اه] سـ [كـ] زن برسيـ [م]

Marks : — [mark] over حمد .

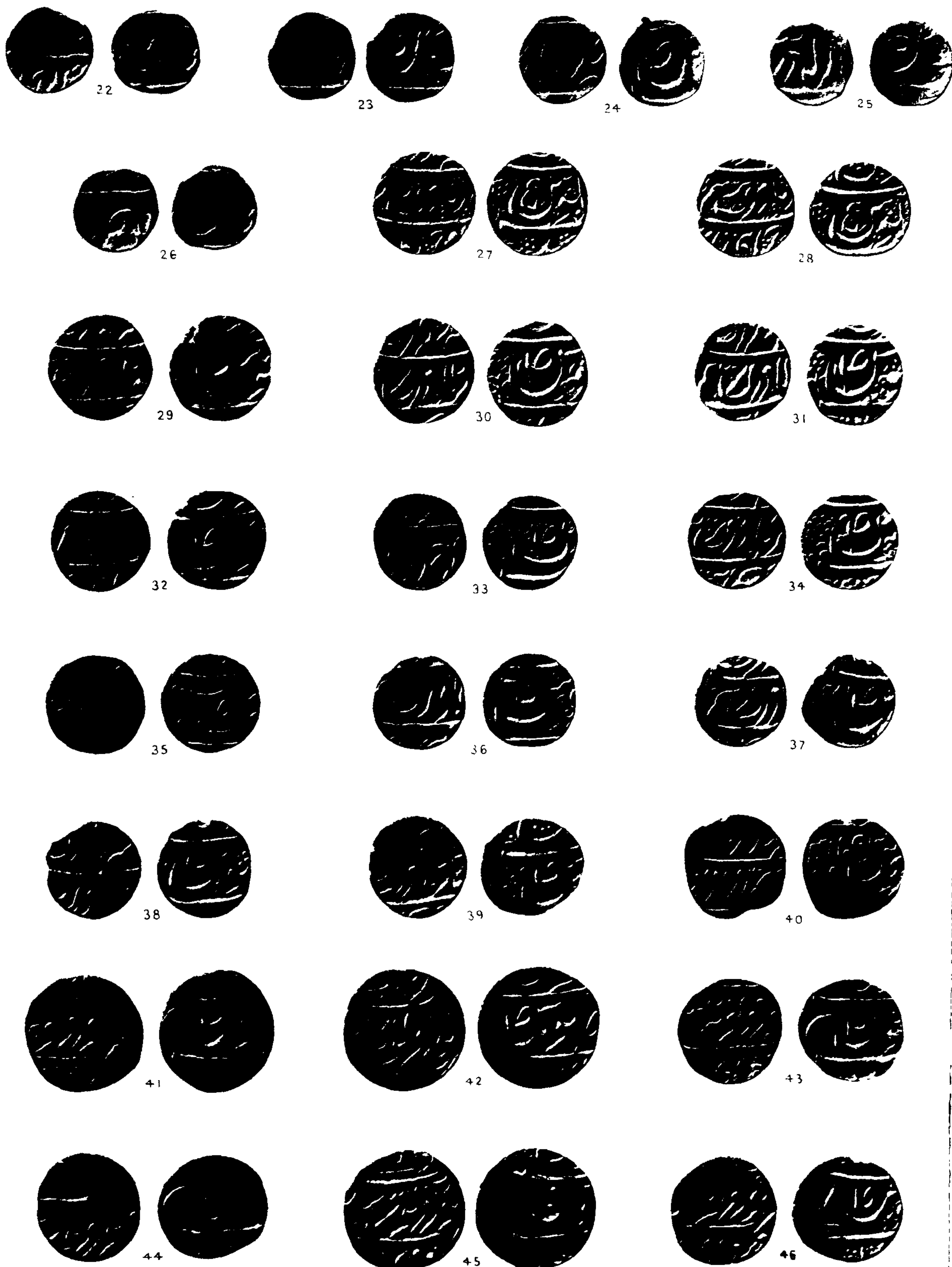
Reverse :—Legend [ضر] ب [جلـ] وس [mark] [ميمنـ] ت [ما] نوس

Marks : — [mark] between س and و in جلوس ; [mark] over و in the same word ; indications of the same flower ornament as in No. 27 and of a trefoil ornament in the س of مانوس. The distinguishing sign of this ruler is a straight | after the [mark] in the س of جلوس.



COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.

Full size.



COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.

Full size.

Nos. 30, 31 and 32.—Coins of Amir Khân: Nos. 30 and 31 *ex. coll.* R. C. T.; No. 32 *ex. coll.* B. M.

These coins are practically the same as No. 29, except that the *alif* standing for the initial of امیر is a curved one, whereas that standing for the initial of اسدالله is straight. No. 32 is a rough, worn specimen.

No. 33.—Coin of Sikandar 'Alî Khân: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend حکم شد از [بیچو]ن [ب]احمد باد ش[اه]

Marks:— after باحمد.

Reverse:—Legend [ضر]ب [جل]وس [میمنـ]ت [مانو]س

Marks:— (being a clear *kalghî* or crest) after the س of جلوس; and within the س of that word the letter س as the initial of سکندر over

No. 34.—Coin of Sûbê Khân *alias* Maḥbûb 'Alî Khân: *ex. coll.* R. C. T.[39]

Obverse:—Legend [حکـ]م شد [باحمـ]د بادش[اه] [سکـ]ـه زن برسه [یم] [او]ج [مـ]ـاهی

Marks:— after باحمد.

Reverse:—Legend [ضر]ب [جلو]س [میمنـ]ت [مانو]س

Marks:—Same as on the preceding, but in س of جلوس the letter م as the initial of محبوب; and under it. There are signs also of under the ب of ضرب.

Nos. 35 and 36. Coins of Ibrâhîm Khân: *ex. coll.* R. C. T.

Two separate types: No. 35 is a fine coin with, on the obverse, over the د of بادشاه and over the و of اوج. The marks on the reverse are remarkable: after the س of جلوس and within it, and over it. اب for ابراهیم are clear in both coins. The *kalghî* is here, it will be observed, turned into a flower.

In No. 36 there is a clear return to the *kalghî* and the ornaments of Nos. 33 and 34, the mark peculiar to the top of the *kalghî* being visible after the س of جلوس on the reverse. There are however within the س and over it, as in the last coin. On the obverse the elaborate ornament over the د of بادشاه turns into a simple .

Nâbhâ.[40]

No. 37.—Coin of Jaswant Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend از [بیچو]ن [با] دشا [ه] سکه زن برسیم و

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend [میمنـ]ـت [جلو]س ۸۳

Marks:— rude *kalghî*, the mark of Jaswant Singh; ۸۳ is for ۱۸۸۳, *i.e.*, St. 1883 = A. D. 1826.

No. 38.—Coin of Jaswant Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend [حکـ]م شد از قادر [بیچو]ن بر بادش[اه] زن برسه [یم]

Marks:— before با in بادشاه.

---

[39] These No. 33 and 34 have become reversed on the plate unfortunately. Sûbê (or Maḥbûb 'Alî) Khân preceded Sikandar 'Alî Khân.

[40] The coins of this State in the plate are not according to date of striking, the order of which is 38 (probably), 39, 37, 40, 42, 41, 43 (?), 44, 45, 46.

Reverse :— [ضر]ب [جا]وس ۱۵ [میمذ]ت [مانو]س

Marks :— ❀ over و in جلوس and ✕ between و and س; signs after *kalghî* of س . No Hindu date on this coin, but I think it is undoubtedly Jaswant Siṅgh's, because of his mark thereon, assuming that the local dealers in Paṭiâlâ were right in assuring me that it is a Nâbhâ coin.

No. 39.—Coin of Jaswant Siṅgh : *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse :—Legend (badly preserved) [حکم] شد از [با] حمد بادش [اه] سه [کم] زن بوس [یم]

Marks :— ۱۵ after باحمد

Reverse :—Legend [جلو]س ۱۵ ۷۷ [میمذ]ت [مانو]س

Marks :—Part of the marginal ornament visible :—A *kalghî* partly visible; ❀ after the س of جلوس : ꝏ after the س of مانوس ; ❀ partly visible within it. ۷۷ is for ۱۸۷۷, *i. e.*, St. 1877 = A. D. 1820.

No. 40.—Coin of Jaswant Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend [حکم] شد از [بیچو]ن [باد]ش[اه] [صد] کہ سیم زر از اوج

Marks :—None.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر]ب [جا]وس ۹۳ [میم]نت مانوس

Marks :— ❀ after س in جلوس and ❀ within it. ۹۳ for ۱۸۹۳, *i.e.*, St. 1893 = A. D. 1836.

This coin is of a type differing from the rest in having no ۱۵ as the date of the جلوس.

No. 41.—Coin of Bharpûr Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend, now peculiar to Nâbhâ as dropping the familiar legend of Aḥmad Shâh, and adopting the equally familiar Sikh legend.

[41]دیغ تیغ فتـ[ح] نصرت یافت از گورو گوبند[د] سـ[نگهہ]

Marks :—۱۹۱۷ over گورو giving date St. 1917 = 1860 A. D.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر] ب [ز]ا به [ا] [ج]لوس ۱۵ میمنت [مانـ]وس

Marks :—The *pîpal* leaf of the Sikh coins is evidently the mark of Bharpûr Singh star ✹ between و and س

No. 42.—Coin of Bharpûr Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend [نصر]ت [یا] فت ا ز نانک گوروگوبند سنـ[گهہ]

Marks :— below the ت of یافت and above it ; ۱۹۰۷ over گورو giving date St. 1907 = 1850 A. D.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر]ب [د]ا [به] ا جلوس ۱۵ [میمذ]ت [مانـ]وس

Marks :—Same as in preceding coin, and added over ب in ضرب ; ۱۹۰۷ over the و of جلوس ; ✕ over the ج of the same words; 8 between the و and س of مانوس ; ✕ between the two *alifs* of نابها.

No. 43.—Coin of Bharpûr Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend [دیـ]غ فتح بید[رنگ نصر]ت [گ]ورو گوبند [سنـ]گهہ [یا فـ]ت

Marks :—۱۹۱ over گورو giving a date between St. ۱۹۱۰ and ۱۹۱۹ or between A. D. 1853 and 1862.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر]ب [جا]وس ۱۵ [میمذ]ت [مانو]س

Marks :—Same as on No. 41 : but after the ۱۵ in the س of جلوس.

No. 44.—Coin of Bharpûr Siṅgh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

---

41 دیغ is an interesting word as being a false Arabicism rhyming to تیغ following. The word is really دیگ a cauldron The verse means "the pot, the sword, the victory, the conquest, Gurû Gôbind Siṅgh obtained from Nânak": "the pot" corresponding "to the purse," for with the old Pañjâb Chiefs he that could fill the stomachs of his followers was sure to obtain many.

Obverse:— Legend گورو گوب[ند] سـ[نگهر] یافت از نانک

Marks:— ۱۹۲۰ over گورو giving date St. 1920 = A. D. 1863.

Reverse:— Same as that of No. 43.

No. 45.—Coin of Hirâ Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:— Legend [تیـ]غ فتح بید[رنگ] [نصر]ت گورو گوبند سنگ[هـ] [یا]فت از نانک

Marks:— Numerous small strokes and dots about the letters; the long cross stroke of the کـ of سنگهـ is clearly visible over the ت of یافت. ۱۹۲۸ over گورو, *i.e.*, St. 1928 = A. D. 1871.

Reverse:— Legend (rubbed) [ضر]ب نابها [جلـ]وس [میمنـ]ت [مانو]س

Marks:—*kaṭár* or short dagger after the س of جلوس, which is the mark of Hírâ Singh; accompanied by a flower ; the star peculiar to these coins between the و and س of جلوس; part of the marginal ornament visible.

No. 46.—Coin of Hirâ Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:— Legend and marks same as in the preceding coin, but date ۱۹۲۹, *i.e.*, St. 1929, = A. D. 1872.

Reverse:— Legend and marks same as last coin, but clearer.

Marks:— Numerous lines and dots about the letters with ❀ after each *alif* in نابها.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM UDAYPUR IN GWALIOR.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit these inscriptions from rubbings placed at my disposal, together with others, by **Mr.** Fleet, to whom they were made over by General Sir A. Cunningham. The originals are at **Udaypur**,[1] a town now belonging to the State of Gwâlior, and once forming part of the kingdom of Mâlava; Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 52, Lat. 23° 54′ N., Long 78° 7′ E. The inscriptions A. and C. are important, chiefly because they show that **the Chaulukya rulers of Aṇhilwâḍ** do not vainly boast when in their inscriptions[2] they claim to have repeatedly defeated the kings of **Mâlava**. And the inscription B. is of some interest, both for its date and because it contains the name of one of the districts which is mentioned in the inscription C. I may add here that there is **another inscription at Udaypur**, which in line 3 professes to have been recorded during the reign of victory of **Jayasiṁha**,[3] the predecessor of the king **Kumârapâladêva** who is mentioned in the inscription A., but that the condition of the rubbing renders its publication at present impossible. According to a statement in pencil which is on the rubbing, this last inscription is outside the entrance of the great temple of the town; it contains 12 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2′ 8″ broad by 1′ 5″ high.

A.—Stone Inscription of Kumârapâladêva.

(The Vikrama year 1220 ?).

This inscription is stated to be inside the east entrance of the great temple of the town. It consists of 20 lines; and the **writing** covers a space of about 1′ broad by 1′11″ high. But the inscription is **incomplete** now; for, at the beginning of each line we miss from about eight to ten *aksharas*, which may have covered a space of about eight inches broad, all the way down, on the proper right of the actually preserved writing. The **size of the letters** is between 1″ and 1¼″. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and the **language** is Sanskṛit; and, judging from what

[1] See *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 81, and Vol. X. p. 65.

[2] See *ante*, Vol VI. p. 186. Compare also *ante*, Vol. IV p. 266: *Kîrtikaumudî*, Introduction, p. xii.: Professor Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskṛit MSS.* for 1883-84, pp. 20-21, and the verses at the end of the several *pâdas* of Hêmachandra's Sanskṛit grammar.

[3] Regarding the word *Tribhuvanagaṇḍa*, spoken of *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 186, I would point out that in a MS. which was written during the reign of Jayasiṁha, *Tribhuvanagaṇḍa* is a name applied to Jayasiṁha himself. See my *Report* for 1880-81, p. 25, No. 41. Compare also *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 2, p. xiii., No. 56, line 2.

remains, the whole inscription was in prose throughout. The writing appears on the whole to be well preserved; but, the rubbing of the lower part being in some places very indistinct, and the inscription being incomplete, all I can say about the specific purpose for which it was put up is, that the **inscription** was intended to record certain donations in favour of the temple of the god Ûdalêśvara[4] at the town of **Udayapura**, by a personage whose name appears to be Vasantapâla, and who belonged to a family the name of which is given in line 9, but which I am unable to make out with certainty.

The historically important portion of the inscription is contained in lines 1-8, from which we learn that the above-mentioned donations were made during the reign of the (Chaulukya) king **Kumârapâladêva** of **Aṇa**[**hilapâṭaka**], the vanquisher of the king of **Śâkambharî** and of the lord of **Avantî** (*i. e.* the ruler of Mâlava), while **Yaśôdhava**[**la**] was prime-minister, and when a certain Râjya[pâla ?], who is described as *mahâ-sâdhanika*,[5] and who had been appointed by Kumârapâladêva, was governing Udayapura. For this statement proves beyond doubt that, when the donations were made, the town of Udayapura, probably together with the surrounding districts, formed part of the kingdom of Aṇhilwâḍ.

The date of the inscription was fully given at the commencement of line 1, but all that remains of it now, is the *aksharas* **sha-sudi 15 Gurau,** *i. e.* 'on the 15th of the bright half of a month the name of which must end with the syllable *sha* (or possibly *kha*), on a **Thursday.**' Nevertheless, the statement contained in line 11, that the donations were made on the occasion of **an eclipse of the moon,** enables us to calculate the date and to supply the missing portion of it at the commencement of line 1, in my opinion, with absolute certainty.

From the inscription C. below we learn that Kumârapâladêva had ceased to rule in April, A.D. 1173; and from other sources[6] we know that he had ascended the throne about A.D. 1143-44. In an attempt to settle the proper date of our inscription, we must then first find out what lunar eclipses from about the beginning of A.D. 1141 to April 1173 fell on a Thursday, and what dates of the Hindu calendar corresponded to the particular Thursdays so found. The result of our proceeding in this manner is as follows:—

There were lunar eclipses on Thursday,—

the 12th February,	A.D. 1142,	= Phâlguna-sudi 15;
the 16th June,	A.D. 1155,	= Âshâḍha-sudi 15;
the 9th October,	A.D. 1158,	= Âśvina-sudi 15;
the 18th August,	A.D. 1160,	= Bhâdrapada-sudi 15;
the 1st February,	A.D. 1162,	= Mâgha-sudi 15;
the 12th December,	**A.D. 1163,**	**= Vikrama 1220 expired, Pausha-sudi 15;**
the 27th May,	A.D. 1165,	= Jyaishtha-sudi 15;
the 6th April,	A.D. 1167,	= Chaitra-sudi 15;
the 19th September,	A.D. 1168,	= Âśvina-sudi 15;
the 13th January,	A.D. 1172,	= Mâgha-sudi 15.

From this statement it appears that during the whole reign of Kumârapâladêva there was no lunar eclipse on a Thursday in a Hindu month the name of which ends with *kha;* and during the same period there was only one lunar eclipse, that of the 12th December, A D. 1163, on a Thursday in a Hindu month the name of which ends with *sha*. Accordingly, **Thursday,**[7] **the 12th December, A.D. 1163,** = Pausha-sudi 15 of Vikrama 1220 expired, must be the date of our inscription, and the full date at the commencement of line 1 must have been **Saṁvat**

[4] The name of this deity, *Ûdalêśvara-dêva*, occurs in several other inscriptions at Udaypur; and we also find it in line 5 of an inscription from Bhadrêśvar, in *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, No. 2, page xiii., No. 56. *Srî-Ûdala* occurs in *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. II, p. 218. We may perhaps compare *Udalâkâśyapa*, which in the *Pâraskara-gṛihyasûtra* occurs as the name of a goddess of agriculture.

[5] This title occurs in the grant of Vâkpatirâja of Dhârâ. *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 160, l. 9.

[6] See *e. g. ante*, Vol VI. p. 213.

[7] According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* the eclipse (a partial one) would have taken place, at Ujjain, 12 h 26 m. after mean sunrise. And by Professor Jacobi's Tables the full-moon *tithi* ended 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise

1220 varshê Pausha-sudi 15 Gurau. And I may point out that this result is in perfect accord with a statement at the end of a MS. of the *Kalpachûrṇi*, given by me in my *Report on the Search for Sanskṛit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 10, according to which the same **Yaśôdhavala**, who is mentioned as prime-minister in the present inscription, held the same position under Kumârapâladêva in "Saṁvat 1218 varshê dvi° Âshâḍha-śudi 5 Gurau," = Thursday, 29th June, A.D. 1161, *i. e.* within two years and a half of the date which I assign to the present inscription.

TEXT.[8]

1 . . . **sha[9]-sudi 15 Gurau** ‖ Ady=êha śrîmad-**Aṇa-**[10]
2 . . . [j]âvalî-virâjita-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahâ-[11]
3 . . . ti-vara-ladhva(bdha)-prauḍhapratâpa-nijabhuja-[vikra]-[12]
4 . . . **Sâ(śâ)kaṁbharîbhûpâla**-śrîd[13]-**Avaṁtînâtha-śrîmat-Ku-**[14]
5 . . . tan-niyukta-mahâmâtya-śrî-**Jasôdhava-**[15]
6 . . . [sta]-mudrâ-vyâpârân=paripaṁthayat=ity=êta-[16]
7 . . . [jâ]dhirâja-śrî-**Kumârapâladêvêna** nija-[17]
8 . . . lê tan-niyukta-mahâsâ[dha]nika-śrî-Râ[jya]-
9 . . . [dhva(bdha)?]-śrî-**Udayapur[ê]** [Sthârôṁ ?]vak-ânvaya-mahârâ[ja]-
10 . . . mahârâjaputra-śrî-Vasaṁtapâl[ên=âtra anu- ?]
11 . . . khya[tê][18] yathâ ‖ Adya **sômagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi**
12 . . . [svarṇṇa ?][19]-samâhṛita-tîrthôdakaiḥ snâtvâ jagad-[gu]-
13 . . . [sva]-puṇya-jasô-tivṛidhayê [20] **Udayapurê** kâri-
14 . . . gṛih-ôpêta[ṁ] dêvagṛih-â[vâ]sana-pânîya[kô]-
15 . . . lâ[di]-gṛih-ôpêtaṁ siṁgha-[dvau ?] 2 tura[gâś=ch=âshṭau ?]
16 . . . m-ôpêtaṁ śrî-Ûdalêsva(śva)ra-dêvâya sa[ttra]m=a-
17 . . . sâ(śâ)sanêna pradatta[ṁ] tathâ srê(śrê)shṭhôda[kuka ?]-
18 . . . kôḍâvô 1 êkâ pradattâ [‖*] Asmat=prada-
19 . . . vaṁsa(śa)jaiḥ pâlanîyaṁ [‖*] Asy=ârthê [yâ anya-lô ?]-
20 . . . maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrî[ḥ*] ‖ [21]

B.—Stone Pillar Inscription of the (Vikrama) year 1222.

This inscription is stated to be on a pillar south of the east entrance of the great temple of the town. It consists of five lines. The writing covers a space of about 1′3″ broad by 6½″ high, and appears to be well preserved. The size of the letters is between ¾″ and ⅞″. The characters are Nâgarî; the language is Sanskṛit; and the whole is in prose.

The inscription records that the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious **Châhaḍa**,[22] apparently for the

---

[8] From the rubbing.

[9] I believe the commencement of this line to have been: *Ôṁ saṁvat* 1220 *varshê Pausha-sudi* 15 *Gurau*. See my introductory remarks.

[10] i. e. *-Aṇahilapâṭakê samasta-râjâvalî-*.

[11] i. e. *-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvar-Ômôpativara-*, or words to the same effect.

[12] One would expect some such phrase as *vikrama-raṇâṅgana-vinirjita-*.

[13] This, *śrîda*, appears to have been the original reading of the stone; but the rubbing looks as if the two *aksharas* had been struck out and as if the preceding *la* had been altered to *lâ*, thus suggesting the reading *-bhûpâl-Âvaṁtînâtha-*.

[14] i. e. *-Kumârapâladêva-kalyâṇa-vijaya-râjyê*.

[15] i. e. *-Yaśôdhavalê śrîśrîkaraṇâdau samasta-mudrâ-vyâpârân*.

[16] i. e. *-êtasmin kâlê pravartamânê mahârâjâdhirâja-*.

[17] Here I should expect some phrase like *nija-pratâp-ôpârjita-*, followed by the name of a district or province, followed again by the word *-maṇḍalê*.

[18] i. e. *likhyatê*; compare *e. g.* Professor Bhandarkar's *Report on Sanskṛit MSS.* for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 23.

[19] Here and below the rubbing in certain places is so indistinct that I cannot be absolutely certain about the actual readings.

[20] Read *-puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê*.

[21] Below this, there is one more line of writing which appears to be in a different hand and not to be connected with the preceding.

[22] Châhaḍa appears to be the name of one of Kumârapâladêva's generals; see *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 267.

spiritual benefit of his deceased parents,[23] gave half the village of **Sâṁgavaṭṭâ** in the **Bhṛiṁgârî-chatuḥshashṭi**, *i. e.* the group of sixty-four villages called Bhṛiṁgârî, (probably to the temple at which the inscription was put up) at **Udayapura**. And the inscription is chiefly interesting for the statement in lines 1-2, according to which the donation was made on the occasion of the **akshaya-tṛitîyâ**, on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the year 1222, on a **Monday**.

Referring this **date** to the Vikrama era, we obtain for Vaiśâkha śukla 3 the following possible equivalents: —

for the northern year 1222 current, in which Vaiśâkha was intercalary,—
for the first Vaiśâkha, — Friday, 27th March, A.D. 1164;
for the second Vaiśâkha, — Sunday, 26th April, A.D. 1164;
for the northern year 1222 expired, or the southern current year,—Thursday, 15th April, A.D. 1165;
for the southern year 1222 expired, — **Monday**, 4th April, A.D. 1166, when the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

The true date therefore is clearly **Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1166**, and the result shows that the year 1222 of the date is the **southern expired** Vikrama year.

The **localities** Sâṁgavaṭṭâ and Bhṛiṁgârî, the second of which we shall meet again in the inscription C. below, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[24]

1 Ôṁ[25] **samvat 1222 varshê Vaiśâkha-śudi 3 Sômê** ऽdy=êha **Uda-**
2 **yapurê akshayatṛitîyâ-parvaṇi** Avôṁṭî-[26][G]ôpâ[la]-[puṇya?]-s[au(śau)]-
3 [cha-dharmmâ]ya ṭha°[27]-śrî-**Châhaḍêna** udaka-pûrvakaṁ âchaṁdra-kâli-
4 kaṁ **Bhṛiṁgârî-chatu[ḥ*]shashṭhau(shṭau) Sâṁgavaṭṭâ**-grâm-ârddhaṁ pradattaṁ ||
5 Yô na pâlayati sa mahâ-paṁchapâpa-bhâgî bhavatu ||

C.—Stone Inscription of Ajayapâladêva.

The (Vikrama) year 1229.

This inscription was found by Dr. F. E. Hall 'in Udayâditya's magnificent temple to Siva,' and was first edited[28] by him in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. p. 125. According to Dr. Hall, it is on a thick slab of stone, which is detached from its original setting. The lower edge of the stone is broken away or otherwise injured; and, in consequence, line 22 of the inscription, which would seem to have been the concluding line, has almost completely disappeared, and a few *aksharas* are missing towards the end of line 21. Otherwise the writing is well preserved, and, excepting two *aksharas* in line 8, and one each in lines 12 and 21, there is nowhere any doubt about the actual reading of the inscription.

The existing **writing** covers a space of 1′ 6″ broad by 1′ 11½″ high. The **size of the letters** is between ¾″ and ⅞″. The **characters** are Nâgarî; the **language** is Sanskṛit; and, excepting three benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 14-19, the inscription is in prose. The **orthography** calls for no particular remark; and, as regards **grammar** in general, it need only be stated here that the word *grâma* has been throughout used as a neuter.

The **inscription**, after the words 'Ôṁ, ôṁ, adoration to Siva,' and a date which will be treated of below, refers itself[29] (in lines 1-5) to the reign of the (Chaulukya) king **Ajayapâ-**

[23] In the original this passage is doubtful; see below, note 26.

[24] From the rubbing.

[25] Expressed by a symbol.

[26] The whole passage, from here up to *dharmmâya*, is indistinct in the rubbing, and some of the *aksharas* may have to be read differently.

[27] i. e., *ṭhakkura*.

[28] An important correction of the text published by Dr. Hall was first suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 244, note 12.

[29] It may be noticed that in line 1 the words *ady=êha* 'to-day here, (at Aṇahilapâṭaka)' have been thoughtlessly copied from other Chaulukya grants; for the present grant was made (line 6) at Udayapura.

ladêva of Aṇahilapâṭaka, and to the time when **Sômêśvara** was that king's chief minister.[30] At that time (lines 5-11) the illustrious **Lûṇapasâka,** an officer appointed[31] by the king to govern **Udayapura,** which was in the **Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdaśaka** province (*maṇḍala*), *i.e.* the great group of twelve called Bhâillasvâmin, — a province acquired by the king's own prowess,[32] — on the occasion of the *yugâdi* which coincides with the *akshaya-tṛitîyâ*, gave the village of **Umarathâ,** which was in the *pathaka* called **Bhṛiṁgârikâ-chatuḥshashṭi,** *i. e.* the group of sixty-four villages called Bhṛiṁgârikâ, to the god Vaidyanâtha ('Siva) at the town of **Udayapura,** for the spiritual benefit of the deceased *Râja*, the illustrious Sôlaṇadêva, a son of the *Râjaputra*, the illustrious Vîlhaṇadêva, of the Muhilaüṅdha (?) family.[33] The boundaries of Umarathâ were (lines 12-13), — to the east, the village of **Nâha**; to the south, the village of **Vahiḍâu[ṁṭhâ]**; to the west, the village of **Dêulî**; and to the north, the village of **Lakhaṇaüḍâ.** Lines 14-19 contain three benedictive and imprecatory verses, together with an admonition to preserve the above grant. Lines 20-21 state that this donation was received (*upârjitam*; on behalf, as I take it, of the god) by the most pious and highly reverend, the holy Nîlakaṇṭhasvâmin; and the concluding line appears to have contained some imprecation, directed against people who might interfere with the grant.

Since we know from the preceding inscriptions that the town of Udayapura belonged to the kingdom of Aṇhilwâḍ already under Jayasiṁha and Kumârapâladêva, the historical value of the present inscription lies mainly in this, that it furnishes **a date,** which admits of verification, **for the reign of** their successor **Ajayapâladêva.**

To my knowledge, **two such dates** have been hitherto made public. One of them, corresponding according to Mr. Fleet to the 27th (and 29th) October, A.D. 1175, is furnished by the copper-plate grant published above, p. 82. The other occurs in the *Narapatijayacharyâ*, a treatise on omens by Narapati, and is contained in the following verses[34]:—

Vikramârka-gatê kâlê paksh-âgni-bhânu-1232-vatsarê ।
mâse Chaitrê sitê pakshê pratipad-Bhaumavâsarê ॥
Srîmaty=**Aṇahilanagarê** khyâtê śrî-**Ajayapâla**-nṛipa-râjyê ।
śrîman-Narapati-kavinâ rachitam=idaṁ śâkunaṁ śâstram ॥

i. e., 'this work on omens was completed by the illustrious poet Narapati at the famous town of **Aṇahilapâṭaka,** in the glorious reign of the illustrious king **Ajayapâla,** in the year 1232 of the time of Vikramârka, on the first of the bright half of the month Chaitra, on a Tuesday.' The proper equivalent of this date (for the northern expired Vikrama year 1232, or the southern current year, and for the *nija* Chaitra) is **Tuesday, 25th March, A.D. 1175,** preceding the last-mentioned date by about seven months.

The present inscription, now, in line 1 is **dated,** in figures only, **'in the year 1229, on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, on a Monday;'** and according to line 7 the donation, which the inscription is intended to record, was made for the spiritual benefit of a deceased person (probably the grandfather of the donor) on the occasion of the **yugâdi** which coincides with the **akshaya-tṛitîyâ.** *Akshaya-tṛitîyâ* is the well-known name of the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, and this same *tithi* is regarded as the commencement of the Kṛita-yuga; and religious ceremonies in honour of the dead are prescribed for the *akshaya-tṛitîyâ* as well as for the *yugâdi*.[35] Referring our date to the Vikrama era, and calculating for Vaiśâkha śukla 3, we find —

for the northern year 1229 current, — Saturday, 10th April, A.D 1171;

---

[30] For the further particulars, see above, p. 84.

[31] The technical expression is *niyukta-daṇḍa*, which occurs again *e. g.* in Professor Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 21, and for which we find *nirûpita-daṇḍa* in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, App., p 51. Compare with it *niyukta-mahâsâdhanika* in line 8 of the inscription A. above.

[32] Considering that Udayapura belonged already to Ajayapâla's predecessors, the above expression can hardly be taken literally.

[33] See below, note 46.

[34] See Professor Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1882-83, p. 220 Attention may be drawn to the fact, mentioned in a preceding verse, that Narapati's father Âmradêva lived at Dhârâ in Mâlava.

[35] Compare for this and the following the *Dharmasindhu*, Bo. Ed. of Śaka 1796, p. 72.

for the northern year 1229 expired, or the southern current year, — Wednesday, 29th March, A.D. 1172;

for the southern year 1229 expired, — Tuesday, 17th April, A.D. 1173.

In none of the three years did the third *tithi* end on a Monday; but since in the southern expired year 1229 it covered at least part of a Monday, we must for this particular year find the exact beginning and end of the given *tithi*, and must inquire whether there is anything in the nature of the festive days or the religious ceremonies with which the date is connected, that would allow or oblige us to combine the third *tithi* with the Monday on which it commenced.

By Professor Jacobi's Tables the third *tithi* with which we are concerned, commenced 1 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) of Monday, 16th April, A.D. 1173, and it ended 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 17th April; by Professor Keru Lakshman's Tables it commenced 4 *gh.* 13 *p.* after mean sunrise (for Bombay) of the Monday, and ended 7 *gh.* 15 *p.* after mean sunrise of the Tuesday; and, allowing for any possible differences of time, we may say that the *tithi* certainly had begun at Udaypur before the 8th *ghaṭikâ* of the Monday and had ended before the 11th *ghaṭikâ* of the Tuesday. Now in regard to a *Yugâdi-śrâddha* in the light half of a month, the rule laid down in the *Purushârthachintâmaṇi* and quoted with approval by the author of the *Dharmasindhu* is that, when a *tithi* covers part of two days in such a manner that it ends before the 13th *ghaṭikâ* after mean sunrise of the second day, while it occupies the 13th, 14th, and 15th *ghaṭikâs* after mean sunrise or part of those *ghaṭikâs* of the first day, the śrâddha-ceremonies must invariably be performed on the *first* day.[36] This rule is strictly applicable in the present instance; and, in accordance with it, the ceremonies referred to in the inscription, and everything connected with them, had necessarily to be performed on the **Monday**,[37] and could not possibly have been deferred to the Tuesday; and the Monday is rightly coupled with the third as **a running tithi**. Accordingly, **Monday, the 16th April, A.D. 1173**, is the true equivalent of the date of our inscription; and the result shows that the year 1229 of the date is the **southern expired** Vikrama year, exactly as was the case with the year in the date of the preceding inscription B.

The third trustworthy date which we have thus found for the reign of Ajayapâladêva, is, then, **Monday, 16th April, A.D. 1173**, civilly the second of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the southern expired year 1229, or the southern current year 1230; and, if there be any truth in the traditional statement, according to which he began to rule on Pausha-sudi 12 and reigned for three years, **Ajayapâla's accession should have fallen on the 28th December, A.D. 1172**, = Pausha-sudi 12 of Vikrama 1229 expired, or 1230 current.[38]

As regards the illustrious **Lûṇapasâka**, who made the grant, it is clear that his name is a corrupted form of *Lôṇapasâya*, the regular Prâkṛit equivalent of the Sanskṛit *Lavaṇaprasâda.* Another form of the same name is *Lûṇapasâja*, which occurs in line 13 of the copper-plate grant of the Vikrama year 1317, published *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 210. There Lûṇapasâjadêva is described as *Râṇaka*, and as the grand-father of the person who made the donations recorded in that inscription; and I do not consider it impossible that he may be identical with the Lûṇapa-

[36] The main rule is that, in the light half of the month, the *Yugâdi-śrâddha* (or *akshayatritîyâ-śrâddha*) should be performed during the 13th, 14th and 15th *ghaṭikâs* of the day. And accordingly, in the inscription B. above, where the *tithi* ends 21 h. 35 m. after sunrise of the second day, it is correctly coupled with the *second* day. And the same is the case in a date, quoted *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209 (. . . Śaka-saṁvat 1078 . . . . Vaiśâkha-śuddha-akshaya-tritiyâyâm yugâdi-parvvaṇi Bhaumadinê . . . , = Tuesday, 24th April, A.D. 1156), where the *tithi* ends 13 h. 58 m. after sunrise of the second day (the Tuesday). — In the dark half, the *Yugâdi-śrâddha* should be performed during the 16th, 17th and 18th *ghaṭikâs* of the day. An example for this is furnished by the date, quoted *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212 (. . . Śaka-varshaṁ 1047 . . . Bhâdrapada ba 13 Śukravâra mahâtithi-yugâdiy-aṁdu, = Friday, 28th August, A.D. 1125), where the *tithi* ends 16 h. 9 m. after sunrise of the second day (the Friday).

[37] As ceremonies performed on the *akshaya-tritiyâ* are said to be particularly meritorious when the *akshaya-tṛitîyâ* is joined with the *nakshatra* Rôhiṇî and with a Wednesday, I may add here that on the above Monday the *nakshatra was* Rohiṇî up to about 15 h. after sunrise.

[38] Professor Bühler informs me that, according to the *Vichâraśrêṇî*, Kumârapâla, the predecessor of Ajayapâla, died Vikrama-saṁvat 1229, Pausha-sudi 12; according to all other Prabandhas, Vikrama-samvat 1230, Pausha-sudi 12. Mr. Kathavate, *Kîrtikaumudî*, Introduction p. xiii., quotes '1232. dvâdaśi Phâlguna-sudi,' which must be wrong for the accession of Ajayapâla, and may rather be the traditional date of his death. Dharmasâgara's *Pravachanaparîkshâ*, in Professor Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 457, has:—'tataḥ 1230 Ajayapâla-râjyaṁ varsha 3.'

sâka of the present inscription, although an interval of 88 years between grandfather and grandson may appear rather long.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription, **Bhâillasvâmin** has been already identified with the modern Bhêlsa,[39] a town on the eastern bank of the Bêtwa river, about 34 miles south of Udaypur. The various villages and the district of **Bhṛiṁgârikâ**, which is also mentioned in the inscription B., still await identification.

TEXT.[40]

1 Ôṁ[41] ‖ Ôṁ namaḥ Sivâya ‖ **Saṁvat 1229 varshê** ।[42] **Vaiśâkha-sudi** 3[43] **Sômê** ‖ Ady=êha śr[î]-

2 **mad-Aṇahila[pâ]**[44]**ṭakê** samastarâjâvalîvirâjita-mahârâ[jâ]dhirâja-paramêśvara-

3 paramamâhêśvara-śrî-**Ajaya[pâ]**[44]**ladêva**-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê tatpâdapadm-ôpajîvî(vi)-ma-

4 hâmâtya-śrî-**Sômêśvarê** śrîśrîkaraṇâdau samasta-mudrâ-vyâpârân paripaṁthayati=î-

5 ty=êvaṁ kâlê pravarttamânê nijapratâpôpârjita-śrî-**Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdaśaka**-[maṁ]-

6 ḍala-prabhujyamânê[45] ady=êha śrî-**Udayapurê** tên=aiva prabhuṇâ niyuktadaṁḍa-śrî-**Lûṇapa**-

7 **sâkêna** dhauta-vâsasî paridhâ[ya] parama-dhârmmikêṇa [bhû]tvâ **akshayatṛitîyâ-yugâdi**-

8 **parvvaṇi** [Mu]hilaü[ndh ?][46]-ânvayê râjaputra-śrî-Vîlhaṇadêva-putra-paramalôk-âṁtarita-râ-

9 ja-śrî-Sôlaṇadêva-śrêyasê atratya-dêva-śrî-Vaidyanâthâya **Bhṛiṁgârikâ-chatuḥsha-shṭhi(shṭi)**-

10 **pathakê** paṁchôpachâra-pûjâ-nimittaṁ savṛikshamâl-âkulaṁ triṇa-[ja]lâśay-ôpêtaṁ

11 chatur-âghâṭa-samanvitaṁ **Umarathâ**-grâmaṁ[47] śâsanêna pradattaṁ ‖ Âghâṭâ[48] [ya]thâ ।

12 Asya grâmasya pûrvvatô **Nâha**-grâmaṁ dakshiṇatô **Vahiḍâu[ṁṭhâ]**-grâmaṁ paśchimatô

13 **Dêulî**-grâmaṁ uttaratô **Lakhaṇaüḍâ**-gramam=êvaṁ hi chatuḥkaṁkaṭa-[49] vi[śu]ddhaṁ grâ[maṁ] [‖*]

14 Va(ba)hubhir[50]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ । yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=[ta]-

15 sya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ‖ chha ‖ Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâṁ । shashṭhi(shṭi)-va-

16 rsha-sahasrâṇi amêdhyê jâyatê kṛimiḥ ‖ chha ‖ Mâṁdhâtâ[51] su-mahîpatiḥ kṛita-yu-

---

[39] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. pp. 111 and 127.

[40] From the rubbing.

[41] Expressed by a symbol.

[42] This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and has perhaps been struck out already in the original.

[43] This figure, for 3, is quite clear in the rubbing; but before it, there is a vertical line, evidently a sign of punctuation, which has been prolonged above the top line of the letters; and after the 3, and partly covering it, there is the sign of *visarga*.

[44] Originally *pa*; altered to *pâ*.

[45] I take the meaning to be :—*Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdaśaka-maṇḍalê (Lûṇapasâkêna) prabhujyamânê śrî-Udayapurê*, i.e., 'at Udayapura, which is in the enjoyment of (or governed by) L., (and is situated) in the Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdaśaka *maṇḍala*.' Compare, *e. g.*, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 210, No 11, l. 8, and Professor Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1882-83, p 223, l. 21; and, for the similar use of *bhuktâ*. *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 160, l. 9.

[46] I am not certain that the consonants in these brackets are really *ndh*; but the way in which the sign for the vowel *û* is joined to the consonants appears to show that the *akshara* does contain the consonant *dh*.

[47] The word *grâma* is used as a neuter here and below.

[48] One would expect to read *asya grâmasy=âghâṭâ yathâ* । *pûrvatô*, *&c.*

[49] Read *chatush-kaṁkaṭa*-.

[50] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh), of this verse and of the next.

[51] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—On this verse see Hall in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXX. p. 203; Bohtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, No. 4831; Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.* p 225. In our text, the end of the third Pâda, *yâvadbhavâ bhûpatir*, gives no sense; Bohtlingk (who would seem to have missed the meaning of the verse) has *yâvad=bhavân=bhûpatir* instead, Bhandarkar's MS. *yâvad=bhavân bhûpatê*, and Hall *yâvanta êv=âbhavan*.

17 gê. slaṁkâra-bhûtô gataḥ sêtur=yêna mahôdadhau virachitaḥ kv=âsau Ḍa(da)śâsy-âṁ-
18 takṛit । anyê ch=âpi Yudhishṭhira-prabhṛitayô yâvad-bha[v]â bhûpatir=n= aikên=âpi
19 samaṁ gatâ ka(va)sumatî manyê tvayâ yâsyati ॥ chha ॥ Ity-âdi paribhâvya
20 śâsanam=idaṁ pâlanîyam ॥ chha ॥ Paramanaishṭhika-mahâbhaṭṭâraka-śrì-[N]î-
21 lakaṁṭha[sv]âminâ [u]pârjitam=idaṁ ॥ chha ॥ Yaḥ kaśchid=atra[52] . . . . . rakô bhavati tê-
22 .[53] . . . .

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

No. 31.—The Four Good Maxims.

First Variant.

In a certain village there lived a **poor merchant** of the Cheṭṭi caste. He had an **only son**, to whom, on his death-bed, he handed a palm-leaf as his only property. The following **four maxims** were inscribed on it:—

(1) " Travel not without a living assistant.
(2) " Sleep not in an inn.
(3) " Neglect not what four or five people say.
(4) " Be not always open towards your wife."

Receiving the leaf containing the four maxims, the old Cheṭṭi's son, who had the greatest regard for his father, promised him, in his last moments, that he would observe each and every one of those maxims to its last letter. Then the old man died, and the funeral rites were duly performed over him.

After the death of the old Cheṭṭi, the difficulties of his son increased, for he had nothing to live upon. So he **resolved to travel** to some distant place, and there to earn his livelihood. While he was thinking over this, **Sômuseṭṭi**, — for that was the youth's name, — bethought him of his father's **first maxim**, — **not to travel without a living assistant.** But where was he to go for an assistant in his poverty-stricken condition? As he was thinking and worrying over this, a crab happened to crawl slowly past him, and placing a literal interpretation on his father's words, he took hold of **the crab**, and put it in an earthen pan full of water, and covering the mouth with a cocoanut-shell started on his journey, with his mind at ease; for had he not now a living assistant for his journey?

In this way Sômuśeṭṭi travelled for about a day, till only one watch remained before the lord of day should sink out of sight. He was extremely tired, and seeing a fine shady banyan tree, he laid himself down overcome by exhaustion, under the cool shade to sleep and give rest to his wearied limbs. The pan, with the crab in it, he kept by his side.

Half-an-hour or so after Sômuśeṭṭi had gone to sleep, **a crow**, which had its nest on the top of the banyan tree, began to caw. Now this was a very dangerous crow, for as soon as it cawed, **a serpent** — the incarnation of Death itself — used to come out of an ant-hole near the tree and drink up the life of any sleeper lying in its shadow. Not one sleeper till that day had ever survived his sleep, and so the tree was much dreaded. However, on this occasion, the crab came out of its pan and pinched Sômuśeṭṭi's hand, and he suddenly awoke in consequence. Getting up, he saw the huge black serpent coming towards him, and away he ran with all the speed that he could command.

Meeting some neatherd boys not far off, he related to them his narrow escape, and they, with one voice, exclaimed that he was a most fortunate man. Said they: — " Friend, many

[52] Here about five *aksharas* are entirely illegible or altogether gone.
[53] The writing in this line is almost completely gone, and only the tops of a few letters are visible in the rubbing.

a man has slept under that tree, but not one, except yourself, ever rose up alive. It is the most dreaded tree in the neighbourhood, and is known by the name of the **crow-cawing tree.** No one from our villages near ever approaches that tree, but only weary travellers, whom we cannot warn or persuade, for we all try to do so when we can; and whenever they resort to it, they always die. So saying the boys went about their duties, and Sômuśeṭṭi, too, thanking his stars and wondering at the wisdom of his father's first maxim, through which alone he had been saved, pursued his course and before twilight reached a village.

He went down the street crying, "Who will feed this beggar with a handful of rice?" Half-a-dozen of the villagers gave him each a handful or two of cooked rice, which served our hero for his simple supper. He then went begging for a lodging wherein to sleep. But though a few would feed him, not a single soul in the whole village would permit him to sleep in his house. Not that the poor villagers were wanting in hospitality, for such kindness has always been proverbial among the rural population of India, specially among Hindus. But unfortunately for Sômuśeṭṭi, this particular village was subject to attacks by robbers; and every now and then some crafty robber had visited it as a beggar or a traveller, and requested the villagers for a place to sleep in. Many a time had their hospitality been requited by plunder; for the pretended traveller would open the door of his host to his comrades, and thus help them to do their terrible work. The misery that the villagers had on several occasions experienced, had obliged them, without making any distinction between good and bad, never to allow anyone to sleep in their houses. They all suggested that Sômuśeṭṭi should go to the village-inn to sleep. But our hero, remembering his father's **second maxim, — not to sleep in an inn,** — preferred the open plain adjoining the village. Thither he went, and spreading a couple of rags on the ground, prepared himself for sleep, thinking over his father's words which had saved his life the preceding night, and admiring his sagacity.

The day's adventures were so impressed upon his mind that, though he was very weary, he did not for a long time fall asleep. At last nature overcame him and he closed his eyelids, but only for a short repose. For as soon as he had stretched his limbs in sleep, he dreamt that a serpent was pursuing him and was almost at the point of biting him. This dream, which was nothing but a recollection of his previous adventure, was not yet finished, when he imagined that several persons were beating him. This was no dream, but a stern reality; for on opening his eyes, he discovered that he was surrounded by a gang of robbers, each one of whom was giving him a blow, saying:—"Give me what you have in your hand." Unable to bear the severe beating to which he was being subjected he collected the rags spread on the ground, and in a pitiable tone said:—"These are all I have in this world; take them and spare my life." Some of the robbers, a little better-hearted than the others, said that he was a pauper, and that it would be as well for them to leave him alone. Others however gave him additional blows for not having anything of any use with him, and walked off with his rags.[1]

All soon left him and proceeded towards the village. Sômuśeṭṭi sat up stupefied, not knowing what to do. He had avoided the village-inn as he had been bidden, and had chosen the most harmless spot he could find, and yet thieves had plundered him of his rags! The danger of the day and horror of the night, not yet over, passed and repassed before his mind, and the more he thought the more stupefied he became. At last, after thinking and thinking for some two or three hours, he rose up from that place, resolving to go to the village-inn, notwithstanding his father's warning words, and spend the remainder of the night there. However, he had not proceeded far when he saw the robbers again. He kept out of their way, and after they had passed, proceeded to the village and to the inn, against entering which his father had so wisely warned him. And the spectacle that met his eyes there! He found the whole village assembled outside the inn, for the robbers had chosen that spot for their havoc that night, and had murdered every soul sleeping in it! Not a soul that had slept there had escaped the cruel hands of the bloodthirsty ruffians, who had come there specially that night because they had heard

[1] A practice very common among the predatory classes in India, who almost always treat their poorer victims in this way.

from one of their spies that a rich traveller was then sojourning there. Sômuśeṭṭi, who a moment before had been calling himself a fool for not having gone into the public inn for his night's repose, now shed tears of joy to the memory of his father.

By this time it was dawn, and the villagers requested Sômuśeṭṭi to oblige them by burying the murdered persons. It is loathsome work to bury the unclaimed dead, and our hero would have avoided the task, but the old Cheṭṭi's **third maxim,** — **"neglect not what four or five people say,"** — rushed into his mind, and, true to his promise, he willingly consented to perform the disagreeable task. In return, the villagers promised to pay him at the rate of five *fanams* for every dead body interred, and gave him the privilege of taking for his own use any property that he might find on the dead. Our hero thus gained a double advantage; he was obeying his father's third maxim, and he was profiting himself materially by it. His reward was indeed a double one, for though the robbers had plundered all the people in the inn before putting them to death, still a great deal remained on the bodies. One of them, indeed, who had been a Cheṭṭi, had in his waist-cloth nine rubies tied up in a rag, and these our hero secretly removed and secured without arousing any suspicions. The great wealth he thus acquired in the remuneration for his duty, made him at once very rich, in addition to the possession of the nine rubies. He thought that he had now enough to live upon, and returned to his own village. Near it there was an old temple of Kâlî, in ruins, and to this our hero resorted in the dead of night, and underneath the idol itself **buried his nine rubies** and a great part of his other treasure. What remained with him was enough for him to lead a respectable life. He took to wife a girl of respectable family, and lived with her for a while in happiness and comfort.

Unlike the usual run of Cheṭṭis, who are proverbial for their stinginess, our hero was known in his village for his liberality. And whenever all his available cash was exhausted, he would ask his wife for a little rice for a meal or two, as he was going to a village near, to try and make some more money. Now our hero had never informed his wife where he had buried his treasure, for his father's **fourth and last maxim** was, **"be not always open with your wife."** And Sômuśeṭṭi had benefited so much by the strict observation of the first three maxims, that he had every reason to give more than usual weight to the last one. So he always kept his treasure underneath the image of Kâlî a dead secret; but he now and then went to it, in the dead of night, when his cash was exhausted, pretending to be absent from the village, and always returned with enough for his expenses. This he did for a long time, and little by little he bought land, extended his house, and made jewels for his wife. She was a very simple and good-natured woman, but even she began to suspect that her husband must be the master of some miraculous power, to be growing rich in this way. She often asked him how he managed, every time he left the village, to return with so much money. He kept the truth from her for a long time, but she went on worrying him repeatedly. Even iron by constant hammering gives way, and the heart of a man, especially under feminine charms, has much less chance. So, notwithstanding his strict resolution to observe his father's words to their last letter, our hero at last **told the whole truth to his wife,** warning her at the same time to keep it a dead secret, and never to open her lips to anyone about it. He told her that he had brought with him a great quantity of money and nine rubies, that all the money had been spent, that he had sold one of the rubies for nine *karôṛs* of *mohars*, on which money he was still living, and that when that was gone, he had still eight more rubies, each of which was worth the same enormous sum. How great was his wife's joy when she heard this news from her husband! Her whole face beamed over with it, and she swore to keep the secret. Thus did our hero, for once in his life, notwithstanding his strict resolution to observe his father's maxims, deviate from the last of them, and we shall now see the consequences.

The very next day **the mistress of the neighbouring house,** paying her usual visit to our hero's wife, observed unusual brightness in her face, and on repeatedly enquiring the cause of it **learnt all the secret** of Sômuśeṭṭi's wealth. In fact Sômuśeṭṭi's wife told all about the rubies, the place where they lay buried, and everything else, to her friend, repeatedly asking her to keep the secret, as of course she swore over and over again to do. The conversation was

very engrossing. The more attentively the neighbour listened, the more excited Sômuśeṭṭi's wife became, and went over and over the same facts. Having thus learnt the whole affair, the neighbour took her leave, and naturally the first thing she did was to communicate it to her husband, who in his ambition and covetousness at the increasing prosperity of Sômuśeṭṭi, robbed him of the remaining eight rubies that very night.

A day or two passed without our hero knowing of the heavy loss that had befallen him. but, on the third day after the communication of his secret to his wife, Sômuśeṭṭi began to be a little uneasy in mind at having disclosed it in spite of his father's strict injunctions, and resolved to go that very night to the temple of Kâlî to examine his treasure. Accordingly he went, without informing his wife about it, and from that moment his happiness left him. When he missed his rubies, he stood like a stone for a while and then went mad.

Plucking wild flowers, making them into wreaths, and adorning his body with them, he began to wander from village to village and from city to city, crying "Give me back my eight rubies," and saying nothing else, no matter what people might say to him. His wife, who knew well enough why the change had come over her husband, cursed herself for her carelessness, and not knowing what else to do, followed her husband, secretly watching him and feeding him. For very shame, she never gave out the reason of her husband's madness, nor mentioned her relationship to him; but as her inward conscience chided her for being the cause of all his grief, she, like a good wife, determined to share his miseries. In this way more than two years passed. And Sômuśeṭṭi, among other peculiarities, would never taste a morsel of rice, even when hungry. If rice was placed before him by some one through the kindness of his wife, he would fling it away, muttering, "Give me my eight rubies."

Thus wandering over several countries, our mad hero at last reached a great city, the king of which was famous throughout the country for his liberality to beggars. Never would he taste a handful of rice without feeding them first, and for their special entertainment he had built a large dining-shed, and used to superintend their meals in person. The day on which Sômuśeṭṭi joined the beggars of the city at their dinner, the king, as usual, came to watch the feeding. Every beggar was soon engaged at his meal, except our hero, who was almost famished with hunger. A man in his state would naturally go straight for his dish. But Sômuśeṭṭi cared for nothing that was placed before him, but kept muttering "Give me back my eight rubies," sometimes to the wall, sometimes to the leaf-plate in front of him, and sometimes to the servants. The king's attention was drawn to this unfortunate beggar, who never even tasted the rice, famished though he was, but kept on talking about rubies instead. He thought that there must be some connection between rubies and his madness, and as he had bought a ruby the previous day from a merchant, he sent for it, in the hope that the beggar might take a little food on seeing it. The ruby was brought and placed before our mad hero, who seized it and said: — "One has come; bring back the other seven." This he kept on saying incessantly. The king now concluded that there was some special reason for his madness, and ordered his servants to watch him carefully, and do their utmost to feed him. He also secretly issued orders to have the merchant who had sold him the ruby the previous day brought to him. Now this man, it must be explained, was no other than the neighbour of Sômuśeṭṭi who had stolen the rubies. To avoid all suspicion he had travelled to this distant country to sell his ill-gotten gains, but fearing that a sudden sale of all the rubies might awaken suspicion, he had begun, on the previous day, by selling one only to the king, promising to bring another the next evening. In the evening, according to his promise, he brought the second ruby. The king gladly bought it, and, promising to double the price for a third, demanded it on the third evening. Thus the rubies began to come to him one after another, and every evening, after a purchase, the king returned with it secretly to Sômuśeṭṭi, whose madness began to decrease by degrees on the recovery of his lost rubies one by one. The king went on playing the trick of promising double and treble the price, till the last and eighth ruby was bought, and then he at once issued orders to have the merchant arrested and imprisoned till the history of the rubies was known. On the production of the eighth ruby Sômuśeṭṭi was entirely

cured of his madness, and falling at the feet of the king related the whole story of the four maxims, how he had disobeyed the last of them. and what calamities had come upon him in consequence. The king was highly pleased, and after punishing the pretended merchant with death, he restored the rubies to their rightful owner, Sômuśeṭṭi. And our hero, not to be outdone for his liberality, presented half of them to the king who had taken so much pains in bringing him back to his senses, and returned with the other four to his own country.

As soon as he was restored to his original state, he learnt about his wife, how she had guarded and followed him all along throughout his miseries; and forgetting that she was the cause of all of them, he pardoned her faults and lived happily with her. And the good woman too, seeing that all these miseries had resulted from the wealth not being placed in the house, exercised a most scrupulous care over her husband's property, especially remembering the sufferings that both had undergone.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PERPETUAL FIRE IN MADRAS.

Uliyanûr Perinthachan (lit. master-mason) is the legendary celestial architect of the Malabar Coast, and is held to be an incarnation of the Deity The **stone lamp** at the holy city of **Jarunanaya**, which remained perpetually burning for several years (there is a similar lamp in Travancore burning in the open air mentioned in *Isis Unveiled*), and the tank at Hanumân Kairi in the Betulnad *ta'luqa* of British Malabar, containing 18 *ghâts*, but now in ruins, are attributed to him.

Madras. SUNKUNI WARIYAR.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS. By E. H. MAN. London: Harrison and Sons. 1889.

Mr. Man's books are always a delight to the student of anthropology, and this last monograph from his pen is no exception to the rule. Minuteness, carefulness, completeness and accuracy have already characterised his work, and all these admirable qualities are as abundantly present in this pamphlet on the **Nicobar Islanders** as in any of its predecessors. We are indeed fortunate in having results before us at first hand of the researches of so painstaking and competent an anthropologist.

At present we have only an instalment of what Mr. Man has to say about the Nicobarese, and the remainder will be looked forward to with some eagerness, especially as the Government is abandoning its stations there, and much more information is not likely to be procured for a long while.

On the vexed question as to the origin of the Nicobarese, Mr. Man decidedly inclines to the **Malayo-Burman** theory, and gives twelve arguments in its favour.

In stature the Nicobarese are of medium height; very few reaching 6 feet. not many to 5 ft. 7 in., and the majority ranging from 5 ft 5 in. to 5 ft 3 in. The women are about 3 inches shorter. The average chest measurement is 34½ inches and the average weight about 10 stone; while the women weigh over 8½ stone. Otherwise they are a well-fed and well-developed people of ungainly aspect and devoid of beauty. Their great physical peculiarity lies in their hideous teeth, which are covered with a deforming encrustation caused by chewing betel and lime. Their physical powers are good, but not much developed, and their senses sufficiently acute. But owing to the quantities in which food is supplied by nature they are not given to much or prolonged exertion.

The Nicobarese will cross with Malays and Burmans, but not readily with other races. The limits of life are low, but apparently higher than that of Indo-Chinese races generally. They appear to be free from the epidemics of the East, in spite of the miasma that surrounds the dwellings of many of them, proving so fatal to all strangers, and their recuperative powers are like those of many Indo-Chinese races, quite remarkable.

Their colour is decidedly dark but not by any means black, and they are not naturally offensive as to odour. The hair of the head is not black, but a dark rusty brown, and is much lighter in young children than in adults. Hair on the body is not common.

Such in the briefest form possible are the results of Mr. Man's investigations, so far as yet published, on this very interesting race. Let us hope that we shall not have to wait very long before we are favoured with a further instalment.

A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from Vol.* XVI. *p.* 361.)

No. 4. — THE CRIME AND DEATH OF SANGYA.

THIS ballad, a very favourite one in the Belgaum District, owes its popularity to the pointed way in which it comes home to many a poor cultivator, who, situated as Saṅgya was, would very heartily endorse the sentiment (at the end of verse 8) that "very strict are the English laws; no one can play any tricks under them."

The action is based on a murder, which took place on the 13th October, A. D. 1863 (see notes 16, 32, below), at Hoṅgal, or, as the town is more usually called, Bail-Hoṅgal or "Hoṅgal of the open country." The victim was a money-lender named Basaliṅgaṇṇa, whose business and personal habits are described in the opening verse. Among his debtors was a cultivator named Saṅga, Saṅgya, or Saṅgaṇṇa, who, in the usual manner, had pledged his field as security for the advances made to him. At length the creditor, who, as the song says, "took care to shew no harshness beyond what the law allows," sues Saṅgya in the Subordinate Judge's Court at Saundatti, and obtains a decree against him. Saṅgya appeals to the District Judge at Dhârwâḍ; but without success. And then in due course a clerk of the court is sent to execute the decree, by selling the field by auction; and, Saṅgya being unable to buy it in, and failing to obtain any further respite from his creditor, the field is made over into the money-lender's possession. Then Saṅgya, taking counsel with his brother Parsya, determines to have his revenge by killing Basaliṅgaṇṇa. Rising at dawn next day, Saṅgya prostrates himself at his mother's feet; and then he and Parsya, after a prayer for success to their patron-god Basavaṇṇa, set out. They think first of killing Phakiraṇṇa, one of Basaliṅgaṇṇa's brothers, but cannot find him; for, "Paramêśvara (the supreme god) protected him," and he had fortunately left his house. Again they do worship to Basavaṇṇa, and then decide upon killing Basaliṅgaṇṇa's other brother, Râchappa; but him, again, they fail to meet with, since, happily for him, "the protector is more powerful than the slayer, and very fortunate was his luck." Then they go straight to Basaliṅgaṇṇa's house, and find him there, engaged in business; "his thoughts being only on his rupees." And without any more ado, heedless of the spectators, Saṅgya pulls out his sickle from where it is hidden up his sleeve, and cuts him down; "the blood poured out in torrents from his mouth; his senses failed; he fell and died." No particular attempt at escape is made; in fact, Saṅgya's remorse allows him not to try; and straightway he and Parsya are seized and taken to the village police-station. Two very characteristic touches are introduced here; the binding of Saṅgya and Parsya face to face to a post, where they are beaten till they confess; and their attempt to implicate an innocent man, Hûvina-Râma, to gratify some private spite against him. The Chief Constable then comes to investigate the matter; and the prisoners are taken on to the Mâmlatdâr at Sampgaum. From there they are forwarded to Belgaum, to stand their trial. And at length, Hûvina-Râma is duly acquitted; Parsya is let off with transportation for life; and Saṅgya is sentenced to death. Saṅgya is first taken to the jail at Dhârwâḍ, which then was the principal jail for the two Districts. But, in accordance with a frequent custom in the case of exceptional murders such as the present one, it was decided to carry out the sentence at the village of Hoṅgal itself. And the rest of the ballad is occupied with the journey, with Saṅgya's farewell to his parents, with his lamentation over his untimely fate, and with the description of the execution. Here there are many touching passages; and the whole account is extremely graphic.

A short addition at the end shews that this ballad was composed by a professional ballad-monger named Appu, a Marâṭhâ; and that the great merit of it obtained at once for his party the victory in a contest of singing with some rivals of the same profession.

TRANSLATION.

Chorus.

A very bad thing is poverty! The poor man felt much wrath! When he had to pay his debt to the money-lender, great distress came upon Sangya!

First Verse.

In the city of Hongal there is a money-lender; Dûravajanti is his name.[1] In silver and gold, small change and silver currency, and cotton, are his dealings and trade. The silversmiths receive his money, for making various kinds of *chaukas*[2] of pure Chinese silver; and every week, on Saturday, the running accounts of the *chaukas* are made up. Of manifold kinds are his functions; and eight or ten are his servants. Innumerable women clear his cotton from the seed, in both the winter and the rainy season.

(With a change of metre),[3] — How shall I describe his business? He carried on all the duties of a money-changer. His two brothers, elder and younger,[4] (*assisted him with*) great intelligence; in what they did, there was no lack of gain; no one in the village felt any dislike (*for them*); with great honesty they carried on the business of a money-lender.

(Lowering the voice), — I will describe to you his apparel; listen now! He used to stroll along the streets, wearing a very fine *chauka*[5] fastened round his neck; and on his head a turban with a border worked with gold threads; look at him! His upper-cloth was from Nâgpur;[6] on his body there was a separate jacket of camlet;[7] how beautiful were his *chandrahâra* and *gôpa*,[8] with the gold glittering so lustrously upon his breast; on his finger he wore a pure and holy ring.[9]

(Raising the voice), — In speech he was very firm; not the least particle of falsehood (*was in him*)!

Second Verse.

Listen first to the origin of the matter. See!; the field in (Sangya's) occupancy was good black soil. He (*mortgaged it for a loan, and*) executed a deed in due form, with a period of five years; last year they went to law; (*the lender*) shewed no harshness beyond what the law allows; according to (*the value of*) the produce, he laid his plaint; and the quarrel came up (*for trial*) in the Saundatti Court. (*Sangya*) presented the stamped paper (*containing his plea*), admitting that Basalinganna's words were true, and did obeisance. The Munsiff[10] (*pronounced against him, and*) said, — "Go to Dhârwâḍ, and make your petition of appeal."

(With a change of metre), — From there he came to Hongal, and made, Sir, preparation for the journey. Taking with him a hundred rupees, he set out thence for Dhârwâḍ. He presented to the Government[11] the petition of appeal, and straightway retained a Vakîl.[12]

---

1 This must be his surname. The word has also been explained to me as meaning that his name was known "far and wide." But I cannot find any authority for this.

2 A *chauka* is a box in which a *linga*, the phallic emblem, is carried; it is usually worn suspended from the neck.

3 *chyé* stands for *chyâla*, = *châla*; see *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 350, note 6.

4 The Râchappa and Phakiraṇṇa who are mentioned further on.

5 *Sikhâmaṇi* seems to be used here to qualify *chauka*, and to denote 'a *chauka*, the best of its kind; a very excellent *chauka*.'

6 This is the Nâgpur of the Central Provinces, which has long had a great reputation for the manufacture of *dhôtars*, or the cloths worn by men. Two such cloths are worn; one fastened round the waist, and hanging down; and the other round the upper part of the body. Here the verbal adjective *hott-iru*, i.e. *hott-iruva*, specifies the upper cloth. The lower cloth is called *uṭṭa-koṇḍa dhôtra*.

7 The word in the text, *kemalaṭa*, is an adaptation of the English word. I am told that camlet stuff was formerly much used in this part of the country.

8 These are gold necklets of different patterns.

9 The third finger of the right hand is called *pavitrada beraḷu*, 'the pure finger,' as being considered purer than the others; and *pavitrada ungara* is the technical name of a ring, made of gold, for this finger.

10 The Native judge of the local court. The official title now is 'Subordinate Judge.'

11 *i.e.* to the Court of the District Judge.

12 A Native lawyer, a 'Pleader.'

THE CRIME AND DEATH OF SANGYA.

(Air of the Chorus)

Ba-da-ta-na am-bu-du ba-la-ket ta

ba-da-va-ga ban-to ba-hu sit-ta

sawa-ka-ra sa-la ko-da-bek-a-da-ra

San-gyaga a-di-to san-kash-ta

J.F. FLEET, BO.C.S.

(Lowering the voice), — "Present now a petition for me," he said; "take these hundred rupees, of the Government currency;[13] tell me quickly what you say to me." The Vakîl took thought in his mind, see now !, and gave a promise to devote his energies to the case, and said, — "Why do you feel anxiety (*about the result*), since you have given your Vakîl a hundred rupees, into his very hand ?" The first day of the month was Sunday; and the date (*of hearing the appeal was fixed for*) the next day, Monday; and straightway there was issued an order of attachment.

(Raising the voice), — The Kârkûn[14] brought and executed the order of attachment. Thus Basaliṅga carried into effect his pertinacious design !

Third Verse.

The Kârkûn says, — "Call Saṅgya and tell him, 'a decree has been passed against you for (*the value of*) the produce, reckoned at three hundred rupees: how much do you bid (*to retain it in your own possession*) '?" A great web (*of trouble*) was cast round Saṅgya. He explained what was convenient to himself, saying — "I will pay the money according to the decree; set free my share in the field; the whole fault is truly mine; apart from you I have no refuge; I will never disobey the orders of Basaliṅgaṇṇa." Thus saying, he joined his hands in supplication and embraced his feet.

(With a change of metre), — "Since the order of attachment has come, what can I say ?; to-day your field is lost." Thus Basaliṅgaṇṇa hardened his heart; and the field passed into the possession of (*his brother*) Phakiraṇṇa. Going home, Saṅgya pondered, — "To-day my field, belonging to me by right of occupancy, has been lost."

(Lowering the voice), — Saṅga and Parsya, the two together, made another plan, see !, a secret device, conversing with laughter, — "The speech between me and you, let it be known to no one; without letting anyone know, let us do that which we can; we will rise in the early morning and go (*to do it*)." They sharpened their sickles, as they sat, saying, — "We will kill him, even though to-day we lose our heads; let that happen which must; except life, (*nothing is left to us*)."

(Raising the voice), — Basaliṅga left the village of Wakkund; on the morrow the festival of the *Mahânavamî*[15] was to be celebrated !

Fourth Verse.

On the Tuesday,[16] at dawn, he (Saṅgya) rose of his own accord, and went and fell at the feet of his mother. Then Saṅgya and Parsya said, — "O (god) Basavaṇṇa, carry through our quarrel to its accomplishment !" Sharpening his sickle, and concealing it under his arm-pit, he set out, and at the third hour of the day he came to Phakiraṇṇa's house. At his house they ask, — "Where has he gone ?; we had much business with him." Says Tukkaṇṇa, — "Why hast thou come ?; what business hast thou with me ?"

(With a change of metre), — Hearing this, he went back again, and searched in the field and on the stream. Had he been found, his life was lost; but Paramêśvara (Śiva) protected Phakiraṇṇa ! Having searched everywhere, he came to a shop, and bought some camphor and a cocoanut.

(Lowering the voice), — Quickly he went to the god Basavaṇṇa, and broke the cocoanut, and ignited the camphor and waved it (*round the head of the god*), and did reverence, and then

[13] *lit.* "rupees (which have on them) the face (of the Sovereign), (and which are) of a regular round shape." The intention is to distinguish them from the so-called Sûrti rupees, of very different make, which at the time of this ballad had not yet entirely ceased to be current.

[14] One of the clerks of the Court.

[15] *lit.* "the pot of the *Mahânavamî* was to be placed." The *Mahânavamî*, which is better known in other parts of India as the *Durgâpûjâ*, is a festival in honour of the goddess Durgâ, commencing on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Âśvina. On that day water-pots, filled with water, are placed near the gods, who are supposed to reside in them till the *navamî* or ninth *tithi*.

[16] The 13th October, A.D. 1863; see further on.

took the road to Hoṅgal. Saṅgaṇṇa went on in front, and then (*came*) Mêguṭi-Parsya, who said, — "First let us seize Râchappa and kill him." Talking thus together in various ways, they went to Râchappa's house, and asked the old house-wife, — "Where has Aṇṇappa[17] gone?"

(Raising the voice), — The protector is more powerful than the slayer; very fortunate was his (Râchappa's) luck!

Fifth Verse.

Say they, — "Our coming has been in vain;" they became wrathful in their minds. They went to Basaliṅgaṇṇa's house; their secret intention was not known. At the ninth hour (*i.e.* 3·0 p. m.), that which was predestined came to pass. Saṅgya and Parsya saluted, and went and stood close by him. Basalingaṇṇa's thoughts were on his rupees; near him there stood three or four men; he knew not that they would slay him; but Śiva brought the (*fatal*) wreath and fastened it (*round his neck*).[18]

(With a change of metre), — Pulling up the sleeve of his jacket from over his wrist, Saṅgya took out the sickle from under his armpit, and, taking aim as he stood there, cut him fiercely down. In the same way he drew out the sickle, and, having wounded him, slunk round behind him, and, calling Parsya, ran away.

(Lowering the voice), — In great agony Basaliṅgaṇṇa rose, bowing his head; the blood poured out in torrents from his mouth; his senses failed; he fell and died. The people sitting there went out in great confusion; they all said, — "Seize him! seize him! there he runs; he cut right through the neck." Those who met him, face to face, and close, not one of them seized him. Then, hearing the tidings, the Haḷabs[19] came.

(Raising the voice), — Throughout the village there was a great outcry; he could not pass beyond the gate[20] of Hoṅgal.

Sixth Verse.

Then ceased the anger of his mind. Quickly a crowd assembled. Hurling away the sickle from his hand, he threw it down. His (*sense of*) sin allowed to go no further. (*In*) a strait road, a narrow lane, quickly the Haḷabs seized him, and, cuffing and beating him, dragged him to the *chauḍi*;[21] no respect was left, to be shewn to Saṅgya. The Kulkarṇî[22] came and looked. The Police Pâṭîl[23] said, — "Beat them!" Face to face tightly they bound Saṅgya and Parsya to a post.

(With a change of metre), — "Beat us not without necessity; now and here we confess that we killed him; arrest us, and send us to Sampgaum." An enquiry was made in the Kachêri.[24] They said, — "Hûvina-Râma was in the business with us; he is at the village of Wakkund; he is there."

(Lowering the voice), — The Haḷabs got ready and went to the village of Wakkund; there he was found, Hûvina-Râma. He became confused, and was in terror for his life; "they accuse me through enmity," (*he cried*); in fear, he staggered about, in an agitated manner; saying, — "What is this that has happened?," he wept. All the people in the village told him to be brave; "if you were not in this crime, nothing can happen," say his friends.

(Raising the voice), — In the dead of night he set out; they would not let him eat even a morsel.

---

17 *i.e.* Râchappa. The word *aṇṇappa* is a respectful form of *aṇṇa*, 'an elder brother.'

18 This is the meaning of the passage; but I have not been able to obtain an explanation of this allusion.

19 *haḷaba*, 'one of the ancients, an old servant, an old inhabitant,' is one of the Kanarese names, the other being *wâlikâra*, for the village police or watchmen. They are employed on all miscellaneous revenue and police duties.

20 The original has the words *gêṭu*, which is the English 'gate.' It may mean either 'the village gate,' or 'the Police-Station.'

21 The office of the Pâṭîl and Kulkarṇî, where all the business of a village is transacted.

22 The village accountant; the Pâṭîl's right-hand man and assistant.

23 The Pâṭîl is the head man of a village. In the larger villages, as in the present case, there are separate Pâṭîls for the police and revenue duties. The *pôlisa* of the text is the English word 'police;' the word in composition with it, is the Kanarese *gauda*, which is the equivalent of the Marâthî *pâṭîl*. The Revenue Pâṭîl is called *mulki-pâṭîl* or *mulki-gauda*.

24 *i.e.* in the Mâmlatdâr's office at Sampgaum, the chief town of the Tâlukâ or Sub-Division.

Seventh Verse.

The Police Pâṭîl and the Kulkarṇî said (*to the guard*), — "Be very watchful; they have killed a most respectable rich man; never before has such a thing happened." They made a report,[25] writing it on paper; a Haḷab took it, and went to Sampgaum. He delivered the report in the Kachêri; the Subhêdâr[26] read and examined it. Very speedily the Phaujdâr[27] got ready, and said, — "Put quickly the saddle on my horse." Taking a Peon,[28] on Wednesday, in the evening, he arrived.

(With a change of metre), — The Phaujdâr came, and stood and looked; with his own eyes he saw the blood; looking at the corpse, he grieved in sympathy. "Why were the gods Hari and Brahman wroth with him," (*he said*); "when they killed him, who were there?" (*The answer was*), — "Three people; (*two*) Liṅgâyat priests of Manṭûr, and Pañchappa."

(Lowering the voice), — Hearing this much, he told them to bury him. In great affliction the mother and father (*of Basaliṅgaṇṇa*) are weeping, falling flat on their faces, and rolling about in grief, crying, — "Evil is our luck; through his kindness there was nothing wanting in our happiness; (*when he was born*), what was the (*evil*) boon that he got from Śiva,[29] that our son has now left us and gone?; great is the grief of his wife; she has torn off and thrown away her marriage-thread, decorated with jewelled beads;[30] what now remains for us, since he is hidden in the earth?"

(Raising the voice), — O Vaikuṇṭha (Vishṇu)! an untimely death was his; who can understand the pranks of Śiva?

Eighth Verse.

"The day of the *Mahânavamî* new-moon[31] was Monday; the first day of the bright fortnight of Âśvayuja is Tuesday; it is the Saka year seventeen hundred and eighty-five, and the *saṁvatsara* named Rudhirôdgârin';[32] thus they reckoned it up, — the Police Pâṭîl, the Kulkarṇî, and the Phaujdâr. With Saṅgya and Parsya in close custody, the Haḷabs set out. "Be very much on the alert in this matter; attend at the Kachêri; if you fail to be on your guard, no one knows what may become of you;" — thus the Mâmlatdâr gave the order.

(With a change of metre), — They left this Tâlukâ, Sampgaum, and carried them to the District town of Beḷgaum. The gentleman[33] called for them, and made the adjudication. To Saṅgya, it was as if he had fallen into a tank or a well. They wrote the proceedings, and sent them to Bombay;[34] (*and reported that*) the bringing of Hûvina-Râma (*into the matter*) was unjust.

(Lowering the voice), — After three months the answer came; the noble officer read and examined it; "let Parsya off with transportation,[35] this is enough." As to the principal prisoner, Saṅgaṇṇa, the settlement was thus; the gentleman said, — "Go to Dhârwâḍ; it is

[25] The word in the original here, and a little further on, is *rapórṭa*, which is an adaptation of the English word.

[26] The Mâmlatdâr; the head revenue and magisterial officer of the Tâlukâ.

[27] The 'Chief-Constable' of the Tâlukâ.

[28] *billi-manushya*, *lit.* 'a man who wears a brass badge on a belt slung over his shoulder or worn round his waist.' The more usual term is *paṭṭêwâlâ*, from the Hindustânî *paṭṭâ*, which denotes the same belt with its badge. The word *billi* is an adaptation from the English, and is, I imagine, the word 'bill.' But it is supposed by the Natives to be an adaptation of 'buckle,' which is often used for the same badge.

[29] Here, again, I cannot get an explanation of the allusion.

[30] The *guḷadâḷi* is a more elaborate kind of *tâḷi*, 'the marriage-badge worn by married women round the neck,' which is removed when a wife becomes a widow.

[31] *Mahânavamî-amâvâsyâ* is the popular name, in the Kanarese country, for the new-moon of Bhâdrapada, which immediately precedes Âśvina śukla 1. The present new-moon *tithi* ended on Monday, 12th October, A.D. 1863.

[32] The Rudhirôdgârin *saṁvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1785 as an expired year. And the corresponding English date for the details given in the text, is, Tuesday, 13th October, A.D. 1863, on which day the *tithi* Âśvina śukla 1 ended.

[33] *i.e.* the Sessions Judge.

[34] *i.e.* in order to obtain confirmation of the death-sentence. It would seem that, in the Sessions Court, Parsya, as well as Saṅgya, was sentenced to death; but that in his case the High Court commuted the sentence into one of transportation.

[35] *kari-nîrâ*, *lit.* 'the black water.' This is the popular term for transportation, because it entails crossing the sea, to the Andaman islands. The Marâṭhî expression *kâḷâ-pâṇi* has exactly the same meaning.

notified that the sentence is (*that he is to be hanged*) by the neck." A guard of soldiers on him, all around, took him to Dhârwâḍ; not any device (*for saving himself*) suggested itself to him after that.

(Raising the voice), — Very strict are the English laws; no one can play any tricks!

Ninth Verse.

He left the village of Dhârwâḍ, and came away; no one could save him. "Take him, and go to Hoṅgal," said the gentleman, the Subhêdâr, the Phaujdâr, and the Kârkûn; "be wide awake, with great watchfulness." In front of him and behind, there was an escort with drawn swords; there was all the apparatus for hanging him; and Saṅgya was seated on a cart. They brought him in close restraint.[36] He converses without any fear. On the Thursday he sent for his elder and younger brothers, and his mother.

(With a change of metre), — To the mother that bare him, he says, — "Why dost thou weep?; all that which was to happen, has occurred; it has befallen me as it did to Abhimanyu in the battle-field; for me from no one was there any aid;[37] to-day the debt is paid; cease now to grieve for me."

(Lowering the voice), — Saying this, he made the funeral lament, for just a little while, — "That my fate has been settled thus, (*is the decree of*) an unjust court; they inquired not into my fault; I thought that they would let me go free, with imprisonment for only a year; I have been caught and captured; my fault has been in accordance with that which (the god) Brahman wrote;[38] my fate (*is like that of*) a lamp that has gone out unintentionally while still there is oil left; (*to nourish*) enmity is very evil; anger should not be felt."

(Raising the voice), — Disputing at every word is bad; to a good man, a (*mere*) word is a blow!

Tenth Verse.

The market-day was Friday;[39] that same day the people of the neighbourhood gathered together. He talks with catching breath, and is beside himself. They brought him outside the village. Joining his hands in respectful salutation, he made a little request to the gentleman,[40] — "Spend five rupees, and have me buried in a *maṭha*."[41] His face shrivelled and grew small; his colour lost its lustre, and faded away. Saying "Hara! Hara!", he took his way (*to the gallows*), and, mounting, stood on the appointed place.

(With a change of metre), — They fastened the rope around his neck, right round his throat; he trod the path of heaven to Kailâsa.[42] His elder and younger sisters, his elder and younger brothers, and his mother, (*made*) lament; the people were standing all around. Four months and twelve days (*had elapsed since*) the date of the *Awarâtri* new-moon.[43]

(Lowering the voice), — The village of Bail-Hoṅgal is a great city, this is well known; it is famed far and wide in the surrounding kingdom. (*There there is*) the god Hanumanta, to whom be reverence! Tukârâm is our teacher; the ballad-monger Appu has composed (*this song*); the hand-writing, in which there is no fault, is that of Dêmaṇṇa, on whose drum there is

---

[36] *lit.* "confined in a net."

[37] The more literal meaning is "no one was my charioteer." I have not a book to refer to; but it seems that Abhimanyu was killed in single fight, hemmed in by the Kauravas, with none of his own party near at hand to help him.

[38] Brahman is supposed to write on a man's forehead all that he is destined to do during his life.

[39] We are told further on that this day was four months and twelve days after the new-moon of Pausha. This latter *tithi* ended on Sunday, 7th February, A.D. 1864. And so we seem to have either Friday, 19th June, or Friday, 26th June, for the day of the execution.

[40] *i.e.* the Magistrate, or the District Superintendent of Police, who attended the execution.

[41] Compare *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 300, where the amount is ten rupees. A *maṭha* is a kind of religious college, or residence of priests.

[42] The mountain Kailâsa, supposed to be one of the loftiest peaks in the Himâlayas, is the paradise of Śiva. The term *Kailâsa-vâsin*, 'now residing in Kailâsa,' is of constant occurrence in speaking of deceased persons.

[43] *Awarâtri-amâvâsyâ* is the popular name, in the Kanarese country, of the new-moon day of Pausha. I have been told that it is a corruption of *avatârar-âtri*; but I do not see how it can be connected with any of the *avatâras*. A more probable explanation is that it stands for *avare-râtri*, 'the night on which people can begin to eat the *avare*-bean after its harvest.'

a plume of pearls, with feathers and tinsel, and gold and silver lace. Santu and Basaṇṇa, our firm friends, have completely overcome our enemies;[44] defeat has come[45] to the *kalagî*.

(Raising the voice), — Mâdhavarao became a sore trouble to the *kalagî*; in singing he has everything at the tip of his tongue.

TEXT.

Pallâ.

Baḍatana ambudu baḷa-keṭṭa baḍavaga banto bahu śiṭṭa |
sâwakâra sâlâ koḍa-bêk-âdara Saṅgyâga âdito saṅkashṭa || Pallâ ||

1ne nuḍi.

Sahar Hoṅgaladâga sâwakâra | Dûravajanti avana hesara | beḷḷi baṅgâra rokka rupâyi aḷḷiya wahiwaṭa vyâpâra | Chinâya kurêda chauka-tara | rupâyi wôyuttâra pattâra | wâra-wâra chalati chauka-lekkha mâḍodu Saniwâra | andâdundi avana kârbhâra | hatt-eṇṭu mandi avana manushyara | mâgi maḷigâla hatti arawuttâra gotta illada heṅgasara || Chyê || Yena hêḷal=evana[46] kârbâraki | ava mâḍut-iddano chinawâraki | aṇṇa-tammar=ibbaru tiḷavaḷiki | avara mâḍudaka kaḍim=illa gaḷiki | ûrâga yârigâg=illa bêsariki | bahaḷa sâche iṭṭadda sâwakâriki || Iḷava || Avana pôshâka hêḷatena nimaga | kêḷa îga | ava hiḍada teragat-idda wôṇi | chauka-śikhâmaṇi | hâkidda koraḷâga | jerakâṭi rumâla tali-mêga | nôḍa avaga | hott-iru dôtra Nâkpuri | kemalaṭa bêre | aṅgi maiyâga | chandrahâra gôpa chanda hyâṅga | yedi-mêga | taḷataḷa hoḷudu baṅgâra | pavitrad=uṅgarâ | iṭṭidda beraḷâga || Yêra || Mâtili iddana bahu-diṭṭa | suḷḷa mâta illa yaḷḷ-ashṭa || 1 ||

2ne nuḍi.

Modala kêḷa mâtina jari | khâteda hola nôḍa jâta yeri | aida varashada dina muddata mâḍidana bara-koṭṭa kâgada barâbari | nyâya bandito hôda-bari | jôri mâḍalilla kâyade mîri | mâsîli-prakâra phiryâdi mâḍidana Sawadatti-kôrṭinyâga bitta muri | Basaliṅgaṇṇana mâta sari | shṭâpa chelli mâḍida mujari | Munsupha antana aphil-arji Dhârwâḍake hôgi mâḍari || Chyê || Allinda bandana Hoṅgalaka | masalatta mâḍida hogudak=ari | nûra rupâyi togoṇḍa hantêka | illinda hontana Dhârwâḍaka | aphil-arji koṭṭana sarakâraka | vakilan=iṭṭano âgina-kshaṇaka || Iḷava || Arji anta mâḍi koḍa namaga nî îga | nûra rupâyi togo mûri gâḍi | hêḷa lagu mâḍi | yên=anti namaga | vakîla tiḷada manadâga | nôḍa âga | hîng=anta koṭṭa wachana | kaṭlêda sandana | chinti yâko ninaga | nûra rupâyi koṭṭa vakîlage | kaiyâga | pahilâ târîkha muddata Âdityawâra | munda Sômawâra | jabati banta bêga || Yêra || Kârkûna tanda jabati iṭṭa | Basaliṅga naḍisida tanna haṭa || 2 ||

3ne nuḍi.

Munnûra rupâyida mâsîlâ | nina mêl=âyito phaisalâ | kârkûna antana Saṅgenna karasu nî yêna mâḍati sawâlâ | Saṅgyâga bitto maha-jâlâ | hêḷi-koṇḍa tana anakûlâ | phaisala-prakâra rupâyi koḍatena holada-waḷaga biḍasari pâlâ | sarva tappa nanda âyit=allâ | ninninda horata gatiy=illâ | Basaliṅgaṇṇana mâta mîrudilla |

[44] The allusion here is to a singing-match between two rival parties of ballad-singers. The members of one party have on their drums the *turâ* or 'plume of feathers and pearls and tinsel, with gold and silver lace;' and those of the other party, a *kalagî*, which seems to be 'a plume of feathers for a horse's head.' The two parties sing alternately, until one is declared to have surpassed the others. In the present case the *turâ*-party, to which belonged the composer of this ballad, is declared victorious.

[45] *lit.* "water has descended upon." The metaphor seems to be of Marâṭhî origin; see Molesworth and Candy's Dictionary, s. v. *pâṇî*.

[46] We have here, in *hêḷal=evana*, = *hêḷali* + *avana*, another instance of the customary, though irregular, euphonic conjunction to which attention has been drawn, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 353, note 19. Other instances occur in verse 7 below, in *koḍar=endâ*, = *koḍari* (*kuḍiri*) + *andâ*, and in verse 9, in *naḍir=endâ*, = *naḍiri* + *andâ*.

kai-mugada hiḍadana kâlâ ‖ Chyê ‖ Japti banda-baḷika yêna hêḷali ׀ indige ninna hola hoyiti ׀ Basaliṅgaṇṇa mâḍidana châti ׀ Phakiraṇṇana jumeka hola âti ׀ Saṅgyâ manige hôgi mâḍyâna chinti ׀ khâteda holâ indige yarav=âti ‖ Iḷava ‖ Matt-onda mâḍyâra masalatta ׀ nôḍa bêta ׀ Saṅga Pariśyâ ibbaru kûḍi ׀ nagata mâtâḍi ׀ yârig=illa gotta ׀ namma-nimmara woḷagina mâtâ ׀ hiṅg-antâ ׀ yâr-yârige tiḷiya-bârada hiṅga mâḍunu ball-âṅga hôgunu haryâna hotta ׀ avara masadara kuḍagola kunta ׀ kaḍunu anta ׀ indige hôgali namma tali ׀ âguvadu âgali ׀ jîvadinda horatâ ‖ Yêra ‖ Wakkunda wûra Basaliṅga biṭṭa ׀ nâḷe hâkudu mâha-naumi-gaṭṭa ‖ 3 ‖

4ne nuḍi.

Maṅgaḷâra udayaka tâ yadda ׀ tâyi-pâdaka hôgi bidda ׀ Saṅgyâ Pariśyâ ibbaru antara Basavaṇṇa naḍasu nama jidda ׀ kuḍagola masada ava hiḍada bagalaga muchchi-koṇḍa tâ naḍada ׀ mûra tâsa hott=êrita âga Phakiraṇṇana manige banda ׀ maniyâga kêḷatâra yelli hôda ׀ bahaḷa kelasa itta avaninda ׀ Tukkaṇṇa antana yâtaka bandi yêna kelasa nana munda ‖ Chyê ‖ Ishṭa kêḷi bindaka tirigi hôda ׀ holadâga hoḷyâga huḍikidâ ׀ ava śikkara prâṇa hôgudâ ׀ Phakiraṇṇana Paramêśwara kâda ׀ huḍiky-âḍi aṅgaḍige banda kappara kâya togoṇḍa wonda ‖ Iḷava ‖ Basavaṇṇa-dêvarige naḍada mâḍi jalada ׀ kâyi waḍada beḷigi kappara mâḍi namaskâra Hoṅgala dâri hiḍidâ ׀ Saṅgaṇṇa banda munda-munda ׀ allinda ׀ Meguṭi-Parasa yên=anda ׀ muñche kaḍun=anda ׀ Râchappana hiḍidâ ׀ hiṅga mâtâḍi pariparidinda ׀ wond-ondâ ׀ Râchappana manige hôgi kêḷyâra mudikigi Aṇṇapa yelli hôdâ ‖ Yêra ‖ Kollavanakinta kâyava śrêshṭha ׀ bahaḷa chelo avara adarushṭa ‖ 4 ‖

5ne nuḍi.

Bandadd=âti antâra kâli ׀ śiṭṭa âdara tamma manadalli ׀ Basaliṅgaṇṇana manige hôdaro tiḷiyalilla ibbara neli ׀ wombat-tâsa vêḷeda mêle pûrva-likhita wadagita alli ׀ Saṅgyâ Pariśyâ mujari mâḍikyâra hôgi nintaro avana badiyali ׀ Basaliṅgaṇṇana chitta rupâyi mêle ׀ mûru nâku mandi avana badiyalli ׀ kaḍadâru ambudu avaga tiḷiyalilla ׀ Siva tanda hâkida mâli ‖ Chyê ‖ Saṅgyâ muṅgaiyy-aṅgiya têḍi-koṇḍa bagalanna kuḍagôla takkoṇḍa ׀ ninta nôḍi kaḍadano avana chaṇḍa ׀ adaranta kuḍagôla yaḷa-koṇḍa ׀ kaḍad=avana hindaka sara-koṇḍa ׀ wôḍi hôdana Pariśyânna kara-koṇḍa ‖ Iḷava ‖ Basaliṅgaṇṇa yedda saṅgaṭ-âgi ׀ śira bâgi ׀ bâyili surita nettarâ ׀ hârita kabarâ ׀ biddana jîva hôgi ׀ kunt-iru mandi gâba âgi horaga hôgi ׀ yellaru antara hiḍi hiḍi wôḍatana wôḍi ׀ kôda kuttigi ׀ baruhanta mandi idarigi badig-âgi avana hiḍiyalilla yâr-yârâ ׀ bandara haḷabarâ âga suddy-âgi ‖ Yêra ‖ Ûrâga âdita babbâṭa ׀ dâṭalilla Hoṅgala gêṭa ‖ 5 ‖

6ne nuḍi.

Śiṭṭa tîrita avara manad=andâ ׀ mandi kûḍito sutvaradâ ׀ kaiyâna kuḍagôla bisâṭi wogedâna pâpa hôga-goḍalilla mundâ ׀ bikkaṭṭa hâdi wôṇiya sandâ ׀ haḷabara hiḍidara mâḍi jaladâ ׀ hoḍa-konta baḍa-konta châwaḍig=ôdara maryâde uḷiyalilla Saṅgyândâ ׀ kulakarṇi banda nôḍidâ ׀ pôlisa-gawaḍa hoḍi andâ ׀ idara-badara Saṅgyâna Pariśyâna kambaka kaṭyâro biga-bigada ‖ Chyê ‖ Suḷḷa baḍiya-bêḍari niva namaga ׀ kaḍad-âṅga kabûl=adêv=îga ׀ nammana hiḍada kaḷavari Sampagâmvyâga ׀ chaukâsi âdita kachêryâga ׀ Hûvina-Râmâ iddana idarâga ׀ ava ayidâna ayidâna Wakkunda-wûrâga ‖ Iḷava ‖ Wakkunda-wûrige hoṇṭaro haḷabarâ tayârâ ׀ ava śikka Hûvinâ-Râmâ ׀ âgi bêpâma jîvaka banta gôrâ ׀ adawatige hêḷatâra avara ibbarâ ׀ añji naḍagatâna tara-tarâ ׀ id=ena âkâra kaṇṇige tanda nîrâ ׀ ûrâga hêḷatâra dîrâ ׀ yellârâ ׀ î pâpadâga jar illa yên-ên=âgudilla antâra geṇiyarâ ‖ Yêra ‖ Râto-râtrili ava hoṇṭa ׀ uṇa-goḍalilla wand=îṭa ‖ 6 ‖

7ne nuḍi.

Pôlisa kulakarṇi yên=anda । bahaḷa huśâri ira-bêk=anda । woḷe sâwakârana kaḍâda hâkidâra hint-âda âgakilla· yend-enda । rapôrṭa mâḍera kâgada barada । haḷaba togoṇḍa Sampagâmvige hôda । kachêri-woḷaga rapôrṭa chelyâna subhêdâra wôdi nôḍida । phaujdâra lagu-bêga tayâra âda । kudurigi taḍi bêga hâk=anda । billi-manushyana togoṇḍa Budhawâra cheñji-vêḷedali ava banda ॥ Chyê ॥ Banda ninta nôḍida phaujdâra । kaṇṇili kaṇḍana nettarâ । heṇa nôḍi maragiḍa maramarâ । yêna munidâna Hari-Brahma-dêvarâ । ivana kaḍadâga iddara yâr-yâra । Maṇṭûra ayyagôḷa Pañchappa mûvara ॥ Iḷava ॥ Ishṭa kêḷi maṇṇa koḍar=endâ । aratindâ । tâyi-tandi aḷatâro bôryâḍi । bidda horaḷyâḍi । adarushṭa kam namadâ । yêna kaḍimiy=illa ânandâ dayadindâ । yêna bêḍi bandana Sivanalli namma hoṭṭili maga biṭṭa hôdâ । nânâ-pari dukkha strîyaḷadâ । hâkidâ guṇḍa-guḷadâḷi wogadâḷa harada । inn-êna ati nanda । maṇṇigi mari âda ॥ Yêra ॥ Dur-maṇa âdito Vaikuṇṭha । yârige tiḷayado Sivan=âṭa ॥ 7 ॥

8ne nuḍi.

Mahanaumi amâsi Sômawâra । Âświja śudda pâḍya Maṅgaḷâra । Sake sattarâ-se pañchâ-aiṁśi[47] Rudrôdgâri-nâma-saṁvatsarâ । hiṅga mâḍidara vichâra । pôlisa kulakarṇi phaujdârâ । Saṅgyâna Pariśyâna kaida-woḷaga saṅgata hoṇṭara haḷabarâ । idara mêga bala-huśâra । kachêri-woḷaga hâjarâ । yachchara tappi yattara hôdiri hukuma mâḍidâna mâmledârâ ॥ Chyê ॥ Illi tâlûka biṭṭara Sampagâmvi । wôda hâkyâra jille Beḷagâmvi । karasi sâhêba mâḍida nirṇyâyi । Saṅgyâga bidd-âṅga âdita keri bâmvi । kaṭṭa barada kaḷivyâra Mammâyi । Huvvina-Râmana tandadda anyâyi ॥ Iḷava ॥ Mûra tiṅgaḷige banta uttarâ-majakûrâ । wôdi nôḍidâna saradârâ । Pariśyâna kari-nîrâ । biḍudu ati pûrâ । Saṅgaṇṇa awala kaididâra । karâra । Dhârwâḍaka sâhêba hôg=anda sajâ gallinda âti jâhirâ । sutta-mutta avana mêli pârâ । cheṭigârâ । Dhârwâḍaka hâkidara tanda hunâra mundinda tiḷiyalilla jarâ ॥ Yêra ॥ Iṅgreji kâyide bikkaṭṭa । naḍuvadilla yâr-yâra âṭa ॥ 8 ॥

9ne nuḍi.

Dhârwâḍa-wûra biṭṭa bandâ । uḷasaṇa âgalilla yârindâ । sâhêba subhêdâra phaujdâra kârkûna Hoṅgalaka tokoṇḍa naḍir=endâ । yachcharike ira-bêka yach-charadinda । hirada katti pârâ hinda mundâ । gallig=hâkudu sâmâna yellâ । Saṅgya chekkaḍi mêga kunt-idda । mâḍi tandaro bali-banda । mâtâḍatâna daraj=illada । Bestâra-divasâ aṇṇa-tammaranâ tanna tâyinâ karisidâ ॥ Chyê ॥ Haḍeda tâyavvag=antâno yâk=aḷati । âguhantâd=ellâ âgi hôti । raṇa-maṇḍala Abhimânya nanag=ati । nanaga yâr-yâra illad-âṅga âto sârati । indige riṇa harada hôti । inna biṭṭa-koḍa nanna kakalâti ॥ Iḷava ॥ Ishṭa hêḷi mâḍida aḷâpa । wandu swalpa । nanda hiṅga itta-pramâṇa keṭṭa diwâṇâ । kêḷalilla tappa । mâḍi biṭṭâr=antinni mâpâ varasha ṭêpâ । śikk-âṅga âto kaiśeri Brahma bareda bari mâḍid-antâ tappâ । yeṇṇ-irata hôd-âṅga dîpâ âkalpâ । hint-âda nanna adarushṭa । jidda bali-keṭṭa ira-bârado kôpâ ॥ Yêra ॥ Mâta-mâtige mathana keṭṭa । chelô manushyaga mâtina peṭṭâ ॥ 9 ॥

10ne nuḍi.

Santi Sukrawârâ ada dina suttina mandi kûḍita janâ । havva hâri kabar=illada mâtâḍatâna wûra horaga tandâro avanâ । sâhêbaga hêḷi-koṇḍa yên-êna kai-mugada mâḍida śaraṇa । aida rupâyi kharchu mâḍikyâra maṭhada woḷaga koḍasari maṇṇa । mâri bâḍi âdita saṇṇa kaḷe gundi bârita baṇṇâ । Hara-Harâ anta hâdi

[47] The numeral-words here are Marâṭhî, according to the general custom of the Marâṭhî people, who use their own words for numbers and dates, even when speaking Kanarese. Amongst other Marâṭhî features in this ballad, due to the composer being a Marâṭhâ, we may note especially the use of the particle *jar*, 'if,' near the end of verse 6.

hiḍadano hatti ninta tanna ṭikâṇa ॥ Chyê ॥ Gallige 'hâkyâra koraḷigi sarakâ । swargada dari hiḍadâno Kailâsakâ । akka-taṅgera aṇṇa-tammara tâyi dukkha । sutta-gaṭṭi nintita jana-lôkâ । nâka tiṅgaḷa hanneraḍa dinaka । awarâtri amâsi târîkhâ ॥ Iḷava ॥ Ûra Bail-Hoṅgala doḍḍa śahara । jâhîrâ । sutta râjyada waḷaga hesarâ । Hanumanta-dêvarâ avaga namaskârâ । Tukârâma namma wastadarâ । śâyirâ-kavi Âpu mâḍida tayâra । Dêmaṇṇan=akshara illad-âṅga kasara । avara ḍabbina mêga muttina tûrâ । jartarâ । Santu Basaṇṇa jîvada geṇeyarâ । wairigi mâḍyâra jêra । iḷita kaligigi nîrâ ॥ Yêra ॥ Mâdurâwa kaligige biddâna gaṇṭâ । hâḍina waḷaga mukapâṭa ॥ 10 ॥

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 184. — KOMARALINGAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RAVIDATTA.

This inscription, which, I believe, is now edited in full for the first time, was originally brought to notice by Mr. Rice in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 13. His remarks on it have been reprinted by Mr. Sewell in *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 226. And in the same volume, p. 27, No. 185, the original plates are described as being in the possession of **Kômaraliṅgam** Râmayya, residing at **Kômaraliṅgam** in the Uḍamalpêt Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Coimbatore District, Madras Presidency. I edit it from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, through the District authorities, in 1883.

The **plates**, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, but the last on both sides, are three in number, each measuring originally about $8\frac{1}{8}''$ by $3\frac{7}{8}''$. The second plate is entire. Of the first plate, small portions have been broken away at the ends of lines 1, 2, and 5 to 7. And of the third plate, about an inch has been broken away, all the way down, at the ends of the lines. The plates are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the writing is in a state of very good preservation, and is quite legible throughout. — The **ring** on which the plates are strung, passes through ring-holes at the proper right end of each plate. It is a plain copper ring, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $2\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. It had been cut, when the grant came under my notice. No **seal** is forthcoming; and the ring presents no indications of having had a seal attached to it, or of having been soldered into the lower part of a seal. — The **weight** of the three plates is about 1 lb. 2 oz., and of the ring, 2 oz.; total, 1 lb. 4 oz. — The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets. The average **size of the letters** is a little over $\frac{1}{8}''$. The engraving is good; but it is not very deep, so that, though the plates are rather thin, the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of them at all. A few of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. — **The language** as far as line 15 is Sanskṛit, very bad both idiomatically and from an orthographical point of view. This portion of the record, as far as line 11, is in mixed verse and prose; but the only complete verse is the first, in lines 1-2; the other metrical passages are mere fragments of verses, plainly quoted from some other source or sources, and mixed up in the most remarkable manner with the prose passages that complete the sentences. A perusal of the text by anyone who can understand it, will satisfy him that these metrical passages really are fragments of verses; not words which only incidentally have assumed a metrical shape. In line 16, in the middle of a sentence, the language changes abruptly to a dialect of Old-Kanarese, with a curious mixture of Sanskṛit words and inflections in it; and from that point, as far as line 28, the record is in prose. The remainder of it is in Sanskṛit, with four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 32 to 36. — The **orthography** is so bad throughout, that it is useless to select any points for special notice, except the occurrence of the Drâviḍian *ḷ* in the village name Koḷûr, line 14, and in a few words in the Kanarese portion, and of the Drâviḍian *ṛ* in two words, lines 25 and 26, in the same portion. I will only remark that the use of *siṅga*

(with *g*, not *gh*) for *simha* in *singavermma*, line 7, and the use of *b* for *v* in *bbasudhâ*, line 33, are in themselves almost sufficient to prove that the record belongs by no means to the early period to which it has been assigned by Mr. Rice.

The inscription purports to be the charter of a grant made by a ruler named **Ravidatta**, while his victorious camp was at a town the name of which is **Kitthipura** as it stands in the text, but was probably intended to be **Kirtipura**. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of some villages to some Brâhmaṇs.

As regards the date, the grant purports to have been made on Sunday, the new-moon day of the month Phâlguna, under the Rêvatî *nakshatra*, and on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. But no reference is made to any era; and Ravidatta is not known from any other record. Consequently, the details cannot be tested by calculation.

Of the places mentioned in addition to **Kitthipura** or **Kirtipura**, the first village is **Puṅgisoge**, which is defined as being in the east-central *dêśa* in **the Kudugur nâḍu in the Punnâḍu vishaya**. The other villages granted are **Koḷûr**, **Kodamûku**, **Dvatogeyanûr**, **Tânagundûr**, and **Paṭṭal**. And the village of **Eḷagovanûr** is mentioned in the specification of boundaries. All of these names remain to be identified. Mr. Rice (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 13) has suggested that **Punnâḍu** appears as Pannata and Pannuta in Lassen and Yule's maps of Ancient India; and has added his opinion as to its modern representative. As indicated by him, **the Punnâḍu vishaya** of this record is doubtless identical with the Pûnâḍu district, supposed to be a Ten-thousand district, which is mentioned in the Merkara grant (*ante*, Vol. I. p. 365, and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 283). And the statement in line 30 of the present record, that the witnesses were the subjects of the Ninety-six-thousand *vishaya*, shews that the Punnâḍu *vishaya* was **a sub-division of the well-known Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand.** But it is difficult to follow his further identification of the Pûnâḍu Ten-thousand (?) with "the Padinâḍ or Ten Nâḍ country," mentioned in the Yelandur inscription of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 334 ff.), which he has located in the south-east of Maisûr (*id.* p. xliii.), and the name of which, he tells us, "survives in the existing Hadinâḍu. now corrupted into Hadinâru, a village on the Kabbani river, not far from its junction with the Kâvêrî." Hadinâru (*hadin-âru*), if this is exactly the right spelling of the name, means 'sixteen.' And there are the following objections to Mr. Rice's identification. In the first place, it is at least extremely doubtful whether the *ḍ* of *nâḍu* can change, or even can be corrupted, into *r* in Hadinâru, except in the preparation of an English map by someone who would confuse the two sounds. Secondly, though the syllables *hadi*, or *padi* in the older stage of the language, do mean 'ten' in *hadi-mûru*, 'thirteen,' and in *hadi-nâlku*, 'fourteen,' yet, as the second part of the word is not a numeral, it is not easy to see how they can be used in that sense in such a name as Hadinâḍu or Padinâḍu; assuming again that this is exactly the right spelling, and that the second syllable is really *di*, not *ḍi*. And, thirdly, it is still more difficult to imagine how the first two syllables of Padinâḍu came to be substituted for the *pun* or *pû* of Punnâḍu or Pûnâḍu. The identification seems really to be based upon the supposition that each division of "the Padinâḍ or Ten Nâḍ country" contained one thousand villages, in support of which there is, at any rate, nothing in the Yelandur inscription; and upon the view that the Pûnâḍu *vishaya* was a Ten-thousand district. This latter point rests upon the opinion, held by Dr. Burnell (*South-Ind. Palæo.* p. 67), that in the Merkara grant, line 18, a certain ***akshara***, which stands between the words *Pûnâḍu* and *sahaśra* (*sic*), is the numerical symbol for 'ten.' But the form of the *akshara* as given in Dr. Burnell's book, differs essentially from the form that it has in the lithograph of the grant (*ante*, Vol. I. p. 362). Nor, as it stands in the lithograph, does the *akshara* really resemble closely any of the known forms of the symbol for 'ten.' As it stands, it distinctly reads as *chhâ*. Without, at any rate, an inspection of the original plate, I will not venture to say what it may mean. But, because it does not agree with the known forms of the symbol for 'ten,' and because the use of a numerical symbol at all is so unlikely in the period to which the Merkara plates really belong, and still more because the use of a numerical symbol as part of a compound, with a fully written word on each side of it, is so very extraordinary that without

genuine analogous instances it cannot possibly be accepted, I cannot take it as proved even that the Punnâḍu *vishaya* was a Ten-thousand district.

As regards the full genealogical and historical purport of this inscription, it will be desirable to quote here exactly what was said about it by Mr. Rice, who brought it to notice in connection with the Kaḍaba grant of Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvinda III., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 735 expired, — of which, by the way, the authenticity is at least very doubtful. He wrote (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 13): — "I have, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, seen a grant of the "Punnâṭa Râjas which must belong to early in the sixth century. In it their succession is "thus given: — (1) Kâśyappa Râshṭravarmma; (2) Nâgadatta, his son; (3) Singa Varmma, "son of the last; (4) his son (not named); (5) Skandavarmma, son of the last; (6) Ravidatta, "his son. The addition to the first name may point to a suzerainty of the Râshṭrakûṭas. "But from other inscriptions (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 140, Vol. VII. p. 175; *Mysore Inscriptions*, "pp. 292, 295) we know that in the time of Skandavarmma the Punnâḍ kingdom was "annexed to the Gaṅga dominions by Avinîta who married the king's daughter." Of the two references given by him, only in the first (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 140, and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 292), and in no other document, can I find the passage which he intends. This is one of the Mallôhaḷḷi grants; and from it we learn that the son of Koṅgaṇimahâdhirâja, of the Western Gaṅga line, was Avinîta, otherwise named Koṅgaṇivṛiddharâja and Durvinîta, "whose broad chest "was embraced by the beloved daughter of Skanda Varmma, the Punnâḍ Râja[1] who herself "had chosen him though from her birth assigned by her father, according to the advice of his "own guru, to the son of another," and who was "the ruler of the whole of Pânnâḍ "(? Pâkhâḍ) and Punnâḍ." Now, this Mallôhaḷḷi grant, though Mr. Rice will not see it, is a spurious grant, belonging to a much later period than the date, Śaka-Saṁvat 435 or A.D. 513-514, to which he has referred it (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 140). This date was arrived at by him as part and parcel of his theories regarding the Western Gaṅgas, which are erroneous throughout, because they are based on nothing but a series of spurious and unreliable grants. And, having given up his original suggestion that Punnâṭarâja-Skandavarman, the father-in-law of Avinîta, might be a Pallava king or a feudatory of a Pallava king (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 135), and having identified him instead with the Skandavarman of the present record, it followed that, having fixed Śaka-Saṁvat 400 or A.D. 478-79 for the beginning of the reign of Avinîta, he was naturally obliged, as part and parcel of his theories, to refer to an early period in the sixth century A.D. the present grant of Ravidatta, whom he took to be the son of Skandavarman. I shall dismiss, without further comment, the exact dates arrived at by him. It is only necessary to point out that his remarks quoted above shew plainly that he treated the present inscription of Ravidatta as a genuine record; and that he used it for historical purposes, either as corroborative of, or as corroborated by, another record, which he supposes to be genuine and ancient.

I differ considerably from Mr. Rice in my interpretation of this inscription. In the first place, instead of finding six generations in unbroken succession of father and son, with Ravidatta in the last of them, I find that Skandavarman's son was Punnâṭarâja, and that Ravidatta is simply mentioned as a descendant of Punnâṭarâja, — with what interval between them it is impossible to say. In making Ravidatta the son of Skandavarman, Mr. Rice seems to have taken the word *Punnâṭarâjasya*, line 9, simply as an epithet, either of Skandavarman or of Ravidatta, meaning that the person to whom it applies was a ruler of the Punnâṭa or Punnâḍu country. The construction of the passage is, of course, bad to a degree; and especially so is the use, — evidently intentional, though the vowel *â* has been omitted, — of the Taddhita affix *âyana*, which is restricted to the special words *âmushyâyaṇa* and *dvyâmushyâyaṇa*, and to such derivatives as Âśvalâyana, Bâdarâyaṇa, Kâtyâyana, &c., and which cannot be correctly used as it has been here, *viz.* as a separate word after *Punnâṭarâjasya* which is in apposition with *tat-putrasya*. But, doing the best that is possible with the text, it certainly

[1] The original, however, distinctly has *punnâṭarâja*, like the present inscription. — I have quoted this passage from its later version, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 292. In *ante*, Vol. V. p. 140, the only difference is that we have "of the Punnâḍ râja Skanda Varmma."

seems to mean that Skandavarman's son was named Punnâṭarâja, and that Ravidatta was a descendant of the latter person, in some unspecified degree. In the second place, it is impossible to agree with Mr. Rice in taking Nâgadatta's son to be Siṅgavarman, *i.e.* Siṁhavarman. The text, line 7, distinctly gives the name of Nâgadatta's son in the word *bhujagâṁvarâgaḥ*, which, judged by the metre, seems to stand for *bhujaṁgâdhirâjaḥ*. And it proceeds to mention, not a son, but a daughter of Siṅgavarman; and she is plainly intended to be introduced as the wife of Nâgadatta's son, though the exact words are missing. And in the third place, I do not feel quite sure that we have the whole of the inscription before us. I do not find any record as to whether the ring was still uncut when the grant first came to notice; and even if it were so, it is possible that an original ring, with a seal attached to it, was abstracted; that the present plain ring was substituted; and that, in the course of this, part of the original charter was lost. The doubt arises in connection with the context of lines 7 and 8. The last two letters of the first plate, in line 7, have been broken away. And it is impossible to supply for them anything that can satisfactorily connect the last extant word on this plate with the first word on the second plate, in such a way as to give what is required here, *viz.* the name of Siṅgavarman's daughter, and the distinct mention of her as the wife of Bhujaṁgâdhirâja (?). Either her name and the other words were carelessly omitted altogether; or else they came on another plate which, possibly with others also, is now missing between lines 7 and 8. In the face, however, of the worthlessness of the whole inscription, this is not a point of any special importance. And, assuming, as Mr. Rice plainly did, that the entire record is practically before us, I find that it gives **the following succession of names**:—(1) Râshṭravarman, who seems to be described as belonging to the Kâśyapa *gôtra*; (2) his son, Nâgadatta; (3) his son, Bhujaṁgâdhirâja (?), who married a daughter of Siṅgavarman, *i.e.* Siṁhavarman, but the name of whose wife either was omitted or has been wrapped up in some unrecognisable shape in the syllables *vidyâ* . . . . *nayanô*, line 7-8; (4) his son, Skandavarman; (5) his son, Punnâṭarâja; and (6) his descendant in some unspecified degree, Ravidatta. In the description of these persons, there is nothing to indicate anything higher than feudal rank. And, on the other hand, the statement that Ravidatta made the grant with the permission of **Cheramma**, seems not only to shew plainly that he was merely a subordinate chieftain, but also to give the name of his master. His authority was probably confined to the Punnâḍu *vishaya*, which is the first and chief territorial division mentioned in specifying the position of Puṅgisoge.

I also differ entirely from Mr. Rice in **my appreciation of the value of this inscription.** Amongst its peculiarities, **the first point** that attracts attention is the abrupt manner in which, after the words *Ôm Svasti*, it opens with a verse that commences with *tad=anu jayati*, "after that, victorious is . . . . Ravidatta." This abrupt opening shews that the record is not complete even at the beginning of it, and that at any rate some invocatory verse or verses, which ought to have been included, must have been omitted here; compare, for instance, the Junâgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 58), and the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulikêśin II. (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 241), which open with an invocation of respectively Vishṇu and Jinêndra, and then introduce the reigning kings with verses of which one, that in the Junâgaḍh inscription, commences with *tad=anu jayati*, and the other, that in the Aihoḷe inscription, commences with *tad=anu*, having *jayati* at the end of the second *pâda*. **The next point,** of course, is the extraordinary corruptness of the Sanskṛit portion. With the exception of the opening verse, which very curiously contains only one real mistake, viz. *sampadânti* for *sampatanti*, the errors, both of idiom and of orthography, are of a more marked kind even than in the ordinary spurious inscriptions. I cannot call to mind any other instance in which the idiom and construction are faulty to the same extent. But the orthographical mistakes are of the kind which occur more or less in all the spurious grants, except in the British Museum plates of Pulikêśin I., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 411 expired (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 209 ff.), and in the Pimpaḷnêr plates of Pulikêśin I. or II., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 310 (*ante*, Vol. IX. p. 293); and in no genuine grants, except

perhaps some of the latest of the Valabhî records. **Another point** is the wonderful mixture of verse and prose in lines 2 to 11; in respect of which, as I have said above, anyone who can understand the text can satisfy himself that the metrical passages really are fragments of verses, taken plainly from some other document, and not words which only incidentally have assumed a metrical shape. For this I can call to mind no parallel whatever. And **another point** is the abrupt transition from Sanskṛit to Old-Kanarese in line 16, not only in the middle of a sentence, but even in passing from an adjective in Sanskṛit, used moreover erroneously in the nominative case, to the Kanarese dative which it is intended to qualify. For this, again, I can call to mind no analogous instance. In fine, how anyone can apply the present record seriously, is to me quite incomprehensible. The points to which I have drawn attention stamp it unmistakably as a document that has been pieced together, in the most careless fashion, and by a very ignorant and clumsy person, from perhaps half-a-dozen different sources; so that, whatever substratum of fact there may be in any of the passages included in it, taken as a whole **it is a worthless document, utterly useless for any historical purposes.** It is by no means the first specimen of its kind from the same part of the country. On the spurious Western Gaṅga grants, of which one is the Mallôhaḷḷi record referred to above, through which the present record has been connected with them, I have written elsewhere (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 11 ff). Wearisome as is the task of dealing in detail with such records, I have now treated fully of the present inscription, because, like the Western Gaṅga grants, and in special connection with one of them, it has misguidedly and misleadingly been accepted from a serious point of view; and because, in the face of such treatment, it was necessary that its nature should be plainly exhibited. As far as it can be determined palæographically, and especially by the marked wave in the upper part of the vowel *â* as attached to consonants, which first began to appear about the end of the seventh century A. D.,—see, for instance, the Harihar grant of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 300, Plate,—**the date of its concoction** might perhaps be placed about the commencement of the eighth century A.D.; but certainly no earlier. As, however, I cannot find any date in the eighth century which gives us the Rêvatî *nakshatra*, at sunrise or at any time during the day, coupled with an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday answering to either the *pûrṇimânta* or the *amânta* Phâlguna new-moon, it would appear that, unless the given details are purely imaginative, the record must be referred to a later time than A. D. 800.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[3] Svasti [||*] Tad[4]=anu jayati râjâ râjamâna[ḥ*] sva-dîptyâ ravir=iva **Ravidattô** dattavân dharmma[5]-kâraḥ d[iśi]-

2 diśi vijit-ârêr=yyasya vîryya-pratâpâḥ sakalam=avani-dêśaṁ santataṁ sampadà(ta)nti [||*] Vidyâ-v[i]-

3 nâ(na)y-âtivihita-vṛittaḥ nîti[6]-śâstra-prayôgâ[t*] âsîd=râjâ vidita-vijayaḥ **Kâśyapô**

4 **Râshṭrave(va)rmmâ** tat-putrô=bhût samara-mukha-huta-prà(pra)huta-śûrapurusha-turaga-va-

5 ra-vârê(ra)ṇa[ḥ*] chaturddasa(śa)-vidyâsthân-âdhigata-vimala-ma[7]tiḥ gaja-varu(rû)tha-gatir[8]=**Nnâgadattô** narêndraḥ tat-putrasya

6 rddânta[9]-vimardda-vimṛidita-viśvamba(mbha)râdhipa-mauli-mâl[â*]-makaranda-puṁja-piṁjari[ta]-śatru-chchô(chû)ḍâ-vih[i*]ta-yaśas-sâsa . .

---

[2] From the original plates.

[3] Represented by a symbol.

[4] Metre, Mâlinî. This is the only complete verse in the body of the grant.

[5] After this *rmma*, a *na* or *n* seems to have been engraved and cancelled.

[6] Metre, Mandâkrântâ; as far as *putrô=bhût* or *samara*.

[7] First *mi* was engraved; and then the *i* was partially cancelled.

[8] Metre, Mandâkrântâ or Sragdharâ; as far as *narêndraḥ*.

[9] Read *chaturddanta*.

7 **nîyân k[â*]nty**[10]=Ânaṁgô yuvatishu nṛipa-śri(śrî)-**Bhu**[11]**jagâṁvarâgaḥ**[12] śrî[13]-**Siṁga-ve(va)rmma**[14]-nṛipatês=tanayâ vibhâti vidyâ . . . .

Second Plate; First Side.

8 **nayanô**[15] tat-putrasya sva-bhuja-bala-parâkrama-kraya-vîryya-sampanna-**Skanda-ve(va)rmmaṇa[ḥ*]** tat-pu-

9 **trasya Punnâṭa-râjasy**=[â*]yanô dṛiṁta[16] s[v*]a-bhuja-vikrama-datta-mâly-[â*]dêr=Ê(i)ndra[17]-vikramô mṛi-

10 daṅga-gavira[18]-ninâda-nisvanaḥ samasta-sâmanta-tha(bha)ṭa-pravarddhana[ḥ*] praśâsti râjâ suchiraṁ vasundharâ[ṁ*]

11 **śrîmân Ravidatta**-nâmadhêyaḥ [॥*] **Kitthi**[19]-**puravarav(m)=adhivasati** vijaya-skândâvârê[20] **Cheramm**-anu-

12 jñeyât[21] **Pâlgunamâsyâṁ**[22] **Âdityavârê Rêvati(tî)-nakshatrê sûryya-grâhaṇê**[23] **Punnâḍu-**

13 vishayê **Kudugûr**-nnâḍoḷ pûrvva-madhya-dêśê **Puṅgisoge**-nâma-grâmaṁ(ḥ) udaka-pûrvvan=dattaḥ Dvivi-vi-

14 prasya sarvva-bâda(dha)-parihârê[ṇa*] janma-kshêtraṁ **Koḷu(ḷû)r**-nnâma-grâmaṁ Sômasa(śa)rmma-bhaṭṭaḥ **Kodamûku**-nâ-

15 ma-grâmaṁ **Kumba(mbha)sa(śa)rmma-bhaṭṭaḥ Dvatogeyanûr**-nnâma-grâmaṁ **Kâśyapa-gôtraḥ Kâmarave(va)rmma-shaḍâ(ḍa)ṁ-**

Second Plate; Second Side.

16 gaviya(da?)rggaṁ Âtrêya-gôtrâya Paḍuvasa(śa)rmmagaṁ inti irvvorggaṁ êkô bhâgaṁ(ḥ) sê(śê)shasya ja-

17 nma-kshêtraṁ chêvatraṁ[24] **Tânagundûr**-nnâma-grâmaṁ Srîdhara-chauvêra-putrasya Biṇamma-dvêdi[25] **Paṭṭa-**

18 l-nâma-grâmaṁ dvija[26]-guru-dêvatâ-pûdya[27]-Gaṇanâyaka tutyâ[28] samasta-ni(nî)ti-śâstra-prayôgi

19 Têtriya[29]-charaṇa-prâ(pra)vachana-kalpa Vatsa-gôtraḥ Mâda(dha)va-chauvêrarggaṁ îsau[30] Kâṇvâ-

20 yana-sagôtraḥ Kêsa(śa)va-kramayitarggaṁ inti irvvorggaṁ êkô bhâgaṁ(ḥ) dvishu bhâga-

21 sya tasya sîmântarâṇi pûrvvasyân=disi(śi) kammâtthivâya alliṁ vîrttandakolliya pala-

22 mpeyâle tuḷdilgâlâ-mûṭâyoḷbe ebeḷla[31]degalla-mû(?)ṭâya poreë(ye) bandu teruṇa(?)-bâ(?)lliya(?ye)

23 bandu **Eḷagovanûra** baḍagaṇa si(sî)meyuḷ ku(kû)ḍi dakshiṇasyân=disi(śi) ka(?)ḷipoḷekkâl-tenne(nno)ḷbe tâḷa . .

---

[10] Metre, Mandâkrântâ; as far as *bhujagâṁvarâgaḥ* for *bhujaṁgâdhirâjaḥ*.

[11] This *bhu* was at first omitted, and was then inserted below the line, with a mark to indicate the omission.

[12] Some correction is necessary here; and *bhujaṁg-âdhirâjaḥ* would satisfy the requirements of the metre, and agrees pretty closely which what is actually engraved.

[13] Metre, Vasantatilaka; as far as *vidyâ*. [14] First *rmmâ* was engraved; and then the *â* was partially cancelled.

[15] As regards the connection between this and the preceding line, see the introductory remarks.

[16] What was intended here is not apparent.

[17] Metre, Vaṁśastha; as far as *vasundharâṁ*.

[18] Read *gambhîra*.

[19] Read, perhaps, *kîrtti*.

[20] Read *skandhâvârê*.

[21] Read *ânujñayâ*.

[22] Read *phâlgun-âmâvâsyâṁ*.

[23] Read *grahaṇê*.

[24] This may perhaps be intended for *ch=aiv=ôtra*.

[25] Read *dvivêdi*, or *duvêdi*.

[26] This *ja* was at first omitted, and then was inserted, in a very cramped style, between the *dvi* and the *gu*.

[27] This is perhaps a mistake for *pûjya*.

[28] What was intended here is not apparent.

[29] Read *taittirîya*.

[30] What was intended here is not apparent.

[31] After this *ḷla*, some letter seems to have been engraved and cancelled.

Third Plate; First Side.

24 . . . . n . . b . . boṇarkkellodiḻda aduviṁ bada(?ḍa) oḻbe ekkuṭṭaṁ . . dîrggase . . . .

25 âlakkâl-tennoḻbe ekiṟuvadikkâl-tennoḻbe ekuḻdakkâl-tennoḻbe ekarkkâlliku . . b . . . .

26 ba(?be)rkku-geṟeyalliye va(ba)ndu suṇṇa-kkolliyoḷ ku(kû)ḍittu paśchimasyân=disi(śi) suṇṇa-kkolli . . . . . .

27 di bandu kuṇḍinadoḷ=ku(kû)ḍi baḍaga rekkakadadubadagây-veṭṭadiṁ biḻda-kolliya ṭa(?u) . . . . . .

28 beṭṭada mêl-poraḷe bandu mûḍây-si(sî)meyuḷ ku(kû)ḍittu ॥ Tat-kâlê tad-vishayê kada . . . . . .

29 sya udaka-pûrvvaṁ dattaḥ kṛitya-kuchcha-vyavahârê agra-vâkyê agra-pûje pa . . . . [॥ A]-

30 sya dânasya sâkshiṇaḥ shaṇṇavatisahâ(ha)sra-vishaya-prakṛitayaḥ [॥*] Yô=sy=âpa[harttâ]

31 [m]ôhât=pramô(mâ)dêna vâ sa pañchabhir=mahâbhi tpâtakai[32] saṁyuktô bhavati yô râ(ra)kshati ssa(sa) puṇyâ(ṇya)m=a[vâpnôti ॥]

Third Plate; Second Side.

32 [S]v[an][33]=d[â]tuṁ su-mahach-chhakyaṁ duḥkham=anyasya pâlanaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâlanaṁ v=êti dânâch=chhrê[yô=nupâla]-

33 naṁ [॥*] Bahubhir=bba(vva)sudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdhi(di)bhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhû[mis=tasya tasya]

34 tadâ phalaṁ ॥ Sarvv[â*]n[34]=êtâ[n*] prârtthayaty=êpa(va) Râmô bhûyô-bhûyô[35] bhâvinaḥ pâ[rtthivêndrân sâ]-

35 mânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê-kâlê pâlani(nî)yô mahâ(ha)dbhiḥ ॥ Bra[hma-svaṁ[36] tu vi]-

36 shaṁ ghôṁraṁ[37] na bhi(vi)shaṁ visham=uchyatê visham=êkâkinaṁ hanti brahma-svaṁ pu[t]ra-[pautrikaṁ ॥]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After the words "Ôm! Hail!", the record opens with a verse introducing the name of the 'king' **Ravidatta** (line 1), by whom, as we learn further on, the grant purports to have been made. The verse begins with the words *tad=anu jayati*, "after that, victorious is . . . . . . Ravidatta;" which shew that at any rate some invocatory verse has been omitted here.

It then gives Ravidatta's genealogy. It states that there was a 'king' named **Râshṭravarman** (l. 4), who seems to be described as belonging to **the Kâśyapa gôtra** (l. 3). His son was 'king' **Nâgadatta** (l. 5). His son was the 'king,' the illustrious **Bhujaṁgâdhirâja** (l. 7), if we accept the correction that suits the metre and is suggested by the syllables that actually occur; and in connection with this person, and evidently as his wife, mention is made of **a daughter of the 'king,' the illustrious Siṁgavarman**, but her name either was omitted or cannot be made out. His son was **Skandavarman** (l. 8) His son was **Punnâṭarâja** (l. 9). And his descendant is the 'king,' the illustrious **Ravidatta** (l. 11), who has now been governing the earth for a long time.

While his, Ravidatta's, victorious camp is at **the town of Kitthipura, or perhaps Kîrtipura**, which is the best of towns (l. 11), with the permission of **Cheramma, on the new-moon day of Phâlguna (l. 12), on Sunday, under the Rêvatî nakshatra, and at an eclipse of the sun, the village named Puṅgisoge** (l. 13), which is described as being in the east-central *dêśa*

[32] Read *mahadbhiḥ pâtakaiḥ*, or *mahâpâtakaiḥ*.

[33] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.

[34] Metre, Śâlinî.

[35] First *bhâvinaḥ* was engraved here, and then it was corrected into *bhûyô*.

[36] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[37] Read *ghôraṁ*.

i

ii a

ii b

J. F. FLEET. BO. C.S. SCALE .75 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

iiia

iiib

in the Kudugur nâḍ which is in the Punnâḍu vishaya, has been granted, free of all obstruction, apparently to a Brâhmaṇ named Dvivivipra.

Also the following grants seem to have been made. **The village of Koḷûr** (l. 14), to Sômaśarmabhaṭṭa; the said village apparently being his birth-place (*janmakshêtra*). **The village of Kodamûku,** to Kumbhaśarmabhaṭṭa. One share, apparently, of **the village of Dvatogeyanûr** (line 15), to Kâmaravarmashaḍaṅgavid, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, and to Paḍuvaśarman of the Âtrêya *gôtra*; and the text seems to intimate that their birth-place was here, and that the rest of the village belonged to them by right of that fact. **The village of Tânagundûr** (l. 17), to Biṇammadvivêdin, the son of Śrîdharachauvêra. And, apparently, one portion of **the village of Paṭṭal** to Gaṇanâyaka, and the other to Mâdhavachauvêra, of the Taittirîya *charaṇa* and the Vatsa *gôtra*, and to Kêśavakramayita of the Kâṇvâyana *gôtra*.

Lines 20 to 28 contain a specification of boundaries, in the course of which there is mentioned **the village of Eḷagovanûr** (l. 23). But it is not clear whether the boundaries are those of Puṅgisoge; or of all the villages, on the understanding that they formed one compact block; or of a portion only of the lands that were granted.

Lines 28-29 seem to refer to some other grant which was made at the same time, but the nature of which is not apparent. Lines 29-30 state that the witnesses to the grant were the subjects of **the Ninety-six-thousand vishaya.** And lines 30 to 36 contain a precept in prose, and four of the customary Sanskrit benedictive and imprecatory verses, with which the record ends.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from p.* 184.)

As the sixth of the *dasâu* texts the **paṇhâvâgaraṇadasâu** are named. This is to be sure the name of the tenth *aṅga*, which is also divided into 10 *dâras* but not into 10 *ajjh*. The names of the ten *ajjh.* quoted here show very plainly that here, as in the case of *aṅgas* 8, 9, the author had quite a different, and in fact an older, text before him than the one we now possess. These names are in agreement with the name of the *aṅga* itself, whereas our text of this *aṅga* shows no connection with it. The names are: *uvamâ, saṁkhâ, isibhâsiyâiṁ,*[1*] *âyariyabhâsiyâiṁ, Mahâvîrabhâsiyâiṁ, khômagapasiṇâiṁ, kômalapasiṇâiṁ, addâgapasiṇâiṁ, aṁguṭṭhapasiṇâiṁ, bâhupasiṇâiṁ.* The names of *ajjh.* 6, 8, 9, 10 recur in that table of contents of *aṅga* 10 which is found in *aṅga* 4 (and *Nandî*) so that there the text which existed at the period of *aṅga* 3 and not our present text, is meant. Abhayadêva says, in so many words: *praśnavyâkaraṇadaśâ ihô 'ktarûpâ na dṛiśyaṁtê, dṛiśyamânâs tu paṁchâśravapaṁchasaṁvarâtmikâ iti, ihôktânâṁ tû'pamâdînâm adhyayanânâm aksharârthaḥ* [273] *pratîyamâna êvê ti.*[2]

The names of the **following four dasâu** do not recur elsewhere. The names of the 10 *ajjh.* of *dasâ* 10 are mentioned, not as parts of the *Siddhânta* but as belonging in or to it. In the seventh place appear the *baṁdhadasâu*, the 10 *ajjh.* of which have the following names: *baṁdhê*[3] *ya mokkhê ya dêviḍḍhî* Dasâramaṁḍalê *ti ya* | *âyariyavipaḍivattî uvajjhâyavippaḍivattî* | *bhâvaṇâ vimottî sâsatê kammê.* In the eighth place we find the *dôgiddhidasâu* (*dvigṛiddhi*?) with the following names[4] *vâtê vivâtê sukhettê kasiṇê ti ya* | *bâyâlîsaṁ suviṇâ tîsaṁ mahâsuviṇâ hârê*[5] Râmaguttê *ya êyam êê dasa âhiyâ.*[6] In the ninth place the *dîha-dasâu* with following names: *chaṁdê sûrê ya sukkê ya,* Siridêvî, Pabhâvaî | *dîvasamuddôvavattî,* Bahuputti, Maṁdarê ti ya | *thêrê* Saṁbhûyavijaê, *thêrê* Pamha-ussâsanissâsê ||. Abhayadêva points out here some connection with the *narakâvalikâ-*, or *nirayâvalikâ-*

[1*] This text is treated in greater detail on *aṅga* 4 § 44.—It has been discovered by Prof. Peterson, see his Third Report, p. 26 and 253.—L.

[2] kshaumakâdishu dêvatâvatârah kriyata iti, tatra kshaumakaṁ vastram, addâgô âdarśaḥ.

[3] baṁdhâdy-adhyayanâni, śrautênâ'rthêna vyâkhyâtavyâni.

[4] *dvigṛihi* (!) *daśâ cha svarûpat* 'py *anavasitâh.*

[5] *var.*: *harê, hôlê.*

[6] These are but nine; in a MS. belonging to Sir Mon. Williams, according to Leumann, *bâvattariṁ savvasumiṇâ* are named in the tenth place. For the dreams of the *mahâsuviṇâ* above, p. 224, also cited among the *aṇaṁgapaviṭṭha* texts in the Pâkshikas, and in the *Vidhipr.*

śrutaskandha, i.e. *upâṅgas* 8—12.[7] Finally in the tenth place are the *saṁkhêviyadasâu*[8] with the foll. names *khuḍḍiyâ vimâṇapavibhattî, mahalliyâ vimâṇa*[274]*pavibhattî, aṁgachûliyâ, vaggachûliyâ vivâhachûliyâ*, Aruṇôvavâê, Varaṇôvavâê (Varu° in the Schol., perhaps Dhara°) Garulôvavâê, Vêlaṁdharôvavâê, Vêsamaṇôvavâê. All these names recur in the *aṇaṅgapaviṭṭha* list of the *Nandî* (*Pâkshikas. Vidhipr.*). We have seen above, p. 223, 224, that the five[9] *ajjhayaṇas* beginning with *khuḍḍiyavimâṇa*, are designed for the eleventh year of study, the five[9] *ajjh.*, which begin with *aruṇôvavâa* for the twelfth year of study. From this two facts are plain: first, that they still existed at the date of composition of the *versus memoriales* in question, secondly, that they were of great importance in so far as their study is made to occur after that designed for *aṅga* 5 *i.e.* the tenth year. By *vivâhachûliyâ* (*vyâkhyâ bhagavatî, tasyâś chûlikâ*) we may remark in passing, we are to understand one or more of those supplements to *aṅga* 5, all of which now appear to have been incorporated in that *aṅga*.

We cannot doubt that all the texts mentioned above were thus constituted at the period of the existence of *aṅga* 3. Hence the extreme interest of this detailed presentation of the subject. It is only as regards *aṅga* 7 and *chhêdasûtra* 4 that this account is in entire agreement with the existing text of the *Siddhânta*; in all other particulars this account is either widely different or has reference to texts,[10] which are not found in the Siddhânta at all. The proof here given of the fact that from the mention of a work in one place or another there does not [275] follow the identity of the then existing texts with the present (though in reality proof of a fact that is self-evident) is nevertheless not out of place in the present case, since it has become so customary in these days to draw from the titles of Chinese, etc., translations of Buddhistic works conclusions in reference to the existence of the latter in their present form. The proof here carried out in reference to *aṅga* 8 to 10 is intended as a reminder that greater caution must be used in the future. (See *Ind. Stud.* III. 140).

Of great interest is furthermore the enumeration in *ajjh.* 7 of the names of the **seven schisms**[11] together with those of their founders and of their localities: *êvaṁ chêva samaṇassa bhagavatô* **Mahâvîrassa** *titthaṁmi satta pavayaṇaninhagâ paṁ taṁ: bahurayâ, jîvapadêsiyâ, avvattiyâ, sâmuchchhêtiyâ, dôkiriyâ, têrâsiyâ, avaḍhdhiyâ* (?); *êêsi ṇaṁ sattaṇhaṁ pavayaṇaninhagâṇaṁ satta dhammâyariyâ hotthâ, taṁ: Jamâlî, Tîsaguttê Âsâḍhê, Âsamittê, Gaṁgê, Chhaluê, Goṭṭhâmâhilê*; *êêsi ṇaṁ pa°ṇaṁ satta uppattinagarâ hotthâ, taṁ*: Sâvatthî, Usabhapuraṁ, Sêyabiyâ, Mihilâ, Ullagâtîraṁ, *puraṁ* Aṁtaraṁji, Dasapura(ṁ) *ninhaga-uppattinagarâṁ*. According to *Âvaśy. nijj.* 8, 61. 83, the last of these schisms occurred in the year Vîra 584; from this we may derive some basis for chronological determination.[12*] See Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 15.

An exact examination of this important text is a great desideratum, since in it are contained a large number of signifi cnt [276] statements and data. It constitutes a perfect treasure-house for the correct understanding of innumerable groups of conceptions, in distinguishing which from one another the pedantic formalism of the Jains was wont to run riot.

The table of contents in *aṅga* 4 and *Nandî* (N) reads: sê kiṁ taṁ ṭhâṇê? ṭhâṇê ṇaṁ sasamayâ ṭhâvijjaṁti parasamayâ sasamayaparasamayâ; jîvâ ṭhâvijjaṁti ajîvâ jîvâjîvâ; lôgô alôgô lôgâlôgô ṭhâvijjaṁti;[13] ṭhâṇê ṇaṁ davva-guṇa-khetta-kâla-pajjavapayatthâ ṇaṁ sêlâ salilâ

---

[7] dîrghadaśâḥ svarûpatô'navagatâ êva. tad-adhyayanâni (kâni) chin narakâvalikâ-śrutaskaṁdha upalabhyaṁtê; tatra chaṁdravaktavyatâpratibaddhaṁ chaṁdram adhyayanaṁ, tathâ hi: Râjagṛihê . . .; śêshâṇi trîṇy apratîtâni.

[8] saṁkshêpikâ daśâ apy anavagatasvarûpâ êva, tadadhyayanânâm punar arthaḥ: khuddiê tyâdi, ihâ'valikâpravishṭêtaravimânapravibhajanaṁ yatrâ 'dhyayanê tad vimânapravibhaktiḥ, tach chai 'kam alpagraṁthârthaṁ, tathâ 'nyan mahâgranthârtham.

[9] This first 5 of the preceding ten *ajjh.* are doubtless meant by this statement. At least in the *Nandî* they preserve the same order of succession.

[10] These texts may be concealed, *i.e.*, absorbed by larger texts—a conjecture whieh is very probable *e.g.* in the case of the *vivâhachûliyâ*. See above.

[11] cf. *Kup.* 794 (4), where the words "in connection with Ayyarakkhia and Pûsamitta" belong to the last line after Goṭṭhâmâhila; see Âv. N, 8, 89.

[12*] The Jain records on the above seven schisms have been translated into German by Leumann, Ind. Stud. XVII., p. 91-135.—L.

[13] In N. we read *jîvâ ajîvâ jîvâj* at the beginning: then follows *lôê alôê lôyâlôê*; and *sasamaê p. sasamayaparasamâê* forms the conclusion, (as also in the case of *aṅgas* 4 *et seq.*); the verb is *thâvijjaṁti* in each one of the nine cases—*i.e.* in the plural.

ya samudda-sûra-bhavaṇa-vimâṇa-âgaraṇadiò nidhayô purisajâyâ[14] sarâ[15] ya gottâ ya jôisaṁvâlâ[16]; êkavihaṁ vattavvayaṁ duvihaṁ *jâva* dasavihaṁ vattavvayaṁ jîvâṇa pôggalâṇa ya lôgaṭṭhâiṁ cha ṇaṁ parûvaṇayâ âghavijjaï.[17]

The **commentary** is by Abhayadêva, who both here at the end and elsewhere is frequently called *navâṅgîvṛittikâraḥ*. Commentaries to *aṅgas* 3—11 are ascribed to him; and we have one from his hand on *upâṅga* 1.

He calls himself a scholar of Jinêśvarâchârya[18] and of Buddhisâgara the younger [277] brother of the former. The present commentary was prepared by him *Saṁvat* 1120 (A.D. 1064) in *Aṇahillapâṭaka* with the help of Yaśôdêvagaṇi, a scholar of *Ajitasiṅhâchârya*, for a *paṇḍita-parshad*, conducted by śrî Drôṇâchârya. According to Dharmasâgara's *Gurvâvalî*, the "*navâṅgavṛittikṛit*," Abhayadêva died *Saṁvat* 1135, according to others 1139. See Kl. 248b. 253b. (12.30).

IV. The fourth aṅgam, samavâya, "association, group, rubric," in one *ajjhayaṇa*, that consists of very heterogeneous parts. The contents of the first two-thirds is in general the same as that of the third *aṅga*, both being designed for instruction in the eighth year. See above. There is however the difference that the categories here exceed 10,[19] and continue by progression up to 100,[20] and then *per saltus* far exceed 100. Immediately following, but without any logical connection with this, is a detailed table of contents and extent of all the twelve *aṅgas*; then all sorts of statements which cannot be united into one class and which deal partly with doctrine, partly with hagiology and, if we may use the expression, history or legend. This third part is without doubt to be regarded as an appendix to the first part, and the whole as a supplement to the third *aṅga*; as in fact we learn from § 57 that *aṅgas* 1 to 3 were regarded as a connected unit. We have here a compendium of everything worth knowing, [278] a perfect treasure-house of the most important information which is of the greatest value for our understanding of the *Siddhânta*. Of especial significance are, in the first place, the statements of literary and historical content in § 1—100, in reference to the extent and division of the separate *aṅgas*, etc., (statements which were doubtless the principal cause of the addition of the full treatment of this subject); the mention of various celebrated Arhats of the past[21] together with the number of their scholars (this was the cause of the addition of the concluding part); and the frequent reference to the lunar and *nakshatra* computation of time and to the quinquennial *yugam*. The references to the *yugam* are exactly in the manner of the *jyôtisha vêdâṅga*, Kṛittikâ, etc., being the beginning of the series of the *nakshatras*.

Aṅga 4 begins, after prefacing the customary introduction (*suyam mê âusaṁ, têṇaṁ bhagavaṁtêṇam êvam akkhâyaṁ*) with a fresh statement in reference to the authorship of Mahâvîra:—*iha khalu samaṇêṇaṁ bhagavayâ Mahâvîrêṇaṁ* (then follows the regular *varṇaka* with about 40 attributes, among which are *Jiṇêṇaṁ* . . *buddhêṇaṁ bohaêṇaṁ* . . . .) *imê duvâlasaṁgê gaṇipiḍagê*[22] *pannattê, taṁ jahâ*: (then follow the names of the 12 *aṅgas*)[23] [279]

[14] Purisajâya tti purushaprakâra unnatapraṇatâdibhêdaḥ; pâṭhâṁtarêṇa: pussajôga tti upalakshaṇatvât pushyâdinakshatrâṇâṁ chaṁdrêṇa saha paśchimâgrimôbhayapramâdâdikô yôgaḥ.

[15] svarâś cha shaḍjâdayô.

[16] °châlâ B C; *jyôtishaḥ târârûpasaṁvâlanâni* (*côl*°?).

[17] N. has instead of ṭhâṇê ṇaṁ davva° the following: ṭaṁkâ kûḍâ sêlâ sihariṇô pabbhârâ kuṁḍâiṁ guhâô âgarâ dahâ naîô âghavijjaṁti; ṭhâṇê ṇaṁ êgâiyâê êguttariyâê vuḍḍhîê dasaṭṭhâṇavivaḍḍhiyâṇam bhâvâṇaṁ parûvaṇâ âghavijjaṁti.

[18] The founder of the *Kharataragachchha*; see the *paṭṭâvalî* at the end of the *Śabdaprabhêdaṭîkâ* v. 2 (ms. or. fol. 813), and *Kl.* 248a (11).

[19] In § 1—10 there are many statements which recur in the same form in *aṅga* 3.

[20] They are counted up to 100 as first, second, third *samavâya* (or in the neuter *samavâyam*) up to the hundredth.

[21] *e.g.* Kuṁtha § 27. 81, Kuṁthu § 95, Pâsa § 38, 70, 350. Paṇami (Nami B.C) § 39, Ariṭṭhanêmi § 40, Nami § 41, Vimala § 44. 56, Muṇisuvvaa § 50, Malli § 55. 57, Usabha Kôsalia § 63. 83. 89. Môriyaputta § 65, Suvihi Pupphadanta § 75. 86, Bharaha § 77, Seyyasa § 80, Siyyaṁsa § 84, Sîyala § 83. 90, Maṁdiyaputta § 83, Supâsa § 86, 95, 200, Ajjiya 90, Iṁdabhûti § 92, Caṁdappaha § 93, Saṁti § 93, Sumai § 300, Sambhava § 400, Ajia § 450, Sagara 450, Vâsupujja § 700.

[22] This word, which in § 57 is used especially for *aṅgas* 1—3, belongs of course to the tipiṭaka of the Pâli texts, but has no reference to the ~~number three.~~ The designation of "basket" inclines one to think of its having been committed to writing. On the first mention of the name tipiṭaka see *Ind. Stud.* 5, 26; *Vorles. Ind. Lit.-G.*[2] 311, appendix, page 15.

[23] All of the preceding from *iha khalu* on gives an impression of secondary origin. This is the first occasion that we meet with the *varṇaka* of Mahâvîra.

tattha naṁ jê sê caüütthê aṁgê samavâê ti âhiê,[24] *tassa, naṁ ayam aṭṭhê* . . . In *aṅgas* 1—3 we do not find at the outset any such designation as first, second, third *aṅgam*.

I extract the following from the remainder of the *aṅga*. In § 1 repetition of the statements of the third *aṅga* in reference to the asterisms *addâ, chittâ, sâti* being called *êgatâra*; further on the same statements are made about the remaining **nakshatras**; in § 7 the 28 *nakshatras* are divided into four groups, viz.: *kittiyâiya* (°*âdika*) in the East (*puvvadâriyâ*), *mahâiya* in the South, *anurâ hâiya* in the West, *dhaniṭṭhâiyâ* in the North. After[25] the sentence *kittiyâiyâiyâ satta nakkhattâ puvvadâriyâ paṁ* (*pannattâ*) the words *pâṭhâṁtarêṇa abhahiyâdiyâ* (A, *abhiyâiyâ* BC) are inserted;[26] whereby, as the schol. explains, *abhijit, aśvini, pushya, svâti* are indicated rather than the names in question. This insertion purposes to put the series of *nakshatras*, first invented by the Jains and taught especially in *upâṅgas* 5, 7 (see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 220, 304) in the place of the old *kṛittikâ* series, which still maintained its validity at the time the fourth *aṅga* was first composed.[27] The new view had not yet received the authoritative stamp of orthodoxy. [280] We must however here notice that (cf. p. 269) in the third *aṅga* § 7 we find statements completely identical with those in this insertion.—In § 18 enumeration of the **18 kinds of writing** usual for the bambhî livî (but not so correct as in *up.* 4 on which account I cite them there);—§ 18 **atthinatthipavâyassa puvvassa** (this is the fourth *pûrvam*) *aṭṭhârasa vatthû*;—in § 19 enumeration of the 19 **nâya***jjhayaṇas*, i. e. of the 19 books of *aṅga* 6, in *kârikâ* form; —in § 23 enumeration of the 23 **sûyagaḍa***jjhayaṇas*, i. e. of those of *aṅga* 2;—in § 25 enumeration of the 25 *ajjh.* of *aṅga* 1; **âyârassa** *bhagavaô sachûliyâyassa*, the *mahâparinnâ* being mentioned in the ninth place and the *nisîhajjhayaṇa* being designated outright as "25th *ajjh.*" The latter is probably the *chûliyâ* (see § 57 and p. 254); the designation as *bhagavant* is found also in § 85, cf. also § 84;—in § 36 enumeration of the 36 *ajjh.* of the **uttarajjhayaṇa**, *i.e.* of the first *mûlasûtra*, and in fact with a few insignificant variations of the names given here; see below—§ 43 *têyâlîsaṁ* **kammavivâgajjhayaṇâ** *paṁ*(*nattâ*); the names are however not enumerated; accord. to the schol. the 20 *ajjh.* of the eleventh *aṅga*, called *vivâgasuya* are hereby referred to, as also the 23 of the second (!) *aṅga*. Cf. page 270 in reference to the kammavivâgadasâu in ten *ajjh.* mentioned in *aṅga* 3, 10; — § 44 *chôyâlîsaṁ ajjhayaṇâ* **isibhâsiyâ** *dêvalôgachuyabhâsiyâ paṁ*(*nattâ*); both of these texts, at least under these names, are no longer extant,[28*] I have found the *dêvalôgachuyabhâsiyâ* mentioned in this place alone; the *isibhâsiyâ* however are often mentioned. We have already come across them (see p. 272) in *aṅga* 3, 10 as third *ajjh.* of *aṅga* 10 (!) [281] In the *Nandî* they appear among the *anaṅgapaviṭṭha* texts; the author of the *Âvaśy. nijj.* confesses that he (2, 6) is author of a *nijj.* to the *isibhâsiâi* too, and (8, 54), placing them in the second place, describes them together with *kâliasua, sûrapannatti* and *diṭṭhivâa* as the four kinds of *aṇuôa* (see p. 258); *Abhay.* however here characterizes them as *kâlikaśrutaviśêshabhûtâni*. Haribhadra on *Âv.* identifies them, on one occasion (2, 6) with *paînna* 7, on another (8, 54), he calls them *uttarâdhyayanâdîni*! See above, p. 259. They appear also in connection with the *paînnas*, embracing 50 (!) *ajjh.* in the *Vidhiprapâ*, where their connection with the *Uttarajjhayaṇa* as *matâṁtara* is also referred to — § 46 *diṭṭhivâyassa naṁ chhâyâlîsaṁ* **mâuyâpayâ** (*mâtṛikâpadâni*) *paṁ*(*nattâ*); *baṁbhîê naṁ liviê chhâyâlîsaṁ mâuarakkhâ* (*mâurakarâ* BC, perhaps *mâuakkharâ? mâtṛi* + *aksh*°) *paṁ*. In reference to the 46 *mâuyâpayâ* of *aṅga* 12 see below. By the "*lêkhyavidhau* 46 *mâtṛikâksharâṇi*" of the Scriptures, are according to the schol., to be understood[29] *a* to *ha*, with the addition of *ksha*, but with the

[24] *âkhyâta*, I assumed several years ago (see *Bhag.* 1. 410. 2, 251) under the erroneous belief that this form belonged especially to the Sûryaprajñapti (see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 254) that *âhia âhijjai* were derived from the root khyâ weakened to *khi, hi*. I should now prefer to regard them as a species of retrogressive formation from the common *âhaṁsu* (root ah).

[25] Thus in A; in BC before.

[26] The same case is found § 72.

[27] The schol. however regards the *abhijit* series as *siddhâṁtamatam*: he then adds: *iha* (in the text) *tu matâṁtaram âśritya kṛittikâdîni* . . *bhaṇitâni*: *chaṁdraprajñaptau tu bahutarâṇi matâni darśitâni*) (*Ind. Stud.* 10, 285).

[28*] See however the last but one asterism note.

[29] The Pâṇiniyâ śikshâ counts 63 or 64 varṇas and (as is very remarkable) "both for Sanskṛit and for Prâkṛit (!)" See *Ind. Stud.* 4, 348, 349.

omission of *jha-ḍa-tṛi(?)-ûṁ(?)-la* (?) ![30] These statements are of the most remarkable character. The number of 46 *aksharas*, whether written signs or sounds (which can have reference to *Sanskṛit* alone and not to *Prâkṛit*, since *ksh* is included in the list), I am as yet entirely unable to explain[31]— § 57 **tiṇhaṁ gaṇipiḍagâṇaṁ** *âyârachûliyavajjâṇaṁ sattâvannam ajjhayaṇâ paṁ* (*nattâ*) *âyârê* 24, *sûyagaḍê* 23, *ṭhâṇê* [282] 10; here the first 3 *aṅgas* are taken together as a unit and called 'the three *gaṇipiḍagas*' *par excellence*. It is here worthy of note that only 24 *ajjh.* are ascribed to the *âyâra* after the separation of the *âyârachûliyâ*, and in fact (p. 254) only the *nisîhajjhayaṇam*, which in § 25 is called the 25th *ajjh.*, can be meant by *âyârachûliyâ*;—in § 59 fifty-nine day-nights (*râtiṁdiya*) are allotted to each **season of the lunar year**; § 61 *paṁchasaṁvachchharassa ṇaṁ* **jugassa** *riḍumâsêṇaṁ miyyamâṇassa êgasaṭṭhi uḍumâsâ paṁ*(*nattâ*); see on this *Jyôtisha* v. 31 (my treatise, p. 93);—§ 62 the quinquennial *yugam* has 62 full moons, 62 new moons; — § 67 67 *nakkhattamâsâ*; according to § 71, the winter of the fourth lunar year (in the *yuga*) has 71 νυχθήμερα—*chaütthassa ṇaṁ chaṁdasaṁvachchharassa hêmaṁtâ ṇam êkasattariê râtiṁdiyêhiṁ vitikkaṁtêhiṁ*;—in § 72 enumeration of the 72 **kalâs** which are essentially identical with those which recur in *aṅga* 6, 1, 119, *upâṅga* 1, 107 and elsewhere;[32] the repeated use of the word *lakkhaṇa* probably forms a literary synchronism with the *Mahâbhâshya* and the *Atharvapariśishṭas*. See *Ind. Stud.* 13, 460 Burnell, *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 9 fg.; the names are :—

Lêhaṁ 1, gaṇiyaṁ 2, rûvaṁ 3, naṭṭaṁ 4, gîyaṁ 5, vâiyaṁ 6, saragayaṁ 7, pukkharagayaṁ 8, samatâlaṁ 9, jûyaṁ 10, jaṇavâyaṁ 11, pôrêvachchaṁ (A, kavvaṁ B.C.)[33] 12, aṭṭhâvayaṁ 13, dagamaṭṭiyaṁ 14, annavihiṁ 15, pâṇavihiṁ 16, lêṇav.[34] 17, sayaṇav. 18, ajjapahêliyaṁ (ajjaṁ pa° BC) 19, mâgahiyaṁ 20, gâhaṁ[35] 21, silôgaṁ 22, gaṁdhajuttiṁ 23, [283] madhusitthaṁ 24,[36] âbharaṇavihiṁ 25, taruṇîpaḍikammaṁ 26, itthîlakkhaṇaṃ 27, purisal. 28, hayal. 29, gayal. 30, gôṇal.[37] 31, kukkuḍal. 32, miḍhayal. 33, chakkal. 34,[38] chhattal. 35, daṁḍal 36, asil. 37, maṇil 38, kâgaṇil. 39, chammal. 40,[39] chaṁdayal. 41, sûrachariyaṁ 42, râhuchariyaṁ 43, gahachariyaṁ[40], 44, sôbhâkaraṁ 45, dôbhâkaraṁ 46, vijjâgayaṁ 47, maṁtag. 48, rahassag. 49, saṁbhâvaṁ 50, vâraṁ (? châraṁ BC) 51, paḍivâraṁ (châraṁ BC) 52,[41] bûhaṁ 53, paḍibûhaṁ 54, khaṁdhâvâramâṇaṁ 55, nagaramâṇaṁ 56, vatthumâṇaṁ 57, khaṁdhâvâranivêsaṁ 58, nagaranivêsaṁ 59, vatthunivêsaṁ 60, îsatthaṁ 61, chharuppavâyaṁ (pagayaṁ BC) 62, âsasikkhaṁ 63, hatthisikkhaṁ 64, dhaṇuvêdaṁ 65, hariṇavâdaṁ (hiraṇṇavâyaṁ BC) 66, suvaṇṇavâdaṁ 67, maṇipâgaṁ 68, dhâupâgaṁ 69, bâhujuddhaṁ 70, daṁḍaj. 71, muṭṭhij. 72, aṭṭhij. 73, juddhaṁ 74, nijuddhaṁ 75, juddhâtijuddhaṁ 76, suttakheḍḍaṁ 77, ṇâliyâkheḍḍaṁ 78, vaṭṭakheḍḍaṁ 79, dhammakheḍḍaṁ[42] 80, chamharevaṭṭaṁ (! pamhakheḍḍaṁ BC) 81, pattachheyyaṁ 82, kaḍaga(kaṇṇaga BC)chheyyaṁ 83, pattagachheyyaṁ 84, sajîvaṁ 85, nijîvaṁ 86, saüṇaruyam 87 iti. Of these 87 names, 15 are to be removed, whether they are *pâṭhâṁtaras* (see on No. 80) or interpolations. For the v. r. from *Nây.* see below;—§ 81 **vivâhapannattiê** (in the fifth *aṅga*) *êkkâsîiṁ mahâjummasayâ* [284] (*mahâyugmaśatâni*) *paṁ*(*nattâ*);— § 84 *vivâhapaṇṇattîês ṇaṁ bhagavaîê chaürâsîiṁ payasa-*

[30] Among the Brahmans too there is found an enumeration of the alphabet in order to form a diagram. Cf. my treatise on the Râma Tâp. Up. I. 62, p. 309. This enumeration contains 51 *aksharas* (16 vowels, 35 consonants), which, after deducting 5 *aksharas*, shows the 46 *mâuyakkharâ* ascribed in *aṅga* 4, 46 to the *baṁbhî livî*. In reference to their use see page 462. It is however doubtful whether the use of the latter (on page 462) represents an example of the mâuyakkharâ.

[31] tâni châ 'kârâdîni hakârâṁdatâni (°râṁtâni) saksha kârâni jha-ḍa-tṛi-ûṁ-laṁ(!). (Leumann proposes to me to read ṛi, ṛî, ḷi; but what is the meaning of jha and ḍa!) ty eva (!) ity êtadaksharapaṁchakavarjitâni saṁbhâvyaṁtê.—The letters meant are indeed ṛi, ṛî, ḷi, ḷî and ḷ., see Weber's Cat. II., p. 408, n. 2.—L.

[32] See Paul Steinthal, Specimen of the Nâyâdh. p. 29 and Leumann Aupapât. p. 77, where especial notice is taken of the variant readings here.

[33] *Nay.* has here *pâsayam* and reverses the position of 12 and 13.—*The right name of the 12th *kalâ* is no doubt *pôrêkachchaṁ=pauraskṛtyaṁ.*—L.

[34] *Vilêvaṇa Nây.* with the addition of *vatthav.*

[35] *Nây.* adds *gîtiyaṁ.*

[36] Instead of 23. 24 *Nây.* has *hiraṇṇajuttiṁ, suvaṇṇaj. chuṇṇaj.*

[37] Steinthal has gaṇal°.

[38] Nây. omits 33, 34.

[39] 40—50 omitted in Nây.

[40] Are they to be regarded as planets or are they to be understood according to the fashion of the Ath. Pariś. 53. 54?

[41] Instead of 51-57 there are in *Nây.* the following 31 names; *vatthuvijjaṁ, khaṁdhâramâṇaṁ* 56. 53. 54, 51 (BC), 52 (BC) *chakkavûhaṁ, garulavûhaṁ, sagaḍavûhaṁ*, 74—76. 73. 72. 70, *layâjuddhaṁ*, 61. 62. 65—67. 77. 79. 78. 81. 82. 85—87.

[42] Omitted in BC, where we read instead *pâṭhâṁtarê* (*pâṭhâṁtarê*) *chamha°*, by which chamha° is manifestly designated as v. l. to *pamha°*.

hassá padaggêṇaṁ pannattá. Later on in the course of our investigation we will recur to the fact that this statement in reference to the extent of the text is less by 100,000 *padas* than that of the present text. See § 85 and § 25 on the designation as *bhagavatî*, which has remained the exclusive property of this text.—§ 85 **âyârassa** *ṇaṁ bhagavatô sachûliyâgassa paṁchâsîiṁ uddêsaṇakâlâ* ; — § 88 **diṭṭhivâyassa** *ṇaṁ aṭṭhâsîiṁ suttâiṁ paṁ taṁ : ujjusuyaṁ, pariṇayâpariṇayaṁ, êvaṁ aṭṭhâsîiṁ suttâṇi bhâṇiyavvâṇi jahâ Naṁdîê.* This reference to the *Nandî*, by which any further enumeration has been spared, is very remarkable from the fact that the statements in it, a few pages further on, are found in exactly the same detail in the fourth *aṅga* itself at this very point, in the consideration of the contents and extent of all the *aṅgas*. This being the case the reference ought to have followed the collective statement found several pages further on in the same *aṅga*. We are therefore compelled to believe that the *Nandî* is the original source of information for this presentation, common to *aṅga* 4 and the *Nandî*, and that this presentation was at a later period taken from the *Nandî* and inserted in *aṅga* 4; furthermore, this insertion must have occurred at a period succeeding that to which the above reference of the redactor belongs. Or have we merely to do with a later act of the scribes ? Were this the case, this act of theirs is at least very remarkable, if not unfortunately executed. There is, however, one difficulty in the way of the assumption that the *Nandî* is the ultimate source, viz. :—there are all manner of differences between the treatment in the *Nandî* and that here, differences in which the *Nandî* does not always [285] contain the more ancient statements. See below. The fact that the table of contents in N. is much shorter than that here makes, it is true, *eo ipso*, an impression of greater antiquity; and N. offers in this table of contents many readings which are decidedly older and better.

We have now reached a point where we may discuss the **collective presentation** itself. It begins simply: *duvâlasaṁgê gaṇipiḍagê paṁ(nattê), taṁ* : . . then follow the names of the 12 *aṅgas* and then the details in reference to contents, division and extent of each of the twelve. I insert here what I have collected from the statements in reference to division and extent, that the reader may obtain a general survey of the whole. I subjoin the v. r. from the *Nandî* (N) which, after what I have said above, may in the last instance claim priority over those of the *aṅga*.

1. **âyârê,** 2 suyakhaṁdhâ, 25 ajjhayaṇâ, 85 uddêsaṇakâlâ, 85 samuddêsaṇakâlâ, 18 payasahassâiṁ payaggêṇaṁ.

2. **sûyagaḍê,** 2 suyakh. 23 ajjh., 33 udd., 33 samudd., 36 padasahassâiṁ (36,000) padaggêṇaṁ.

3. **ṭhâṇê,** 1 suyakh., 10 ajjh., 21 udd., 21 samudd., 72 payasahassâiṁ (72,000) payaggêṇaṁ.

4. **samavâê,** 1 ajjh., 1 suyakh., 1 udd., 1 samudd., êgê chôyâlê payasayasahassê (144,000; *saya* is omitted in the incorrect Berlin MS. of N, but accord. to Leumann is in the N Ed.) pay.

5. **viyâhe,** 1 suy., 100 ajjh. with a residue (! êgê sâirêgê ajjhayaṇasayê), 10 uddêsagasahassâiṁ, 10 samuddêsagasahassâiṁ, 36 vâgaraṇasahassâiṁ, 84 (!) payasahassâiṁ (84,000) payaggêṇaṁ :—the latter statement is found also in § 84—see above page 284—N, however, has: do lakkhâ aṭṭhâsîi (288,000) payasahassâiṁ, which corresponds to twice the former steady increase in 1—4.

6. [286] **nâyâdhammakahâu,** 2 suyakh., 19 (A N Edit., 29 BCN) ajjh.[43] 10 dhammakahâṇaṁ vaggâ (this omitted in N), 19 (A N Ed., 29 BCN) uddêsaṇakâlâ, 19 (A N Ed., 29 BN) samuddêsaṇakâlâ, saṁkhêjjâiṁ payasayasahassâiṁ p. (saya omitted in N., also in Ed.; 576,000 Schol.)—Between 10 dh. vaggâ and 19 (or 29) udd. we find inserted: in each dhammakahâ 500 akkhâiyâ, in each akkhâiyâ 500 uvakkhâiyâ, in each uvakkhâiyâ 500 akkhâiyâ-uvakkhâiyâ, in all 3½ akkhaiyakôḍîô.[44] In N this statement from dasadhammakahâṇaṁ vaggâ (inclusive) on, is at an earlier place in the description of the contents.

7. **uvâsagadasâô,** 1 suyakh., 10 ajjh., 10 udd. kâlâ, 10 samud°lâ, saṁkhêjjâi payas ayasahassâiṁ p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 1,152,000 Schol.).

---

43 êgûṇavîsaṁ A N Ed, êkônaviṁśati Schol. (also on N), êgûṇattîsaṁ BCN.

44 Cf. my remarks on *aṅga* 6 in reference to this remarkable number. We are lead to expect a much higher figure. N Ed. has kahâṇagakô° accord. to Leumann instead of akkhâiyakôḍîô.

8. **aṁtagaḍadasâô**, 1 suyakh., 10 ajjh. (N omits), 7 (8 N) vaggâ, 10 (8 N) ud°lâ, 10 (8 N) samud°lâ, saṁkhêjjâiṁ payasayasahassâiṁ p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 2,304,000 Schol.).

9. **aṇuttarôvavâiyadasâô**, 1 suyakh., 10 ajjh. (omitted in N Ed.), 3 vaggâ, 10 (3 N) udd°lâ, 10 (3 N) sam°lâ, saṁkhêjjâiṁ payasayasahassâiṁ p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 4,608,000 Schol.).

10. **paṇhâvâgaraṇâṇi**, 1 suyakh., [45 ajjh. N], 45 udd°lâ, 45 samudd°lâ, saṁkhêjjâṇi payasayasahassâṇi p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 9,216,000 Schol.).[45]

11. **vivâyasuê**, [2 suyakh. N], 20 ajjh., 20 udd°lâ, 20 samu°lâ, saṁkhêjjâiṁ payasayasahassâiṁ p. (saya omitted in AN, also in Ed.; 18,432,000 Schol.)[46]

12. [287] **diṭṭhivâê**, 1 suyakh., 14 puvvâiṁ, saṁkhijjâ vatthû, saṁkhejjâ chûla (chulla N) vatthû, saṁkhejjâ pâhuḍâ, s. pâhuḍapâhuḍâ, saṁkhejjâu pâhuḍiyâu, saṁkhejjâu pâhuḍiyapâhuḍiyâu, saṁkhejjâṇi payasahassâṇi.

The most remarkable feature of the above is the statement in reference to the number of the words of each *aṅga*. According to Abhayadêva in the scholia,[47] the number of words in the case of *aṅgas* 1—4, increases continually by half till the eleventh *aṅga* is reached; and the *Nandi* and an anonymous writer thereupon asserts the same with the modification that, instead of *aṅgas* 1—4, aṅgas 1—5 are said to show this increase. This view is however in direct opposition to the actual facts of the case, for *aṅgas* 7—11 are the least of all as regards their extent; which is so very small that there can be no thought of "100,000[48] countable *padas*,"[49] "countable" meaning here probably "those that need a special count," "numerous" or "innumerable." If we reckon on the average for each *padam* three *aksharas*[50] and for each *grantha* (*śloka* i.e. 32 *aksh.*), twelve padas, the following is the result of a comparison of the number of these *granthas*, stated[51] as in the MSS., with the above *pada* numbers [288].

1. aṅga,	2554 gr.,	i. e.	30,648 padas,	instead	of 18,000 p.[52*]
2. -	, 2300 gr.,		27,600 padas,	,,	36,000
3. -	, 3750 gr.,		45,000 padas,	,,	72,000
4. -	, 1607 gr.,		19,284 padas,	,,	144,000
5. -	, 15,750 gr.,		189,000 padas,	,,	84,000
				or	(288,000 N
6. -	,5,375 gr.,[53]		64,500 padas,	,,	576,000
7. -	, 812 gr.,		9,744 padas,	,,	[1,152,000]
8. -	, 890 gr.,		10,680 padas,	,,	[2,304,000]
9. -	, 192 gr.,		2,304 padas,	,,	[4,608,000]
10. -	, 1300 gr.,		15,672 padas,	,,	[9,216,000]
11. -	, 1316 gr.,		15,792 padas,	,,	[18,432,000]

[45] Dvinavatir lakshâḥ shôḍaśasahasrâdhikâḥ.

[46] êkâ padakôṭis chaturaśîtir lakshâḥ dvâtriṅśac cha sahasrâṇi.

[47] Likewise also Nêmichandra in the Pravachanasârôddhâra § 92 v. 726: paḍhamaṁ âyâraṁgaṁ aṭṭhârasasahassapayaparimâṇaṁ | êvaṁ sêsamgâṇa vi duguṇâ duguṇappamâṇaṁ ||

[48] N at least has only "thousands."

[49] Accord. to Leumann *saṁkhejja* signifies merely an indefinite number that is still to be counted, and not always a large number.

[50] See *Bhagav.* 1, 377. This is true in the case of the prose; in verse we must reduce the number somewhat. The preliminary question is of course—What does the author understand by *pada?* [*Malayagiri* in the *Nandîṭîkâ* says p. 425 *yatrârthôpalabdhis tat padam.*—L.] In this approximation of three *aksharas* to a *pada* I have reckoned the single members of compounds as a single word, in so far as the compounds can lay claim to be considered as such.

[51] See above, p. 250. The grantha enumeration is of secondary origin in comparison with the pada enumeration.

[52*] So also in *niśîthabhâshya pedh.* 1 (taken from the Achâra-niry.). It must, however, be noted that the above number (18,000) *is referred to the first Śrutaskandha only. Malayagiri* says [Nandî-ṭîkâ, p. 425]: atra para âha yath'Âchârê dvau śrutaskandhau pañchaviṅśatir adhyayanâni padâgrêṇa châshṭâdaśa pada-sahasrâṇi tarhi yad bhanitaṁ *nava bambhachêramaiô aṭṭhârasa paya-sahassaô vêô iti* tad virudhyatê; atra hi navabrahmacharyâdhyayana-mâtra êvâshṭâdaśa-padasahasra-pramâna Âchâra uktô, 'smiṅs tv adhyayanê dvau śrutaskandhau pañchaviṅśatir adhyayanâni êtat samagrasy' Âchârasya parimâṇam uktaṁ, ashṭâdaśa pada-sahasrâṇi punaḥ prathama-śrutaskandhasya navabrahmacharyâdhyayanasya. vichitrârtha-nibaddhâni hi sûtrâṇi bhavanti, ata êva chaishâṁ samyagarthâvagamô gurûpadêśatô bhavati nânyathâ, âha cha *chûrnikṛit*: *dô suyakhandhâ panavîsaṁ ajjhayaṇâni, êyaṁ âyâragôsahiyassa (?) Âyârassa pamâṇaṁ bhaniyaṁ; aṭṭhârasa paya-sahassâ puna padhama-suyakhandhassa navabambhachêramayassa pamâṇaṁ; vichitta-attha-nibaddhâni ya suttâni, gurûvaêsaô êsiṁ atthê jâṇiyavvo tti.* This view of the *Chûrnikṛit* (translated by Malayagiri into Sanskṛit) seems to be all the more right as the Digambaras ascribe also 18,000 padas to the *Âchâra* without acknowledging any second Śrutaskandha, see Prof. Peterson's Second Report, p. 134.—L.

[53] Another statement 5,500 gr., or 4,155 gr.

In the case of *aṅgas* 1 and 5, the numbers above given are less, in the case of all the others, greater than the actual state of the case. In a majority of cases the difference is simply ridiculous. The statement in reference to *aṅga* 5 (84,000)[54] is not in harmony with the increase in 1—4 i.e. twice the number of the previous. We should expect that *aṅga* 5 should have preserved the same ratio, as is the case in N. This statement is in direct contradiction to those statements which are found in the MSS. of *aṅga* 5; according to which its extent is not 84,000 (and not 288,000, as is stated in N) but 184,000 padas (*Bhag.* 1, 377), which corresponds well enough to its actual extent: 15,750 *gr.* = 189,000 *padas.* The peculiar nature of our statement in reference [289] to 84,000 *padas* is, finally, rendered more apparent by the fact that it is found in § 84 of the first part of our *aṅga*, on the strength of which it has again found a place here.[55] In that § it is so free from suspicion that I consider it correct for that period, and find in this very circumstance a critical criterion or testimony that, at that time, the fifth *aṅga* had not yet reached its present extent.

As peculiar as the statements in reference to numbers of padas are those concerning the '3½ *kôṭi*' i. e. 35 millions, in *aṅga* 6. That all this is perfect nonsense, is perfectly apparent. See below. Finally there are several differences of a very surprising nature in the other statements which are not so readily set aside as incorrect or impossible, differences which exist partly in these statements themselves, partly in their relation to the actual facts. First, the difference in reference to the number of *ajjhayaṇas* in *aṅga* 6; according to A and Abhayad. there are 19 and such is the actual state of the case—but according to BCN[56*] there are 29. Then as regards *aṅga* 8 the 10 *ajjh.* are wanting in N.[57] The number of the *vaggas* (7), of the *udd.* (10) and of the *samudd.* (10) is in N everywhere 8; likewise as regards *aṅga* 9 N has the number 3 as in the case of the *vaggas*, and in that of the *udd.* and *saṁudd.*; in the case of *aṅga* 10 N adds 45 *ajjh.* and in that of *aṅga* 11 likewise 2 *suyakh.* In reference then [290] to the actual facts, we must make the preliminary observation that the division into *uddêsagas* in the case of *aṅgas* 8—11, and that into *samuddêsagas* in general in all the *aṅgas*, is not denoted in the MSS.[58*] The other differences refer chiefly to the fifth *aṅgam* which has no division into *ajjhayaṇas*; in that *aṅga* they are called *saya* (*śata*), and their number is not 100 but 41 or, including the sub-sayas, 138; likewise the existing text has only 1925 (not 10,000) *uddêsagas*. A special demarcation of *vâgaraṇa* sections is unknown.[59] What can possibly be the meaning of 36,000 *vâgaraṇas* and only 84,000 *padas*! (cf. *Bhag.* 1. 376). The differences in reference to *aṅgas* 8—11 are not less remarkable. As regards the *vaggas* (8), *aṅga* 8 agrees with N, but has, not 10 (cf. *aṅga* 3, 10), but 93 *ajjh.*;—*aṅga* 9 has likewise not 10 (cf. again *aṅga* 3, 10), but 33 *ajjh.*;—*aṅga* 10 has ten *dâras*; cf. the ten *ajjh.* in *aṅga* 3, 10, whereas we have here no information about *dâras* or *ajjh.*, and N, on the other hand, speaks of 45 *ajjh.*—*aṅga* 11 has in agreement with N the 2 *suyakh.*, which are not mentioned in the source of information before us. In the case of *aṅga* 12 there is no possibility of comparing the statements in question with the text, since there is no longer any such extant.—See below.[60]

[54] Or *sarva-mîlanêna* 1841 (v. l. 1894) granthas!

[55] So also Abhayadêva, who shows that he is evidently embarrassed in his statement: chaturaśîtipadasahasrâṇi padâgrêṇê 'ti samavâyâpêkshayâ (" in reference to § 84") dviguṇatayâ (tâyâ?) iti (?) nâśrayaṇât (?), anyathâ tad dviguṇatvê dvê taksdê ashtâśîtiḥ sahasrâṇi cha bhavaṁti. In the following *aṅga* he states the number of padas to be 576,000 i. e. twice that of those in *aṅga* 5, according to his computation.

[56*] According to Leumann Ned. has 19 and not 29.—Here again, as with aṅga 1, *only the first śrutaskandha is intended* by the assertion of there being 19 *ajjhayaṇas* and not 29. In the same way only Part I. of aṅga 11 has been known to the author of aṅga 3, 10 as has been shown above on p. 270.—L.

[57] According to Leumann this is not so in Ned.

[58*] This statement requires some modification; see the closing words of aṅgas 8—10 in Weber's Cat. II., 502 (8). 507 (9). 520 (10: dasasu chêva divasêsu *uddisijjanti* . . . .); aṅga 11 has in the place a reference to aṅga 1 (see ibid. 534) which, however, has the same bearing.—L.

[59] This demarcation, or the number 36,000 representing it, is also found in the table of contents of *aṅga* 5 preceding the statements in reference to the extent.

[60] I will note here merely the fact that in the section in reference to the twelfth *aṅgam*, *Bhaddabhu* is mentioned by name, whom tradition proclaims to be the last teacher of this aṅgam or of the fourteen *pûrvas*; see above, p. 214. It is furthermore stated that therein was contained a section in reference to *Bhaddabâhu* and to his history.

The question now arises how are these differences to find a fitting solution? It is self-evident, that, so far as the extraordinary character [291] both of our information in regard to the number of padas, and of the *akkhâias* in *aṅga* 6 is concerned, they are a fabrication of the author; nor is it improbable that a similar explanation may hold good in the case of the special differences of detail. The carefulness of statement which we notice here, renders it, on the other hand, possible that the author has based his statements on those of his authorities, and that we have to deal with genuine discrepancies between two different texts. Abhayadêva declares here that he is unable to explain the contradiction[61] in the case of *aṅgas* 8 and 9 and in the case of *aṅga* 10 all that he does is to admit the existence of the conflict.[62] But in his commentary on *aṅga* 10 he adduces (1) a further case of divergence—an introduction at variance with the general character of the introductions in that it allots to the *aṅga* two *suyakkhaṁdhas*, and (2) refers especially to the conflict between the *pûrvâchâryâḥ* and the *aidaṁyugînâḥ*. See below. Of primal importance for *aṅgas* 8 to 10 (11) is the fact that the statements in *aṅga* 3, 10 too render it [292] probable, that these *aṅgas* had then a text different from our own. The irreconcilability of title and contents show that in the case of *aṅga* 10 something must have occurred to cause the present condition of affairs.

As we have seen that there are important differences between the statements made here or in N. and the actual state of things in the eleven *aṅgas*, so far as **extent** and **division** are concerned, we now discover that the same holds good as regards the statements, now under examination, concerning the **contents**. These statements, which in N are much more brief than those in *aṅga* 4, are, it must be said, of so general a character and so colourless that their real contents can only be discovered with difficulty. They appear in a form that is purely stereotyped (see the common introduction in *aṅgas* 2 to 5,[63] and in 6—9 and 11,[64]) whereas there is no such similarity of contents between each of the single members of these two groups; and the statements in question are not in exact accordance with the contents of any single one. This latter remark holds good in the case of the special statements in reference to the contents of *aṅga* 10, to which we do not find any such stereotyped introduction. These special statements suit the name of the *aṅga*, but not its present contents. It is of great significance that the statements in *aṅga* 3, 10 (see above, p. 272) are essentially in accordance with these now under discussion. This agreement [293] makes it extremely probable that the contents of the tenth *aṅgam*, as it then existed, was in harmony with these statements.

To the detailed consideration of the 12 *aṅgas* there is appended here, as in the *Nandi*, a **passage on the entire duvâlasaṁgaṁ gaṇipiḍagam.** This deals partly with the attacks, which it was subjected to in the past,[65] which it now experiences in the present and will experience in the future, partly with the devoted acquiescence which is its lot to meet with in these three periods and concludes with the declaration of its certain existence for ever: na kayâi na âsi, na kayâi na 'tthi, na kayâi na bhavissati.

The **concluding portion** of the fourth *aṅga* consists of frequent reference to the legendary hagiology and history of the Jains, genealogical enumerations (and others of different content) of parents, wives, etc. of the *kulakaras*, 24 *titthakaras*, 12 *chakkavaṭṭis*, 9 Baladêvas, 9 Dasâras, 9 Vâsudêvas, partly in metrical form (*śloka* and *âryâ*). Towards the end there is a transition to prophecy (construction in the future). Our information here varies in part very materially from that contained in Hêm. 26 fg 691 fg. and is not preserved in the MSS. with any

[61] On 8: dasa ajjhayaṇa tti prathamavargâpêkshayai 'va ghatatê, Naṁdyâ tathai 'va vyâkhyâtatvât (see below); yathê (yach chê) 'ha paṭhyatê satta *vaggâ* ti tat parthamavargâd anyavargâpêkshayâ yatô 'tra sarvê 'py ashta *vargâ* Naṁdyâm api tathâ paṭhitâḥ; . . sarvâṇi (adhyayanâni) chai 'kavargagatâni yugapad uddiśyaṁte, ato ('tra) bhaṇitaṁ: attha udd°lâ ity âdi, iha cha daśo 'ddêsanakâlâ adhîyaṁta iti nâ 'syâ 'bhiprâyam adhigachhâmaḥ:—and on 9: ihâ 'dhyayanasamûhô vargô, daśâ 'dhyayanâni, vargaś cha yugapad êvô 'padiśyatê, ity ataś traya êvô 'ddêśanakâlâ bhavaṁty êvam êva cha Naṁdâv adhîyatê, iha tu driśyatê: daśê 'ty, atrâ 'bhiprâyô na jñâyatê.

[62] Yady api 'ha adhyayanânâṁ daśatvâd daśai 'vô 'ddêśanakâlâ bhavaṁti, tathâ 'pi vâchanâṁtarâpêkshayâ (cf. N) paṁchachatvâriṁśad iti saṁbhâvyaṁtê iti panayâlîsam ity âdi aviruddhaṁ (!).

[63] Samaya, lôya, jîva.

[64] Nayarâiṁ etc. N limits herein its treatment of the subject entirely to this common introduction and gives nothing else in addition.

[65] According to Abh., attacks at the hands of Jamâli, Goshṭhâmâhila, etc., i.e. the representatives of the seven schisms.

great consistency. Hence it appears that our knowledge is not complete, but is derived from accounts of a partial nature which is in need of additional supplementary testimony. Some of the MSS. afford at one time generous information and at another limited data.

The **survey of contents of aṅga 4**, contained in the detailed account of the *aṅgas*, runs as follows: sê kiṁ taṁ samavâê? samavâê ṇaṁ sasamayâ sûijjaṁti [294] parasamayâ s. *jâva* lôgalôgê sûijjaṁti[66]; samavâêṇaṁ êgâdiyâṇaṁ êgaṭṭhâṇaṁ êguttariyaparivaḍḍhiya[67] (duvâlasaṁgassa ya gaṇipiḍagassa pallavaggê samaṇugâijjaï)[68] ṭhâṇagasayassa[69] bârasavihavittharassa[70] suyanâṇassa jagajîvahiyassa[71] bhagavatô samâsêṇaṁ samâyârê[72] âhijjaï; tattha ya nâṇâvihappagârâ jîvâjîvâ ya vanniyâ[73] vittharêṇaṁ, avarê vi ya bahuvihâ visêsâ naraya-tiriya[74]-maṇuyasuragaṇâṇaṁ âhâr'-ussâsa-lêsa-âvâsa-saṁkhâ-âyaya-ppamâṇa-uvavâya-chayaṇa-ogâhaṇ'-ôhi[75]-vêyaṇâvihâṇa-uvaôga[76] jôga-iṁdiya-kasâya,[77*] vivihâ ya jîvajôṇî vikkhaṁbh'-ussêhaparirayappamâṇaṁ vidhivisêsâ[78] ya, Maṁdarâdîṇaṁ mahîdharâṇaṁ, kulagara-titthagara-gaṇaharâṇaṁ samatta Bharahâhivâṇaṁ[79] chakkîṇa chêva chakkahara-halaharâṇa ya, vâsâṇa[80] ya niggamâ[81] samâê, êtê annê ya êvam-âi ettha[82] vittharêṇaṁ atthâ samâsejjaṁti.[83]

The **commentary** is by Abhayadêva.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

GUSTAVE GARREZ.

The year 1888 was darkened by the deaths of two great French oriental scholars,—Abel Bergaigne, and Pierre-Gustave Garrez. Neither could be spared, for each was a high authority in his own domain. Bergaigne's Vedic studies were cut short by a tragic accident which occurred while he was still in the active vigour of his maturity, and Garrez's death, as sudden as it was unexpected, has left a void which will be none the less felt, because his modesty prevented his name being widely known beyond the immediate circle of the *Société Asiatique*.

A short memoir of the career of the latter, from the pen of M. E. Senart has appeared in the pages of the *Journale Asiatique*, and a brief account of the salient facts of his life will no doubt be acceptable to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*.

He was born at Rome in the year 1834, was brought up in Paris, and as a young man saw military service in the Crimean war. He left the army in 1857, and abandoned himself to study with that inexhaustible energy, that *labor improbus*, which characterised all that he did, and which resulted in the acquisition of a vast amount of learning of varied kinds. His bent was always towards foreign tongues, and he commenced with German and Italian. The perusal of Max Duncker's *Histoire de l'Antiquité* turned his attention to the East, and armed with Benfey's Manual, he commenced, unassisted, the study of Sanskṛit. The range of his studies quickly extended. India led him to Irân, and Irân to the Semitic languages and civilisations of ancient Asia. He studied, in turn, Zend, Persian, Pahlavî, Armenian, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, without allowing the wide extent of his reading to interfere with its depth. In India, too, the boundaries of his researches approached nearer and nearer to the present day, and he made himself master of the Prâkṛits, of the dialectic Sanskṛit of Buddhism, and of the modern languages,—not only those of the Âryan stock, but also the Drâviḍian ones, and more especially Tamil.

All this time spent in the acquisition of learning gave him little leisure for the production of original compositions. Moreover, never satisfied with anything short of perfection, an unsparing and severe critic, he could not be prevailed upon to publish to others that with which he was not himself entirely satisfied. With such

---

66 N has instead of sûijjaṁti everywhere samâsijjaṁti and, as in the case of 3, the order jîvâ . ., lôê . ., sasamaê.

67 parivuḍḍhiya A.

68 pallavâ avayavâs, tatparimâṇaṁ samanugîyatê pratipâdyatê.

69 N is much better: samavâê naṁ êgâi-êguttariya ṭhâṇasayavivaḍḍhiyâṇaṁ bhâvâṇaṁ parûvaṇâ âghavijjati; duvâlasaṁgassa ga° gassa pallavagge samâsijjai, N omits all the following. As the words duvâ° gâijjai interrupt in *anga* 4 the connection, I have enclosed them in brackets.

70 bârassa° A.

71 jîviyassa hi A.

72 °yârî A.

73 viṇiyâ A; varṇitâḥ.

74 naragatariya A.

75 uggâhiṇôyahi A; avagâhanâ, avadhi.

76 uvaṅga A B C.

77* kasâyâ A B C; prathamâ . . lôpaḥ.—So upâṅga 1, 163 presents *Âraṇa-Achchuyâ tiṇṇi ya* (see p. 88, note 6 of my ed. of the text).—L.

78 viddhasêsa A.

79 samastâ Bharatâdhipânâm.

80 varshâṇâṁ Bharatâdikshêtrâṇâṁ.

81 °gamâ ya BC.

82 âdi 'ttha A.

83 So A, samâhijjaṁti BC samâśrîyantê, athavâ samâsyaṁtê.

severe self-criticism, there is the danger of writing too little, and into this danger Garrez fell. His ripe learning, his power for comparative philology, have been lost to the world. His two principal essays, the one on the *Bundehesh* of Justi (1869) and the other on Weber's *Hála* (1872), are monuments of erudition. He showed himself able to thread his way with equal ease amid the mazes of Zend and Pahlavî, Arabic and Armenian, Prâkṛit and Sanskṛit, ancient and modern India. His review of Hâla's *Saptaśatikâ* is probably that which is best known in India, and its readers will remember with what sobriety, yet decision, he put forward theories then altogether new, but since in great measure confirmed, regarding the comparatively late development of the classical literature of India, and the previous existence of a literature couched in the popular dialects. Other shorter essays, published in the *Journale Asiatique*, and in the *Revue Critique*, need not be referred to here, though we may direct attention to his luminous criticism (*Rev. Crit.* March 1873) of the first volume of Mr. Beames' Comparative Grammar. The writer of these lines well remembers a pleasant afternoon spent at the rooms of the Société Asiatique in Paris, in the winter of 1886, and how delighted he was with the learning and the originality of some remarks on Hindi put forward by Garrez in the course of an ordinary conversation.

His private means were sufficient to render it unnecessary for him to submit to the drudgery of a professorship, and at the same time prevented his feeling the at times useful spur of necessity. Hence, beyond the range of his intimates, his name was as little known, as his writings were rare.

M. Senart's closing remarks deserve quoting in their original form, — "Cette vie se ferme sans avoir conquis dans le public la réputation legitimement due à tant de travail et de mérite. C'est une tristesse pour les amis de Garrez. Quant à lui, jamais une pareille préoccupation ne l'a effleuré. Il était aussi supérieur à la vanité qu'étranger à l'ambition. Sa noble carrière, toute pleine d'une activité sans agitation, quoique sans repos, gouvernée par une âme haute et sereine, éclairée par un esprit admirablement ferme et étendu, restera inoubliable à ses confrères et à ses amis; elle leur sera, mieux qu'un cher souvenir, un modèle fortifiant. Quelle récompense plus enviable pour un homme qui, avec la patrie, a surtout passionément aimé deux choses; la science et l'amitié?"

G. A. G.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 31.

In the **Tâḷgund stone inscription of the time of the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha III., from Maisûr,** published by me in this Journal, Vol. IV. p. 278 f. (see also *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 215), the date (line 8 ff.) is — Śaka-varsha 950neya Vibhava-saṁvatsarada Pushya-śuddha-5-Sômavârad=uttarâyana-saṁkrântiy-andu, — "at the time of the Uttarâyana-Saṁkrânti of Monday,[1] the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of (the month) Pushya (*i.e.* Pausha) of the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, which is the 950th Śaka year." And the inscription goes on to record that, on this occasion, the Thirty-two-thousand (*Mahâjanas*) of Sthânakundûr, an *agrahâra* that had existed from time immemorial, made a grant of twelve *mârus* (of land), by the measure of the staff called *gaḍimbada-gaḷe* of the god Praṇamêśvara.

By the southern luni-solar system, **the Vibhava saṁvatsara** coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 951 current; *i.e.* with the given year 950 as an expired year. In this year **the given tithi, Pausha sukla 5,** began on Sunday, 22nd December, A.D. 1028, at about 56 *ghaṭîs*, 42 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); **was current all through the Monday;** and ended on the Tuesday, at about 1 *gh.* 7 *p.* And **the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti,** as represented by the sun's entrance into Makara, **occurred on the Monday,** at about 37 *gh.* 58 *p.* Accordingly, the English equivalent of the given date is **Monday, 23rd December, A.D. 1028.**

This date gives an instance of the custom to which I have drawn attention at page 260 above, of quoting, as the *tithi* of a *saṁkrânti*, **the tithi that is actually current at the moment of the saṁkrânti.** It is not a very pointed instance; because there was no other *tithi*, current or ended, on the day of this *saṁkrânti*. But there was no absolute necessity for the original to quote the fortnight and *tithi* at all; there are plenty of instances in which these details, and sometimes even the name of the month, are omitted, in connection with a *saṁkrânti*. And therefore this date is an instance of the custom in question; though doubtless we shall obtain more pointed instances hereafter.

In this instance we find that, though the *saṁkrânti* occurred more than three *ghaṭîs* after sunset, its **puṇyakâla** was not deferred till the next day, but was taken to be on the day of the occurrence of the *saṁkrânti*.

J. F. FLEET.

[1] Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 201) has given 'Sunday;' but this is a mistake; the syllables *sômavâra* are very distinct.

THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

In order still further to facilitate the finding of the exact commencement (and end) of a Jupiter's year which may be mentioned in a Hindu date, I have constructed[1] the accompanying Tables from the *data* in my paper on the Sixty-Year Cycle, *ante*, pp. 193-209. Tables 1 and 2 serve for the **Sûrya-Siddhânta rule**; Tables 3 and 4 for the **Jyôtistattva rule.**

In Table 1 the last two columns give the day of the Julian period for the commencement (or end) of a complete cycle of sixty years, counted from Vijaya as the first year of the cycle, without and with Bîja; and the first column gives the European date for the day put down in the same line under the heading 'without Bîja,' while the second and third columns give the expired (northern) Vikrama and Śaka years to which that European date belongs. Table 2, on the other hand, gives the number of days for the commencement of every year within the sixty-year cycle, also without and with Bîja. And all that is necessary to find the European date for the commencement of any year, is, to add up one set of figures from Table 1 and another set of figures from Table 2, and to convert the sum into the European date, and into hours and minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), as may be seen from the following example:—

According to *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XI. Plate xxxvii. 3, a stone inscription at Jaunpur is dated—

Jyê(jyai)shṭhê mâsê sitê pakshê dvâdasyâ(śyâ)-m=Budha-vâsarê . . . . Plava-vatsarê ‖ Saṁvat 1353 ‖, —

corresponding to Wednesday, 16th May, A.D. 1296. The cycle of sixty years, of which the year **Plava**, which is here coupled with the Vikrama year 1353, forms part, must be the one which by Table 1 commenced in Vikrama 1344 expired; and we accordingly have, for the commencement of this year Plava, without Bîja, —

by Table 1, commencement of cycle, without Bîja, for V. 1344, ...	2191	424·3914
+ by Table 2, commencement of Plava, without Bîja.	2	888·2138
sum	2194	312·6052

i.e., the 13th September, A.D. 1295, 14 h 31·5 m. after mean sunrise; and similarly, for the commencement of Plava, with Bîja,—

by Table 1, ...	2191	459·6007
+ by Table 2, ...	2	888·2772
sum	2194	347·8779

i.e., the 18th October, A.D. 1295, 21 h. 4.2 m. after mean sunrise.

Having found the commencement of a year, we find the end of the same year by adding to the sum found, for the year without Bîja 361·0267 days, and for the year with Bîja 361·0347 days, as shown in my former article, thus:—

Commencement of Plava, without Bîja, ...	2194	312·6052
+		361·0267
sum.	2194	673·6319

i.e., the 8th September, A.D. 1269, 15 h. 9·9 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Plava without Bîja; and

Commencement of Plava, with Bîja, ...	2194	347·8779
+		361·0347
sum . . .	2194	708·9126

i.e., the 13th October, A.D. 1296, 21 h. 54·1 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Plava, with Bîja.

To show how to find by the Tables **the Jupiter's year current at any given moment, and,** at the same time, to test once more the accuracy of the Tables, we will ask:—What year, without Bîja, was current, and what portion of that year had elapsed, at the time of the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of the expired Śaka year 1713?

By the Tables given in my paper on the Sixty-Year Cycle, the day of the Julian period for the commencement of the solar year Śaka 1713 expired, = Kaliyuga 4892 expired, is—

2375 309·4392 (Mêsha-Saṁkrânti).

Deduct next lower complete cycle, without Bîja, in Table 1, ...	2364 717·2175	
remainder . .	10 592·2217;	
deduct next lower figure, without Bîja, in Table 2, . .	10 469·7749	(commencement of Dundubhi).
remainder	122·4468.	

Accordingly, by the Tables, the year without Bîja, current at the time of the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of Śaka 1713 expired, was **Dundubhi, and of this** year there had elapsed, at the same moment, 122·4468 days = 122 days, 10 h. 43 4 m. of solar time. Now, by a MS. calendar for Śaka 1713 expired, which is in the Royal Library at Berlin, the Jupiter's year current at the commencement of the year *was* Dundubhi, as found above; and

[1] The construction of these Tables has to some extent been suggested to me by the general practice of Dr Schram's *Hilfstafeln für Chronologie*, and by some MS. Tables for the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule. without Bîja, constructed on similar principles, though without reference to the Julian period, by Mr. Sh. B. Dîkshit.

since of this year there are stated to have elapsed, at the time of the **Mêsha-Saṁkrânti**, 4 months, 2 days, 6 daṇḍas = 122 days, 2 h. 24 m. of Jupiter's own time, which are equal to about 122 days 10 h. 45·4 m. of solar time, the result obtained by the Tables for the actual commencement of the year Dundubhi differs from the statement in the MS. calendar by about two minutes.

Owing to the unequal length of the Jovian years, the **Jyôtistattva rule** requires another treatment, and the arrangement of Table 3 and 4 will therefore be found to differ considerably from that of Tables 1 and 2. Here, Table 3 gives in the last column the day of the Julian period for the end of the Jovian year, the number and name of which are given in the column immediately preceding the last. The first column gives the European date for the day of the Julian period put down at the end of the same line, the third column the expired solar Śaka year in which that European date falls, and the second column the expired (northern) Vikrama year which approximately corresponds to that Śaka year. It should be particularly noted that the Jovian years are here counted as shown in the auxiliary Table at the foot of Table 3. Table 4 gives the number of days for the commencement of a series of Jovian years, the numbers of which must not be confounded with the number of the years in Table 3. The use of the two Tables will appear from the following examples:—

According to Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. I. O.*, p. 23, a MS. of the *Kâṇḍânukramaṇkâ-vivaraṇa* is dated in the Vikrama year 1650, in the year **Subhakṛit**. The year Śubhakṛit, — by the auxiliary Table the 36th year of a cycle, — which is here coupled with Vikrama 1650, must have followed upon the year 29, Manmatha, which in Table 3 is coupled with Vikrama 1644; and it is clear that, to find the day of the Julian period for the beginning of Śubhakṛit, we must add, to the day of the Julian period put down in Table 3 for the end of the said year Manmatha, from Table 4 the number of days for the commencement of the (36 — 29 =) 7th year, thus: —

Table 3, V. 1644, end of year 29	2300 798·6897
+ Table 4, commencement of year 7	2 165·8379
sum, commencement of year 36 (Śubhakṛit)	2302 964·5276

i.e., the 4th March, A.D. 1593, 12 h. 39·7 m. after mean sunrise.

Above we have seen that an inscription at Jaunpur is dated in the Vikrama year 1353, in the year **Plava**. In Table 3 we find, in a line with Vikrama 1303, the day of the Julian period for the end of the year Sâdhâraṇa, the 44th year of a cycle. The year Plava of our date is the 35th year of a cycle, and, coupled as it is with Vikrama 1353, it is clear that Plava does not fall in the same cycle with the year 44, Sâdhâraṇa, of Table 3, but belongs to the next cycle. To find the commencement of Plava, we must therefore take from Table 3 the day of the Julian period put down for the end of the year 44, Sâdhâraṇa, in a line with Vikrama 1303, and must add to it, from Table 4, the number of days for the commencement of the (16 + 35 =) 51st year, thus :—

Table 3, V. 1303, end of year 44	2176 245·8692
+ Table 4, commencement of year 51	18 048·6490
sum, commencement of year 95 = 60 + 35 (Plava) . .	2194 294·5182

i.e., the 26th August, A.D. 1295, 12 h. 26·2 m. after mean sunrise.

Similarly, if we had to find the commencement of the year **Khara**, the 25th year of a cycle, which in Table 3 is coupled with Śaka 912, we should start from the day of the Julian period put down in Table 3 for the end of the 59th cycle-year Krôdhana, in a line with Śaka 827, and should add to it from Table 4 the number of days for the commencement of the (1 + 60 + 25 =) 86th year, because here the difference of 85 solar years between Śaka 827 and Śaka 912 would show us that there lies a complete cycle of 60 years between the end of the year 59, Krôdhana, which we know from Table 3, and the commencement of the year 25, Khara, which we are to find. Our calculation would accordingly stand thus :—

Table 3, Śaka 827, end of year 59	2051 693·0488
+ Table 4, commencement of year 86	30 682·7032
sum, commencement of year 145 = 60 + 60 + 25 (Khara) . .	2082 375·7520

i.e., the 26th March, A.D. 989, 18 h. 2·9 m. after mean sunrise.

Having found the commencement of a year, we find the end of it by adding 360·9730 days. But the end of the years actually put down in Table 3 must always be ascertained from that Table itself. Thus, in the case of our two first examples, we find :—

Commencement of Śubhakṛit . . .	2302 964·5276
+	360·9730
sum	2303 325·5006

i.e., the 28th February, A.D. 1594, 12 h. 0·9 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Śubhakṛit; and,

TABLE I.

Sûrya-Siddhânta Rule.

Day of Julian Period for the commencement of a complete Cycle of Sixty Years, counted from Vijaya as the first year of the Cycle.

A.D.	Vikrama expired.	Śaka expired.	Without Bîja.	With Bîja.
O.S. 101, September 1 ...	158	23	1758 192·3261	1758 218·0194
160, December 21 ...	217	82	1779 853·9294	1779 880·0985
220, April 12	277	142	1801 515·5327	1801 542·1776
279, August 3	336	201	1823 177·1359	1823 204·2566
338, November 22 ...	395	260	1844 838·7392	1844 866·3357
398, March 14.........	455	320	1866 500·3424	1866 528·4148
457, July 3	514	379	1888 161·9457	1888 190·4938
516, October 23	573	438	1909 823·5490	1909 852·5729
576, February 13......	632	497	1931 485·1522	1931 514·6519
635, June 4	692	557	1953 146·7555	1953 176·7310
694, September 24 ...	751	616	1974 808·3588	1974 838·8101
754, January 13	810	675	1996 469·9620	1996 500·8891
813, May 5	870	735	2018 131·5653	2018 162·9682
872, August 25.........	929	794	2039 793·1685	2039 825·0473
931, December 15 ...	988	853	2061 454·7718	2061 487·1263
991, April 6	1048	913	2083 116·3751	2083 149·2054
1050, July 26	1107	972	2104 777·9783	2104 811·2845
1109, November 15 ...	1166	1031	2126 439·5816	2126 473·3635
1169, March 7............	1226	1091	2148 101·1848	2148 135·4426
1228, June 26............	1285	1150	2169 762·7881	2169 797·5216
1287, October 17	1344	1209	2191 424·3914	2191 459·6007
1347, February 5	1403	1268	2213 085·9946	2213 121·6798
1406, May 28	1463	1328	2234 747·5979	2234 783·7588
1465, September 17 ...	1522	1387	2256 409·2012	2256 445·8379
1525, January 6.........	1581	1446	2278 070·8044	2278 107·9170
1584, April 28............	1641	1506	2299 732·4077	2299 769·9960
1643, August 19.........	1700	1565	2321 394·0109	2321 432·0751
1702, December 8	1759	1624	2343 055·6142	2343 094·1542
N.S. 1762, April 10............	1819	1684	2364 717·2175	2364 756·2332
1821, July 31............	1878	1743	2386 378·8207	2386 418·3123
1880, November 20 ...	1937	1802	2408 040·4240	2408 080·3913

TABLE 2.

Sûrya-Siddhânta Rule.

Number of days for the commencement of every year within the Cycle.

No.	Year.	Without Bîja.	With Bîja.	No.	Year.	Without Bîja.	With Bîja.
1	Vijaya	000·0000	000·0000	31	Rudhirôdgârin ...	10830·8016	10831·0395
2	Jaya	361·0267	361·0347	32	Raktâksha	11191·8284	11192·0742
3	Manmatha	722·0534	722·0693	33	Krôdhana...........	11552·8551	11553·1088
4	Durmukha	1083·0802	1083·1040	34	Kshaya..............	11913·8818	11914·1435
5	Hêmalamba........	1444·1069	1444·1386	35	Prabhava...........	12274·9085	12275·1781
6	Vilamba	1805·1336	1805·1733	36	Vibhava	12635·9352	12636·2128
7	Vikârin	2166·1603	2166·2079	37	Śukla	12996·9620	12997·2474
8	Śarvarin	2527·1870	2527·2426	38	Pramôda	13357·9887	13358·2821
9	Plava	2888·2138	2888·2772	39	Prajâpati...........	13719·0154	13719·3167
10	Śubhakṛit	3249·2405	3249·3119	40	Aṅgiras..............	14080·0421	14080·3514
11	Śôbhana	3610·2672	3610·3465	41	Śrîmukha...........	14441·0688	14441·3860
12	Krôdhin	3971·2939	3971·3812	42	Bhâva	14802·0956	14802·4207
13	Viśvâvasu	4332·3207	4332·4158	43	Yuvan	15163·1223	15163·4553
14	Parâbhava	4693·3474	4693·4505	44	Dhâtṛi	15524·1490	15524·4900
15	Plavaṅga...........	5054·3741	5054·4851	45	Îśvara	15885·1757	15885·5246
16	Kîlaka	5415·4008	5415·5198	46	Bahudhânya	16246·2024	16246·5593
17	Saumya	5776·4275	5776·5544	47	Pramâthin	16607·2292	16607·5939
18	Sâdhâraṇa	6137·4543	6137·5891	48	Vikrama	16968·2559	16968·6286
19	Virôdhakṛit........	6498·4810	6498·6237	49	Bhṛiśya..............	17329·2826	17329·6633
20	Paridhâvin	6859·5077	6859·6584	50	Chitrabhânu	17690·3093	17690·6979
21	Pramâdin	7220·5344	7220·6930	51	Subhânu	18051·3361	18051·7326
22	Ânanda..............	7581·5611	7581·7277	52	Târaṇa	18412·3628	18412·7672
23	Râkshasa...........	7942·5879	7942·7623	53	Pârthiva	18773·3895	18773·8019
24	Anala	8303·6146	8303·7970	54	Vyaya	19134·4162	19134·8365
25	Piṅgala...............	8664·6413	8664·8316	55	Sarvajit	19495·4429	19495·8712
26	Kâlayukta	9025·6680	9025·8663	56	Sarvadhârin.........	19856·4697	19856·9058
27	Siddhârthin.........	9386·6947	9386·9009	57	Virôdhin	20217·4964	20217·9405
28	Raudra..............	9747·7215	9747·9356	58	Vikṛita...............	20578·5231	20578·9751
29	Durmati	10108·7482	10108·9702	59	Khara	20939·5498	20940·0098
30	Dundubhi	10469·7749	10470·0049	60	Nandana	21300·5765	21301·0444

TABLE 3.

Jyôtistattva Rule.

Day of Julian Period for the end of the Jovian year which precedes an Expunged Year.

A.D.	Vikrama expired.	Śaka expired.	End of year. No.	End of year. Name.	Day of Julian Period.
O.S. 138, March 18.........	195	60	3	Śukla	1771 539·4460
223, March 20	280	145	29	Manmatha	1802 587·4079
309, March 17	366	231	56	Dundubhi...........	1833 996·3427
394, March 19.........	451	316	22	Sarvadhârin.........	1865 044·3046
479, March 21.........	536	401	48	Ânanda...............	1896 092·2665
564, March 22.........	621	486	14	Vikrama	1927 140·2283
649, March 24.........	706	571	40	Parâbhava	1958 188·1902
735, March 22.........	792	657	7	Śrîmukha............	1989 597·1250
820, March 23.........	877	742	33	Vikârin...............	2020 645·0869
905, March 25.........	962	827	59	Krôdhana............	2051 693·0488
990, March 27.........	1047	912	25	Khara	2082 741·0107
1076, March 23.........	1133	998	52	Kâlayukta	2114 149·9455
1161, March 25.........	1218	1083	18	Târaṇa	2145 197·9074
1246, March 27.........	1303	1168	44	Sâdhâraṇa	2176 245·8692
1331, March 29.........	1388	1253	10	Dhâtṛi	2207 293·8311
1417, March 26.........	1474	1339	37	Śôbhana	2238 702·7660
1502, March 28.........	1559	1424	3	Śukla	2269 750·7278
1587, March 30.........	1644	1509	29	Manmatha	2300 798·6897
1672, March 31.........	1729	1594	55	Durmati	2331 846·6516
N.S. 1757, April 13	1814	1679	21	Sarvajit	2362 894·6134
1843, April 12	1900	1765	48	Ânanda	2394 303·5483

The Sixty-Year Cycle.

1. Prabhava.	11. Îśvara.	21. Sarvajit.	31. Hêmalamba.	41. Plavaṅga.	51. Piṅgala.
2. Vibhava.	12. Bahudhânya.	22. Sarvadhârin.	32. Vilamba.	42. Kîlaka.	52. Kâlayukta.
3. Śukla.	13. Pramâthin.	23. Virôdhin.	33. Vikârin.	43. Saumya.	53. Siddhârthin
4. Pramôda.	14. Vikrama.	24. Vikṛita.	34. Śarvarin.	44. Sâdhâraṇa.	54. Raudra.
5. Prajâpati.	15. Bhriśya.	25. Khara.	35. Plava.	45. Virôdhakṛit.	55. Durmati.
6. Aṅgiras.	16. Chitrabhânu.	26. Nandana.	36. Śubhakṛit.	46. Paridhâvin.	56. Dundubhi.
7. Śrîmukha.	17. Subhânu.	27. Vijaya.	37. Śôbhana.	47. Pramâdin.	57. Rudhirôdgârin.
8. Bhâva.	18. Târaṇa.	28. Jaya.	38. Krôdhin.	48. Ânanda.	58. Raktâksha.
9. Yuvan.	19. Pârthiva.	29. Manmatha.	39. Viśvâvasu.'	49. Râkshasa.	59. Krôdhana.
10. Dhâtṛi.	20. Vyaya.	30. Durmukha.	40. Parâbhava.	50. Anala.	60. Kshaya.

TABLE 4.

Jyôtistattva Rule.

Number of days for the commencement of Jovian years.

Year.	Days.	Year.	Days.	Year.	Days.
1	000·0000	30	10 468·2164	59	20 936·4328
2	360·9730	31	10 829·1894	60	21 297·4058
3	721·9460	32	11 190·1623	61	21 658·3787
4	1082·9139	33	11 551·1353	62	22 019·3517
5	1443·8919	34	11 912·1083	63	22 380·3247
6	1804·8649	35	12 273·0813	64	22 741·2977
7	2165·8379	36	12 634·0543	65	23 102·2707
8	2526·8109	37	12 995·0272	66	23 463·2436
9	2887·7838	38	13 356·0002	67	23 824·2166
10	3248·7568	39	13 716·9732	68	24 185·1896
11	3609·7298	40	14 077·9462	69	24 546·1626
12	3970·7028	41	14 438·9192	70	24 907·1356
13	4331·6757	42	14 799·8921	71	25 268·1085
14	4692·6487	43	15 160·8651	72	25 629·0815
15	5053·6217	44	15 521·8381	73	25 990·0545
16	5414·5947	45	15 882·8111	74	26 351·0275
17	5775·5677	46	16 243·7841	75	26 712·0004
18	6136·5406	47	16 604·7570	76	27 072·9734
19	6497·5136	48	16 965·7300	77	27 433·9464
20	6858·4866	49	17 326·7030	78	27 794·9194
21	7219·4596	50	17 687·6760	79	28 155·8924
22	7580·4326	51	18 048·6490	80	28 516·8653
23	7941·4055	52	18 409·6219	81	28 877·8383
24	8302·3785	53	18 770·5949	82	29 238·8113
25	8663·3515	54	19 131·5679	83	29 599·7843
26	9024·3245	55	19 492·5409	84	29 960·7573
27	9385·2975	56	19 853·5138	85	30 321·7302
28	9746·2704	57	20 214·4868	86	30 682·7032
29	10 107·2434	58	20 575·4598	87	31 043·6762

Commencement of Plava . . .	2194	294·5182
	+	360·9730
sum	2194	655·4912

i.e., the 21st August, A.D. 1296, 11 h. 47·3 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Plava.

But the year Khara of the third example ended as put down in Table 3, on the day of the Julian period 2082 741·0107, *i.e.*, on the 27th March, A.D. 990, 0 h. 15·4 m. after mean sunrise.

Finally, to show here also how to find by the Tables **Jupiter's year current at any given moment**, we will ask: What year was current, and what portion of that year had elapsed, on the 30th September, A.D. 1889, 8 hours after mean sunrise?

Expressed in days of the Julian period, the 30th September, A.D. 1889, new style, 8 hours after mean sunrise, is —

	2411 276·3333.	
Table 3,	— 2394 303·5483	= end of year 48.
remainder	16 972·7850;	
Table 4,	— 16 965·7300	= commencement of year 48.
remainder	7·0550;	sum 96 = 60 + 36 (Subhakṛit).

Accordingly, the current year is Subhakṛit, and at the given moment there had elapsed of that year 7·0550 days = 7 days, 1 hour, 19·2 minutes.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

RUSTIC CUSTOMS IN OUDH.

LAKHIA BHUT.

Lâkhiâ Bhût, is the name of a festival which is, I hear, of Gurkhâ origin, and is held at the planting of the paddy during the monsoons.

Two men, masked, and with horns tied to their heads, are yoked to a plough. Two rows of men, facing each other, walk sideways behind them, advancing towards and retreating from each other, while imitating the planting of the paddy. When they meet a pool of water, the 'oxen' drop down on their hands and knees and are freely bathed in it.

The procession is followed by a crowd, with music and songs, and the **Lâkhia Bhût** dancing wildly in the midst. The *bhût* is dressed up in a woman's dress, wears a large mask, and flowing hair made of the tail of the *châwar gâe* (*yâk*).

Query.—Who or what is the "**Lâkhiâ Bhût**"?

Lucknow. G. H. R.

BOOK NOTICE.

PHILOSOPHISCHE HYMNEN AUS DER RIG- UND ATHARVA-VEDA-SAMHITA, VERGLICHEN MIT DEN PHILOSOPHEMEN DER ALTEREN UPANISHAD'S von Dr. Lucian Scherman; Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner. 1887; 8vo. pp. vii., 96.

In 1883 the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich offered a prize for an investigation into the **philosophic hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-Vêda-Saṁhitâ**, with regard to themselves, and in relation to the philosophy of the older *Upanishads*. The prize was won by Dr. Scherman in 1885, and his essay, revised and corrected, has since been published. The author first gives a revised translation of six hymns or portions of hymns of the *Ṛik-Saṁhitâ*, and of thirteen of the *Atharva-Saṁhitâ*. Each translation is supplied with copious notes, and (when necessary) with a short paraphrase or interpretation of its contents, and of their philosophic import. It is then, in each case, followed by a comparison of similar tenets put forward by the older *Upanishads*. The author finally sums up, in seven pages of concluding remarks, the principal points of connexion between the hymns and the *Upanishads*.

These are: (1) The primitive condition of All is a general denial of all existence *and* non-existence, while, however, simultaneously in this absolute "Nothing" a Primitive Being is involved, which out of the non-existing (as out of one of its own limbs) causes the Universe to proceed.

(2) The main factors, which the Primitive Being used for the development of the world, are the abstracts, *Tapas*, *Kâma*, and *Manas*, i.e., the Working of the Spirit, the Will, and Absolute Thought, of which the last two work reciprocally. *Tapas* eventually became identified with (the neuter) *Brahman*.

(3) The act of creation is similarly explained in the hymns and in the *Upanishads*. With the help of *Tapas* (i.e. *Brahman*), *Manas*, and *Kâma*, the universe arises in a perpetual order of development.

(4) With the recognition of the impossibility of a clear explanation of the development of the world, the way is opened for the confession that the soul of man is not able to solve such questions.

The above does not pretend to do more than indicate the direction of the conclusions arrived at by the author in his very interesting and learned paper to which the reader must be referred for further particulars.

GEO A. GRIERSON.

INDEX.



ERRATA IN VOL. XVIII.

p. 30 *b*, No. 21, line 7-8, *for* Sravaṇa, *read* Śrâvaṇa; and line 8, *for* pakshê=valakshê, *read* pakshê valakshê.

p. 35, lines 1 and 2 from the bottom, for *dhâtri-yolu*, read *dhátriyoḷu*; and for *guḍi-geṟeyolu*, read *guḍigeṟeyoḷu*.

p. 40, Text line 38, *for* umbaḷiy *read* umbaḷiy; and in line 42, *for* mishthâyâṁ, *read* mishṭhâyâṁ.

p. 63 *a*, line 36, for *nirvaṇa*, read *nirvâna*.

p. 73, line 1, *for* **Kaṁṭakôtsa**, *read* **Kaṇṭakôtsa**.

„ line 9, for (*thus*, read (*thus*).

„ line 10, *for* country), *read* country,

p. 75, line 15, *dele the semicolon after* them.

p. 76, line 3 from the bottom, for *másaiṁ*, read *másaṁ*.

p. 81, note 1, *for* meaning, *read* meanings.

p. 82, line 11, *for* four-months', *read* four-months.

p. 83, Text line 8, *for* anuśâsan, *read* anuśâsan(t).

„ note 15, for *apâtâ*, read *âpâta*.

p. 85, note 33, *at the end of the note add the words*, See Vol. VI. p. 212, note, where it is said that it means Brâhmaṇs who had not been fed before, and were not to be fed again.

p. 94 *a*, line 24, for *śrîma* [*ch**], read *śrîma*[*ch**].

p. 95 *a*, line 29-30, *read* Also, not one of the three lithographs of these inscriptions *&c*.

p. 96 *a*, line 35, *for the colon after* **Siddhânta**, *substitute a full-stop*.

p. 101, line 32, *insert a comma after* Chakradhara.

p. 102, note to verse 299, *read* of Îrânian origin, the term *yamusha* might *&c. The sentence, as it stands, has been wrongly divided by the substitution of a full-stop after* origin.

p. 112, Text line 6, *for* **Châmu-[ṁ*]-ḍa**, *read* **Châmu[ṁ*]ḍa-**.

p 113, Text line 23, *for* **Vâmanasthat**-iśrika-, *read* **Vâmanasthali**-śrika- .

p. 130, Text line 7, *for* nilin-ânanaḥ I, *read* nilin-ânanaḥ II.

p. 136, G. line 1, *for* 21″ by $\frac{7}{16}$″, *read* 21″ by 16$\frac{7}{8}$″

p. 146, note 27, *for* see note 19 above, *read* see note 20 above.

p. 171, note 50, for *paramamahêśvara*, read *paramamâhêśvara*; and for *paramavaishanava*, read *paramavaishṇava*. *In* Vâsudêva-nâyaka, *dele the hyphen*.

p. 200, line 1, *for* 5·89 m., *read* 58·9 m.

p. 267, note 22, for *śatru-mardanaḥ*, read *śakti-sampannaḥ*.

p. 268, Text line 15, *for* -âna danaḥ[23], *read* -ânadanaḥ[23].

p. 269, l. 10, *for* four-toothed, *read* four-tusked.

„ l. 30, *for* who destroys his foes &c., *read* who is endowed with bravery and energy and the (*royal*) powers.

p. 270, l. 14, *for* Parâsara *read* **Parâśara**; *and at the end of the line insert* ", *to mark the end of the donor's speech*.

pp. 277-278-279, *for* **An-Nasir-li-dîn Allah**, *wherever the words occur, read* **An-Nâsir-li-dîn Allah**.

pp. 277-8, *for* Ch. D. Fachu, *wherever the words occur, read* Ch. D. Fraehn.

p. 278 *b*, lines 33, 34, *for* Khalîfas Mustafi B'illah, Muta B'illah, *and* Tâi-B'illah, *read* Khalifas Mustakfî-B'illah, Mutî-L'illah and Tâi-L'illah.

p. 279 *a*, line 13, *for* from Al-Kasar, *read* at Kazan.

p. 279 *b*, line 20, *for* J. Gotwald, *read* J. Gottwaldt.

p. 280 *a*, line 1, *for* Miltaurovs, *read* Melitaurovs.

p. 280 *a*, line 3, *for* Miltaurov was court captain, *read* Melitaurov was court chaplain.

p. 280 *a*, line 14 from bottom, *for* **Balabhar**, *read* **Balawar**.

p. 280 *a*, line 4 from bottom, for *Wrestler*, read *Hermit*.

p. 280 *b*, line 30, *for* **Taipna**, *read* **Taifûr**.

p. 281 *a*, line 12, *for* Aḥmad-Ibn-Ah-Karim, *read* Aḥmad-Ibn-Abî-Karîm.

p. 281 *a*, line 21, *for* worshipper of **Nabigi**, *read* admirer of **Nâbiga**.

p. 281 *a*, line 22, *for* Abu'l-Kabî-Muhammad-ibn al-Lais, *read* Abu'r-Rabi-Muḥammad-ibn-al-Lais.

p. 281, for *mu'allah*, wherever the word occurs, read *mu'allaka*.

p. 282 *b*, line 16 from bottom, *for* Rudguzi, *read* Rubguzi.

p. 282 *b*, line 6 from bottom, *for* Khozudeni, *read* Khojandî.

p. 282 *b*, line 4 from bottom, for *Ta'ash-Shah-náma*, read *Ta'ashuk-náma*.

p. 283 *a*, line 4, for *Majâlis-au-nafaris*, read *Majâlis-an-nafais*.

p. 283 *a*, line 19, *for* Hâjî Bakbâsh, *read* Hâji Baktâsh.

p. 283 *a*, line 22 from bottom, *for* Ilderin Bayazid, *read* Ilderim Bayazid.

p. 283 *a*, line 15 from bottom, *for* Mustafa Jalâlgâda, *read* Mustafa Jalâlzâdâ.

p. 283 *a*, line 7, from bottom, for *Wusrat-nâmah*, read *Nusrat-nâmah*.

p. 284 *a*, line 19 from bottom, *for* Abn-Obaid-al-Kârim-Ibn-Sallâm, *read* Abu-Ubed-al-Qâsim-Ibn-Sallam.

p. 284 *a*, line 16 from bottom, *for* Mikhî, *read* **Makki**.

p. 284 *a*, line 15 from bottom, *for* **Rajab** Isfahânî, *read* Raghi Isfahânî.

p. 358, note 43, for *avatârar-âtri*, read *avatâra-râtri*.

